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# The Anti-Manichaean Treatise *De fide contra Manichaeos*, Attributed to Evodius of Uzalis: Critical Edition and Translation\*

Aäron VANSPAUWEN

(Leuven)

## 1. Introduction

*De fide contra Manichaeos* is an anti-Manichaean treatise attributed to Evodius of Uzalis. Evodius, a friend of Augustine of Hippo, was ordained bishop of Uzalis (present El Alia, Tunisia) at the end of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> As a bishop he was active in anti-Donatist, anti-Pelagian, and – if the treatise *De fide* can be attributed to him, in anti-Manichaean polemics. The treatise *De fide*, probably written between 420 and 430, is preserved in 30 extant manuscripts, which range from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The work was first published in Amerbach's edition of Augustine's *opera omnia*.<sup>2</sup> There, the work was included among the works of Augustine not mentioned in his *Retractationes*. This attribution of authorship was also accepted by Erasmus in his edition of *De fide*,<sup>3</sup> and in the Leuven edition of *De fide*.<sup>4</sup> The Maurists dedicated an introductory note to the authorship

\* I would like express my gratitude to Joseph Grabau, who has proofread an earlier version of the English translation of *De fide* and offered a plethora of useful suggestions to improve it, and especially to prof. Gert Partoens, my mentor in the field of textual transmission and of editing Augustinian Latin texts. Without his guidance and his careful feedback, this article, edition and translation of *De fide* would not have been possible.

<sup>1</sup> See also the overviews in W. HÜBNER, "Euodius", in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by C. MAYER e.a., 2, Basel, 2002, cols. 1158-1161; A. MANDOUZE, "Evodius 1," in *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303-533)*, ed. by A. MANDOUZE, Paris, 1982, p. 366-373.

<sup>2</sup> J. AMERBACH, *Vndecima pars librorum diui Aurelii Augustini quorum mentionem non fecit in libris retractationum*, Basel, 1506, ff. 101r-105v.

<sup>3</sup> D. ERASMUS, *Sextus tomus operum diui Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, continens τὰ πολεμικά, hoc est, decertationes aduersus haereses praecipue Iudaeorum, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, Origenistarum, Arianorum, & Iouiniani*, Basel, 1526, p. 394-405.

<sup>4</sup> *Tomus VI. operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, continens τὰ πολεμικά, hoc est, decertationes aduersus haereses praecipue Iudaeorum, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, Origenistarum, Arianorum, & Iouiniani: nunc multis in locis summo studio emendatus, per theologos louanienses*, Antwerp, 1576, p. 236-242.

of *De fide*.<sup>5</sup> They rejected Augustine's authorship and instead favoured the attribution to Evodius, a hypothesis first defended by Jacques de Sirmond.<sup>6</sup> The Maurists and de Sirmond had found the attribution to Evodius in the manuscripts they consulted for their edition or study.<sup>7</sup> Zycha and subsequent scholars have accepted or further defended this attribution. Zycha's edition of *De fide* was published in 1892.<sup>8</sup> For his edition, Zycha made use of four manuscripts and the Maurists' edition. As the overview of *De fide*'s textual transmission will demonstrate, the four manuscripts Zycha consulted did not cover every branch of the textual transmission. In this article, a first section provides an overview of the textual transmission of *De fide*, including a discussion on earlier editions of *De fide*; a second section contains the new critical edition of *De fide* with a facing translation in English; in a third section I discuss several textual variants in detail.

## 2. *Conspectus Siglorum*

[Manuscripts utilized by the Maurists have been marked by a single asterisk; those consulted by Zycha with a double asterisk.]

- Ag*<sup>1</sup> Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 179; Abbaye Saint-Aubin, 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, ff. 46v-58r.<sup>9</sup>
- Ag*<sup>2</sup> Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 180; Abbaye Saint-Serge, 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, ff. 55r-66v.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus octauus, continens opuscula polemica, aduersus haereses, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, & Arianorum, Louaniensium theologorum recognitionem correcta denuo ad manuscriptos codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, &c. nec non ad editiones antiquiores & castigatores, opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri*, Paris, 1688, appendix, cols 22-36.

<sup>6</sup> J. SIRMOND, *Historia praedestiniana, quibus initiis exorta, & per quos potissimum profli-gata Praedestinatorum haeresis olim fuerit, & oppressa*, Paris, 1648, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> SIRMOND, *Historia praedestiniana*, p. 5, states he had consulted a codex *Corbeiensis* (*P*<sup>2</sup> in this overview) and other manuscripts (*ex aliis codicibus*). These could be other manuscripts kept at Paris, such as *P*<sup>1</sup> and *P*<sup>4</sup>. The Maurists, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus octauus*, appendix, cols 22-23 mention the same *Corbeiensis* (*P*<sup>2</sup>) and the manuscript *Colbertinus* (*P*<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> J. ZYCHA, *S. Aurelii Augustini de utilitate credendi, de duabus animabus, contra Fortunatum, contra Adimantum, contra epistulam fundamenti, contra Faustum, contra Felicem de natura boni, epistula Secundini, contra Secundinum, accedunt Evodii de fide contra Manichaeos et commonitorium Augustini quod fertur*, Prague/Vienna/Leipzig, 1891-1892 (CSEL, s 25/1-2), p. 949-975.

<sup>9</sup> H. OMONT, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements – tome 31, Paris, 1898, p. 247-248; B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme des wisigotischen)*, vol. I: Aachen-Lambach, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> H. OMONT, *Catalogue général*, t. 31, p. 248.



<i>Ag</i> <sup>3</sup>	Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 289; Abbaye Saint-Aubin, 11 <sup>th</sup> /12 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 127v-139r. <sup>11</sup>
<i>Av</i>	Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 84; Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel, 12 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 54v-67v. <sup>12</sup>
<i>Bo</i>	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 49; Abbaye Saint-Vaast, Arras, 13 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 410v-418v. <sup>13</sup>
<i>Bg</i> <sup>1</sup>	Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek, 103; Abdij Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Ter Duinen, Koksijde, 1489, ff. 280v-285r. <sup>14</sup>
<i>Bg</i> <sup>2</sup>	Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek, 112; Abdij Ter Doest, 14 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 61v-68v. <sup>15</sup>
<i>Bx</i>	Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, 9349-9354; Abbaye Saint-Laurent, Liège, 11 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 158r-164v. <sup>16</sup>
<i>Ch</i>	Chicago, University Library, 110; Abbaye Saint-Jacques, Liège, 13 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 97r-106r. <sup>17</sup>
<i>Di</i> <sup>*</sup>	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 139; Abbaye Notre-Dame de Cîteaux, 13 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 151v-159r. <sup>18</sup>
<i>Gr</i>	Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 203; Grande Chartreuse, 13 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 224v-236r. <sup>19</sup>
<i>Kl</i>	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCl 220; Augustiner Chorherrenstift, 12 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 41v-50r. <sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> H. OMONT, *Catalogue général*, t. 31, p. 285-286.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements – tome 10, Paris, 1889, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du ministre de l'instruction publique*, tome 4, Paris, 1872, p. 604-605.

<sup>14</sup> A. DE POORTER, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Gembloux, 1934, p. 130-136; M. T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band VIII/2 Belgien, Luxemburg und Niederlande: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken, Vienna, 2000, p. 30.

<sup>15</sup> A. DE POORTER, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, p. 144-146; M. T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, VIII/2, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 2, Brussels, 1902, p. 138-139; M. T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, VIII/2, p. 114-115.

<sup>17</sup> H. JANSSENS, "Notice sur un manuscrit de Saint Augustin provenant de l'ancienne abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liégé [sic]", *Le Musée belge* 30 (1926), p. 137-144; THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY CATALOGUE, *Theological treatises: manuscript*, [13--] (2015); <https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/2681990> (access 11.06.2018).

<sup>18</sup> A. MOLINIER e.a., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements – tome 5, Paris, 1889, p. 38. This is the *codex cisterciensis* consulted by the Maurists.

<sup>19</sup> P. FOURNIER, E. MAIGNIEN, A. PRUDHOMME, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements – tome 7, Paris, 1889, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> D. WEBER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band VI/2 Österreich: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken, Vienna, 1993, p. 130.

<i>La*</i>	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 128; Notre-Dame, 13th century, ff. 113r-119r. <sup>21</sup>
<i>Li</i>	Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 132; Couvent des Croisiers, 13th century, ff. 166v-175v. <sup>22</sup>
<i>Ma</i>	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 223; Duomo di Messina, 14th century, ff. 228r-233r. <sup>23</sup>
<i>Mü</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18083; Kloster Tegernsee, 1483, ff. 224v-232r. <sup>24</sup>
<i>Ox</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 175; Stift Engelszell, 12th century, ff. 37r-43v. <sup>25</sup>
<i>P1*/**</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2077; Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Moissac, 10th century, ff. 38r-45v. <sup>26</sup>
<i>P2*</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12218; Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Corbie, 9th century, ff. 23r-35v. <sup>27</sup>
<i>P3*</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12219; Saint-Maur des Fossés, early 11th century, ff. 63r-76r. <sup>28</sup>
<i>P4**</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14301; Abbaye Saint-Victor, Marseille, early 11th century, ff. 126v-136v. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du ministre de l'instruction publique*, tome 1, Paris, 1849, p. 108-109. This is the *Laudunensis eccl[esiæ] codex* consulted by the Maurists.

<sup>22</sup> M. T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, VIII/2, p. 197-198.

<sup>23</sup> J. DIVJAK, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band IV Spanien und Portugal: Werkverzeichnis, Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken, Vienna, 1974, p. 230-231.

<sup>24</sup> R. KURZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band V/2 Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin, Vienna, 1979, p. 380.

<sup>25</sup> F. RÖMER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band II/2 Grossbritannien und Irland: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken, Vienna, 1972, p. 274; H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues*, II: Laudian manuscripts, Oxford, 1973, cols 159-160.

<sup>26</sup> ARCHIVES ET MANUSCRITS, *Latin 2077 (s. d.)*; <http://archivesetmanuscrpts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc599714> (access 07.06.2018); P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina. 2. Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Arrianos Opera: Sermo arrianorum anonymus; Contra sermonem arrianorum; Conlatio cum Maximino; Contra Maximinum libri duo*, Turnhout, 2009 (CCSL, 87A), p. 277-278. On the date of this manuscript, see B. BISCHOFF, B. EBERSPERGER, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. III: Padua-Zwickau, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 60. This manuscript was consulted by the Maurists (*codex Colbertinus*) and by Zycha (*siglum P*).

<sup>27</sup> ARCHIVES ET MANUSCRITS, *Latin 12218 (s. d.)*; <http://archivesetmanuscrpts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc735416> (access 07.06.2018); P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina. 2*, p. 278. On the date of the manuscript, see B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. III, p. 191. This is the Maurists' *codex Corbeiensis*.

<sup>28</sup> ARCHIVES ET MANUSCRITS, *Latin 12219 (s. d.)*; <http://archivesetmanuscrpts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc73542f> (access 07.06.2018); P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina 2*, p. 278-279. This manuscript is the *codex Fossatensis* consulted by the Maurists.

<sup>29</sup> ARCHIVES ET MANUSCRITS, *Latin 14301 (s. d.)*; <http://archivesetmanuscrpts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc750700> (access 07.06.2018); P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina 2*, p. 280-281. This manuscript was consulted by Zycha (*siglum V*).

<i>Pa</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 245; Saint-Martin-des-Champs, 11 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 155r-161r. <sup>30</sup>
<i>Pm</i> **	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 635; Couvent des Grands-Augustins, late 13 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 25v-30v. <sup>31</sup>
<i>So</i>	Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'agglomération, 85; Abbaye de Clairmarais, 12 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 132v-140v. <sup>32</sup>
<i>F</i> **	St Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 76; Stift Sankt Florian, 12 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 65r-79r. <sup>33</sup>
<i>Tr</i>	Trier, Seminarbibliothek, 48; Benediktinerabtei St Matthias, 1472, ff. 36v-42v. <sup>34</sup>
<i>Vl</i>	València, Biblioteca Universitaria, 33 (580); Monasterio de San Miguel de los Reyes, 13 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 134r-139r. <sup>35</sup>
<i>Vt</i> <sup>1</sup> *	Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 203; 13 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup> century (?), ff. 95v-109r. <sup>36</sup>
<i>Vt</i> <sup>2</sup>	Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. San Pietro B. 52; 14 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 224v-230r. <sup>37</sup>
<i>Zw</i>	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 35; Stift Zwettl, late 12 <sup>th</sup> century, ff. 120v-127v. <sup>38</sup>

### 3. The Textual Transmission of *De fide*

#### a. General Characteristics of the Transmission

The manuscript tradition of *De fide* contains 30 extant manuscripts. With the exception of *P*<sup>l</sup>, all manuscripts can quite easily be divided in three

<sup>30</sup> ARCHIVES ET MANUSCRITS, *Ms-245 Aurelii Augustini egregii doctoris super Genesim ad litteram liber* (s. d.); <http://archivesetmanuscrpts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc79412g> (access 07.06.2018); P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 281-282.

<sup>31</sup> A. MOLINIER, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine*, tome 1, Paris, 1885, p. 282-283. This manuscript was consulted by Zycha (*siglum* M).

<sup>32</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du ministre d'état*, tome 3, Paris, 1861, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> A. CZERNY, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Florian*, Linz, 1871, p. 31-32; D. WEBER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, VI/2, p. 264-265. This manuscript was consulted by Zycha (*siglum* F).

<sup>34</sup> R. KURZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, V/2, p. 473-474.

<sup>35</sup> J. DIVJAK, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, IV, p. 290.

<sup>36</sup> M. OBERLEITNER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band I/2 Italien: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken, Vienna, 1970, p. 250. Although *Vt*<sup>1</sup> is dated to the twelfth century in manuscript catalogue, the gothic scripture and the usage of blue and red ink seems to resemble manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This manuscript was consulted by the Maurists (*codex Vaticanus*).

<sup>37</sup> M. OBERLEITNER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, I/2, p. 302-303.

<sup>38</sup> D. WEBER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, VI/2, p. 458; C. ZIEGLER, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl, Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*, I, Munich/Vienna, 1992, p. 75-77.

families ( $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ). These three families derive from the same archetype. This archetype contained seven (pseudo-)Augustinian works in the following order: Quodvultdeus' *Aduersus quinque haereses*; Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*; *De fide et symbolo*; Evodius' *De fide*; Augustine's *Conlatio cum Maximino*; *Contra Maximinum*; the *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, a pseudo-Augustinian dialogue written towards the end of the fifth century.<sup>39</sup> In the most recent edition of the *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, this collection is dubbed *Aduersus duas haereses*.<sup>40</sup> The archetype for *De fide* ( $\Phi$ ) thus corresponds to the archetype or a hyparchetype within the transmission of the works mentioned above.<sup>41</sup> In general, the treatise presently known as *De fide contra Manichaeos* was entitled *Aduersus Manichaeos* in the manuscripts. Only a specific group of manuscripts contain the title *De fide catholica contra Manichaeos*.

The three families consist each of the following manuscripts:

$\beta$ : *Bo*, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bg*<sup>2</sup>, *Bx*, *Li*, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *Pm*, *So*.

$\gamma$ : *Ag*<sup>1</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Av*, *Ch*, *Di*, *La*, *Ma*, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *Pa*, *Tr*, *Vl*, *Vt*<sup>2</sup>.

$\delta$ : *Gr*, *Kl*, *Mü*, *Ox*, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *F*, *Vt*<sup>1</sup>, *Zw*.

Family  $\beta$  is distinguished from the other two families through the following errors, all with important implications on the meaning of the text:

5,4-5<sup>42</sup> aut facite arborem malam, et frucum eius malum] *om.*; 5,15 animabus] animantibus; 36,4-5 falsa omnia sunt] *om.*; 40,23 deum] *om.*

The second family,  $\gamma$ , is characterized through the following significant mistakes:

5,16 amore] errore; 11,2 infimo] infirmo; 12,6 eius] *om.*; 38,2 uos] *om.*; 46,12 praeficere] praeferre.

<sup>39</sup> H. MÜLLER, D. WEBER, C. WEIDMANN, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung*, Vienna, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> H. MÜLLER, D. WEBER, C. WEIDMANN, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> The *sigla* of the archetype ( $\Phi$ ) and the hyparchetypes ( $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ) correspond to the *sigla* of H. MÜLLER, D. WEBER, C. WEIDMANN, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 68. Previous editions of works from the archetype's collection provided helpful comparative material for the study of *De fide*'s transmission. See R. BRAUN, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi episcopo tributa*, Turnhout, 1976 (CCSL, 60), p. lxi-lxxxii; D. WEBER, *Augustinus: de Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Vienna, 1998 (CSEL, 91), p. 33-61; M. M. GORMAN, "The Manuscript Tradition of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 47 (2001), p. 303-311; and esp. P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 301-378; H. MÜLLER, D. WEBER, C. WEIDMANN, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 42-71.

<sup>42</sup> The references indicate the chapter and lines of the present edition.

Family  $\delta$  is characterized through the following significant omissions:

5,11 peccare] *om.*; 6,9 et uos ... peccari] *om.*; 49,27-39 quomodo ... conuolate] *om.*

Manuscript  $P^l$  is somewhat of an outlier within the manuscript transmission. Although it seems somewhat related to family  $\delta$ , it does not contain the family's typical mistakes mentioned here. The relation between  $P^l$  and  $\delta$  will be discussed later.

In addition to the significant mistakes found in each of the three major groups, each family is also characterized by some minor mistakes. These are:

- for  $\beta$ :

3,6 bonum a malo] bonum malo; 9,2 quod] quod si; 17,11 aliquando] aliquanto; 22,17 ianuas] *om.*; 25,14 quando ei] quando et; 33,4-5 dicere manichaeus] *inu.*; 39,16 esse sola] *inu.*; 40,3 surget<sup>1</sup>] resurget; 43,7 sed] aut; 45,2 atque] et; 48,15 hoc] haec.

- for  $\gamma$ :

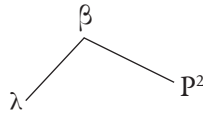
2,4 habeat] habet; 16,15 in] ad; 26,15 ipsa] ipsi; 39,14 alios] aliquos; 48,11 eius partes] *inu.*; 48,14 estis eius] eius.

- for  $\delta$ :

6,3 quemuis] quamuis; 14,2 scribit] scripsit; 14,3 magnitudines] -nis; 15,10 euadet] -it; 16,7 illa altissima] *inu.*; 22,11 haberet] habet; 22,17 omni] omnium; 23,9 uirginis] uirgineo; 32,10 phantasmata] phantasma; 38,25 finxerit] fingeret; 39,7: filii] et filii; 40,10 alibi] et alibi.

The following subsections are dedicated to each of the families of *De fide*.

#### b. Family $\beta$



Family  $\beta$  has a bipartite structure. A first branch ( $\lambda$ ) consists of *Bo Bg<sup>l</sup> Bg<sup>2</sup> Bx Li Pm So* and contains following characterising errors:

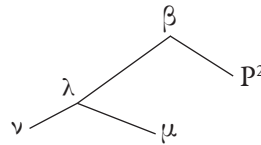
3,6-7 coniunctum et concordans] *inu.*; 7,1 subsiciuam] succiuam;<sup>43</sup> 11,2 nullo] nullum; 11,2 infimo constituto] in infimo constitutum; 14,5

<sup>43</sup> With following exception (or variation in spelling): sisbcuam *Bg<sup>l</sup>*.

angustiis atque] *om.*; 15,1 ad] *om.*; 16,3 coloribus] caloribus; 16,3 et<sup>2</sup>] *om.*; 16,5 ignem] igneam; 17,9-10 confudit] confundit *Bo Bg<sup>2</sup> Bx Li Pm So, om. Bg<sup>1</sup>*; 18,7 dei deus] dei; 36,13 et] sed; 37,1 concordia] -as; 37,20 aut] ut; 38,8 obtuso] obstruso; 38,29 animas] -os; 43,4 subsiciam] succiam; 46,7 substantiae] -a; 47,7 qui] quia; 49,14 protegat] protegatur a; 49,32 requie nulli] requie nulla; 49,32 sui ciues] succiui; 49,36 et] *om.*

These errors do not occur in *P*<sup>2</sup>. However, this manuscript did not serve as a model for any other manuscript in *β*. It contains various unique mistakes and therefore represents one of two branches of the family *β*. Some examples of these mistakes are:

5,23 ita] *om.*; 6,2 adactum] edictum *P*<sup>2p.c.</sup>; 6,9 pecari] peccare; 8,1-2 non stare ueritate] nostra seueritate; 8,4 quo] quid; 9,6 et] *om.*



In turn, *λ* is divided into two groups: *μ* on the one hand (*Bg<sup>1</sup>, Bx, Li*) and *ν* on the other hand (*Bo, Bg<sup>2</sup>, Pm, So*). The following list sums up the particular mistakes of *μ*:

5,23 eueniet] ueniet; 10,6-7 peccantes] peccatores uel peccantes;<sup>44</sup> 14,3 secum] secum uel secundum;<sup>45</sup> 15,10 euectionem] euectionem uel euectionem; 17,13 genitalia] gentilia; 29,3 sed] at; 36,3 deicitur] dicitur *Bg<sup>1</sup>a.c. Bx Li*, deicitur *Bg<sup>1</sup>p.c.*; 39,14 attendere] aduertere uel attendere; 39,22 eorum] earum *Bg<sup>1</sup>*, earum uel eorum *Bx Li*; 49,5 turpari] turbari uel turpari.<sup>46</sup>

Next, these are the defining errors of *ν*:

1,6 omnia] omnia in quo omnia; 14,1 suo] *om.*; 14,3 secum] secundum; 14,12 capi] rapi; 15,2 ac] et; 17,14 turpia] *om.*; 20,5 putat] -aret; 22,3 et] *om.*; 22,6 uiro] uirgo; 22,7 quod] quia; 22,12 uenisse] in carne uenisse; 23,12 autem] enim; 25,2 tibi] tibi est; 25,17 ipsos] *om.*; 29,2 ipsius] eius; 29,3 sed] aut; 30,8 suo] *om.*; 31,4 pressus] passus; 36,4 mali] male; 37,13 illum] eum; 37,26-27 peccata] -is 38,4 cum] *om.*; 38,4 uobis] si uobis; 38,12 dicatur] -atis; 40,24 commutationem] communio-nem; 44,12 quem] quam; 45,1 legite] legite ista; 47,12 subiacentem]

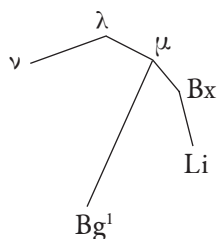
<sup>44</sup> In *Bg<sup>1</sup>* these alternatives are both situated within the main text of the manuscript, whereas in *Bx* and *Li* the second variant is listed as an alternative *sup.l.*

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the reading of *ν*: secundum.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the reading of *ν*: turbari.

subiectum; 48,4 esse asseueratis] asseratis; 49,1 enim] autem; 49,5 turpari] turbari; 49,20 ego] *om.*; 49,36 saucius quae] sauciusque.

Within  $\mu$ , the relations between the three extant manuscripts  $Bg^l$ ,  $Bx$  and  $Li$ , are as follows:



$Li$  is a copy of  $Bx$ , whereas  $Bx$  (with  $Li$ ) and  $Bg^l$  constitute two separate branches of  $\mu$ . The errors of  $Bx$ , preserved in  $Li$ , are the following:

2,7 animis] annis uel animis (uel animis *sup.l.*); 21,2 Christo] de christo; 22,16 uera<sup>1</sup>] uere uel uera (uel -a *sup.l.*); 23,11 qui] quae uel qui (uel qui *sup.l.*); 34,4 portulaca] portulaca et lactuca (et lactuca *in marg.*);<sup>47</sup> 35,9 beta] in beta; 37,17 ab<sup>2</sup>] *om.*; 37,20 quae] quod; 38,17 Egetis] egetes uel egetis (uel Egetis *sup.l.*); 39,22 eorum] earum uel eorum (uel eorum *sup.l.*);<sup>48</sup> 40,3 surget<sup>2</sup>] resurget; 40,4 surget] resurget; 42,4 peccamus] -auimus; 45,3 ista scriptura testis] testis<sup>b</sup> ista<sup>a</sup> scriptura<sup>c</sup>; 49,19 illa] illa uel illi (uel illi *sup.l.*); 49,28 custodiendo] custodiendo uel custodiendae (uel custodiendae *sup.l.*).

In addition,  $Li$  contains several unique mistakes, although these are very few. These mistakes are:

10,2 non<sup>1</sup>] *om.*  $Bg^l$   $Bx$   $P^2$   $\nu$ , non  $Li^{sup.l.}$ ;<sup>50</sup> 30,8 perirent] perierent; 49,5 turpari] turbari uel turpari  $Bx$  (uel turpari *sup.l.*), turbari  $Li$ .

The number of individual mistakes made by the  $Li$  scribe is rather low. This is partly due to the corrections made by a second scribe (in a darker ink), who probably consulted the same  $Bx$  manuscript (originally also from Liège) for his corrections. One additional mistake in  $Li$  can be found on the level of structure. In general,  $Li$  retained  $Bx$ 's division in 29 chapters. However, although in  $Bx$  the third chapter started with *falsum* (3,1), the

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the reading of  $Bg^l$ : lactuca et portulaca.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the reading of  $Bg^l$ : earum.

<sup>49</sup> Consequently,  $Li$  reads *ista testis scriptura*.

<sup>50</sup> The hyparchetype  $\beta$  seemed to have omitted the *non*, present in the archetype. The addition of *non supra lineam* could suggest the copyist added this word on his own accord.

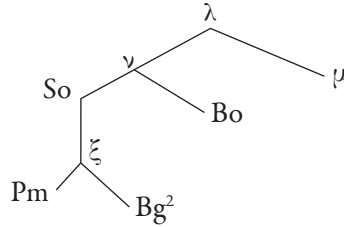


rubricator of *Li* overlooked this; in *Li*, the third chapter starts with *rogo* (6,1), the beginning of the fourth chapter in *Bx*.

*Bg<sup>l</sup>* does not contain the characterizing errors of *Bx* and *Li*, but rather constitutes a second branch of  $\mu$ . Unique mistakes of *Bg<sup>l</sup>* are, for example:

2,5 erit] *om.*; 5,9 nisi] *om.*; 6,7 neque enim] *inu.*; 7,4 conatus] coactus;  
7,5 peccatoribus et diabolo] diabolo; 9,2 est<sup>1</sup>] *om.*

It is necessary to briefly discuss the presence of alternative readings in the manuscripts depending on  $\mu$ .<sup>51</sup> Since these alternative readings do not appear in the manuscripts depending on  $\nu$ , these alternatives should be understood as hyparchetype readings of  $\mu$ , and not of  $\lambda$ . In *Bx*, one variant is often suggested as an alternative *supra lineam*, whereas in *Bg<sup>l</sup>* both alternatives are incorporated in the main text. This seems to suggest the hyparchetype  $\mu$  also presented the second reading as an alternative *supra lineam*. Of the two alternatives, one is always an archetype reading, whereas the other is a faulty reading, often unique to  $\mu$ .



Within  $\nu$ , a primary distinction can be made between *Bg<sup>2</sup>*, *Pm* and *So* on the one hand, and *Bo* on the other hand. *Bg<sup>2</sup>* and *Pm* derive from a shared model dependent on *So*. The following instances are all the common errors of *So*, *Bg<sup>2</sup>* and *Pm*:

5,8-9 effectus] factus uel effectus *So*(uel effectus *sup.l.*), factus *Bg<sup>2</sup>* *Pm*;  
12,12 liberari] -e *So<sup>a.c.</sup>*, -e se *So<sup>b.c.</sup>*; 13,2 dicit] ait; 13,3 qui] quod; 15,10  
euadet] -it; 23,3 deceptum] deiectum; 24,12-13 non ideo non] non ideo  
*So*, ideo non *Bg<sup>2</sup>* *Pm*; 25,4 quia] quo; 37,9 et<sup>2</sup>] *om.*; 38,17 Egetis] egetae;  
39,8 oratum] oratum uel orandum *So*(uel orandum *sup.l.*), oratum *Bg<sup>2</sup>*,  
orandum *Pm*; 49,23 indigenti] -e.

*So* does not contain any error that is not preserved in *Bg<sup>2</sup>* and *Pm*. These two manuscripts share a significant amount of further mistakes. This indicates *Bg<sup>2</sup>* and *Pm* are dependent on *So* through an intermediary hyparchetype ( $\xi$ ). These mistakes are:

<sup>51</sup> e.g. 10,6-7 peccantes] peccatores uel peccantes *Bg<sup>l</sup>* *Bx*(uel -cantes *sup.l.*) *Li*(uel -cantes *sup.l.*).



5,4 facite] faciet; 5,7-8 effectus] factus; 9,2 quod] quod si est; 9,7 rationali] -abili; 10,1 cui] cum; 19,1 quidam] quidem; 23,7 femineam] feminae; 24,12-13 non ideo non] ideo non; 25,17 eos] eorum; 40,14-15 inimicam] unicam; 45,1-2 et magis magisque legite atque discutite] *om.*

In addition, both  $Bg^2$  and  $Pm$  contain various individual mistakes. The following lists sums up some unique mistakes:

- of  $Pm$ :

2,4 solus] *om.*; 3,1-2 mali naturam] *inu.*; 5,12 se minime permiserint] minime se permiserunt; 5,13 obtemperauerint] -erunt; 5,14 noluerint] -erunt; 8,1-2 non stare ueritate] ueritate non stare.

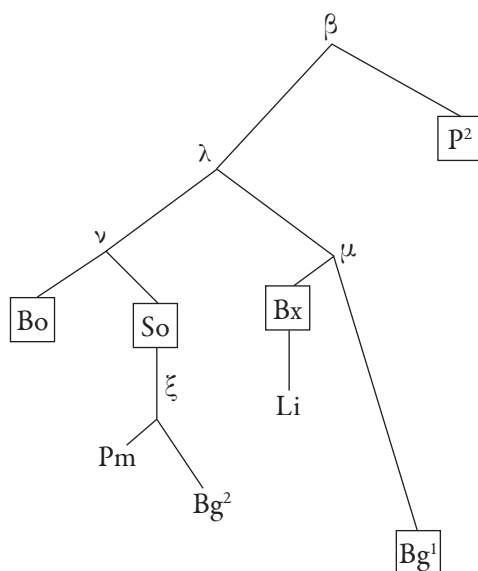
- of  $Bg^2$ :

10,3 et] *om.*; 10,5 malum] -am; 21,2 opponunt] apponunt; 21,16 tamen] non; 23,6 recuperaretur] creaturam; 25,10 dicimus] didicimus; 28,5 in] *om.*; 37,17 ab<sup>2</sup>] *om.*

As  $Bo$  does not contain the common errors of  $Bg^2$ ,  $Pm$  and  $So$ , it constitutes a separate branch of  $\nu$ . In addition,  $Bo$  did not serve as the model for any other manuscript, as it contains several unique mistakes. Some examples:

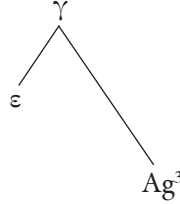
5,25 praedicto] praecepto; 6,3 ut] et; 7,4 conatus] cognatus; 12,9 omnipotens] omnipotentem; 16,14 fugit] fuit; 17,1 non] enim; 21,13 docere] *om.*

To conclude, the relations between the manuscripts depending on  $\beta$  are the following:



The most important manuscript of this family is, without a doubt,  $P^2$ . It is the oldest textual witness of *De fide*, and contained many archetype readings which were not preserved in  $\lambda$ . The manuscripts of  $\beta$  circulated in Northern France<sup>52</sup> and in Belgium.<sup>53</sup>

c. Family  $\gamma$

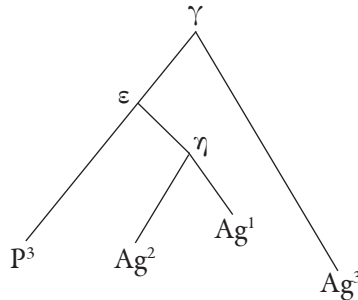


In a few instances  $Ag^3$  contains the archetype reading, shared with the other two families, whereas the other manuscripts of  $\gamma$  ( $\epsilon$ ) contain an error:

**12,12** habeant] habent  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^2 P^3$ , haberent *Av Ch Di La Ma Pa Tr Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*; **14,13** hocque] hoc quoque; **16,6** earumdem] eorumdem; **40,16** ut ad] ad.

The following series of examples lists further instances in which  $Ag^3$  contains correct readings, where  $Ag^1$ ,  $Ag^2$  and  $P^3$  contain mistakes. Here,  $Ag^3$  does not contain the correct text in opposition to the entirety of  $\epsilon$ , but rather in opposition to the three manuscripts  $Ag^1$ ,  $Ag^2$  and  $P^3$  (in particular their readings *ante correctionem*). I will later return to the relationship between these manuscripts and the rest of  $\epsilon$ . These instances are:

**1,3** inaccessibilem] incessabilem  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^2 P^3$ ; **3,10-11** sua potestate] suam potestatem  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^{2.a.c.} P^{3.a.c.}$ ; **5,11** hi] hic  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^2 P^3$ ; **6,8** se] *om.*; **25,5** negandos] negandos se  $Ag^{1.a.c.}$ , negando se  $Ag^2 P^{3.a.c.}$ ; **32,7** mortalem] immortalem  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^2 P^{3.a.c.}$ ; **37,25** si] sic  $Ag^{1.a.c.} Ag^2 P^3$ ; **40,10-11** adoptionem] -ionis; **46,13** lapsae] lapsa est.

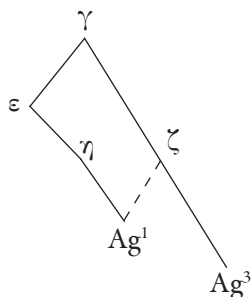


<sup>52</sup> *Bo*: Abbaye Saint-Vaast, Arras; *P<sup>2</sup>*: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Corbie; *Pm*: Couvent des Grands-Augustins; *So*: Abbaye de Clairmarais.

<sup>53</sup> *Bg<sup>1</sup>*: Abdij Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Ter Duinen, Koksijde; *Bg<sup>2</sup>*: Abdij Ter Doest; *Bx*: Abbaye Saint-Laurent, Liège; *Li*: Couvent des Croisiers.

The manuscripts  $Ag^1$  and  $Ag^2$  probably derive from the hyparchetype  $\eta$ . This hyparchetype contained following mistakes, unique for  $Ag^1$  and  $Ag^2$ :

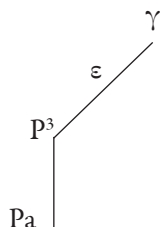
3,10-11 in sua potestate magnus] in suam potestatem agnus  $Ag^{1 a.c.}$   $Ag^{2 a.c.}$ ;  
5,27 eodem] eadem  $Ag^1$   $Ag^{2 a.c.}$ ; 22,12 dicturi] dicituri  $Ag^{1 a.c.}$   $Ag^2$ ; 33,4-5  
Manichaeus] Manichaeos  $Ag^{1 a.c.}$   $Ag^2$ .



In a large number of instances the text of  $Ag^1$  has undergone “corrections” (modifications to the text by a second hand). Some of these “corrected” readings are only shared with  $Ag^3$ . These instances are:

10,6 damnet] damnat *p.c.*; 12,6 saecula eius] saecula *a.c.*, sua saecula *p.c.*; 14,3 secum] seu *p.c.*; 17,5 constitutionem] confutationem *p.c.*; 38,11 dicere] dicere possitis *p.c.*; 44,13 factorum] facturum *a.c.*, factura *p.c.*

$Ag^1$  (10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century) thus has been corrected by means of either  $Ag^3$  itself (11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century) or by means of a predecessor to or close relative of  $Ag^3$ . The handwriting of  $Ag^1$ 's corrections seems to suggest that the corrections were more or less contemporaneous with the original text of the manuscript.<sup>54</sup> Thus the corrector of  $Ag^1$  probably made use of a source belonging to the same subgroup within the  $\gamma$  family (and thus identical with or depending on  $\zeta$ ) rather than of  $Ag^3$  itself.



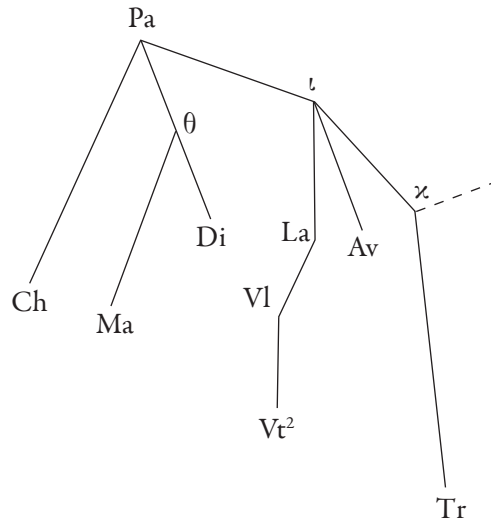
The remaining manuscripts depending on  $\gamma$  derive from  $Pa$ , which in turn was copied from  $P^3$ . Most errors of  $P^3$  have been retained in  $Pa$ . The very

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the style of writing of *dicere*, and, *in margine*, *possitis* in  $Ag^1$ , f. 55r, and *dicere possitis* in  $Ag^3$ , f. 135v.

few exceptions, in which *Pa* contains a correct reading against the reading of *P*<sup>3</sup> can usually be explained by means of the surrounding context (more evident grammatical form, biblical citation), and thus seem incidental. Most convincing common errors are those where *Pa* corresponds to *P*<sup>3p.c.</sup>. *Pa* itself contains multiple corrections itself. The readings of *Pa* (and of *Pa*<sup>p.c.</sup>) have been transmitted, subsequently, in *Av*, *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, *La*, *Tr*, *Vl*, *Vt*<sup>2</sup>. The following list contains the errors of *P*<sup>3</sup>:<sup>55</sup>

1,3 inaccessibilem] incessabilem *P*<sup>3</sup> *Pa*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 1,8 gloria] gloria honor et potestas; 7,7 nihil] omnino nihil; 14,7 tractibus] tractatibus; 14,10 lucidarum] lucidatorum; 17,9 principum] -em; 25,2 tibi] tibi est; 25,2 ei nuntiata esset] enuntiasset *P*<sup>3</sup> *Pa*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 32,3 Manichaeus] Manichaeus iniquus; 41,2 putetis] *om.* *P*<sup>3</sup> *Pa*<sup>a.c.</sup>; <sup>56</sup> 47,10 corruptus est ex parte] *om.*; 49,25 pacata] peccata.

Subsequently, the remaining eight manuscripts of  $\gamma$  (*Av*, *Ch*, *Di*, *La*, *Ma*, *Tr*, *Vl*, and *Vt*<sup>2</sup>) derive from *Pa*. The relation between these manuscripts and *Pa* is the following:



The following list contains instances where *Pa* either “corrected” readings of *P*<sup>3</sup> or where additional mistakes were introduced. As mentioned before, these additional errors could incidentally correspond to archetype readings attested elsewhere in the manuscript transmission. This is mostly the case

<sup>55</sup> This list contains all mistakes of *P*<sup>3</sup> and not necessarily all the mistakes common for  $\gamma$ . Unless specified, *Pa* retained the reading of *P*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> *Pa* corrected this omission by adding *dicatis* to the text, analogous to *dicitis* in the same sentence (cf. 41,2).

when the readings of  $\gamma$  or  $\varepsilon$  (as attested in  $Ag^1$ ,  $Ag^2$ , [ $Ag^3$ ], and  $P^3$ ) are obvious syntactical errors. The variants of  $Pa$  (new mistakes or incidental archetype readings) were then transmitted in  $Ch$ ,  $\theta$  and  $\iota$ :

3,7 et non iam erit] *om.*; 4,2-3 pererrauerunt] aberrauerunt; 5,11 hic] hi; 5,12 spiritu] -uum; 6,2 adactum] edactum  $Pa^{a.c.}$ , coactum  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 6,2 non] *del.*; 8,2-3 non stare ueritate] nostra reueritate  $P^3$ , errare ueritate  $Pa$ ;<sup>57</sup> 8,7 peccatoribus] de peccatoribus  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 13,3 qui] quod  $P^3 p.c.$ , quid  $Pa^{a.c.}$ , quo  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 14,3 magnitudines] manitudines; 15,7 hoc] ad hoc; 18,9 ut] *del.*; 20,6 nocebat] necebit  $Pa^{a.c.}$ , necebat  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 22,19 haec] hac  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 25,2 ei nuntiata esset] enuntiasset  $P^3 Pa^{a.c.}$ , ei nuntiasset  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 30,8 interimeret] interimere  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 37,3 superferebatur] ferebatur  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 38,25 earum] eorum  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 39,20 blasphemiiis] a blasphemiiis  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 40,17 uelut] ut uelut  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 41,2 putetis] *om.*  $Pa^{a.c.}$ , dicatis  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 46,13 lapsae et] lapsa est  $Pa^{a.c.}$ , lapsae  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 47,5 qui] cum  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 48,15 turbamini] turpamini  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 49,18 non] ne; 49,23 infimo] infirmo  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 49,34 illum] illud  $Pa^{p.c.}$ ; 49,36 resistit et] resistet  $Pa^{p.c.}$ .

The manuscripts depending on  $Pa^{p.c.}$  can be divided into three branches,  $\theta$  ( $Di$  and  $Ma$ ),  $\iota$  ( $Av$ ,  $La$ ,  $Tr$ ,  $Vl$ , and  $Vt^2$ ), and manuscript  $Ch$  respectively. It seems most likely that all three branches stemmed from  $Pa$  directly (thus without a common intermediary exemplar for the three branches), since there are almost no common errors in the three branches, which are not found in  $Pa$ . Only two readings are in common for these eight manuscripts, and not found in  $Pa^{p.c.}$ :

17,10-11 turpitudinem] turpidinem  $Pa$ , turpitudinem  $Av Ch Di La Ma Tr Vl Vt^2$ ; 20,6 nocebat] necebat  $Pa^{p.c.}$ , nocebat  $Av Ch Di La Ma Tr Vl Vt^2$ .

The first reading concerns a simple mistake in the spelling of  $Pa$ , which could have easily been corrected in all three branches independently. With regard to the second variant, it seems probable that the surrounding context in *De fide* evokes the more common and more logical reading *nocebat*, especially since this reading could still be found in  $Pa$  as the reading *ante correctionem*. Therefore, it does not seem necessary to presume an intermediary exemplar between  $Pa$  and the three branches. Hyparchetype  $\theta$  ( $Di$ ,  $Ma$ ) contains following errors:

2,1 huic] nunc; 16,6 habetur] -entur; 22,5 in] *om.*; 22,19 haec] hac  $Pa^{p.c.}$ , haec  $Di Ma$ ; 26,17 formam] formiter; 38,17 Egetis] egentes.

<sup>57</sup> This variant could suggest that  $Pa$  was not copied directly from  $P^3$ , but through an intermediary model. That model would then have corrected *nostra reueritate* to *non stare ueritate*. The expression *non stare* was then replaced by its near-synonym *errare*.

Hyparchetype  $\iota$  (*Av*, *La*, *Tr*, *Vl*, *Vt*<sup>2</sup>) is characterised by following mistakes:

14,9 et ideo] ideo; 14,9 speciem] -e; 14,0 lucidarum] lucidatorum *Ch*  
*Di Ma Pa*, lucida  $\iota$ ; 14,13 et mancipari] mancipari; 15,1 uero] ergo;  
 16,13 princeps] -cipes; 37,7 quia] quoniam; 40,17 coniux] coniunx;<sup>58</sup>  
 48,10 non] nos.

The hyparchetypes  $\theta$  and  $\iota$  have no errors in common which cannot be found in *Pa*, with the exception of the two variants listed above. This affirms that  $\theta$  and  $\iota$  constitute two separate branches. Likewise, *Ch* shares errors with  $\theta$  and  $\iota$  in as far as these errors can also be found in *Pa*, but does not share any of the characterising mistakes of  $\theta$  and  $\iota$ . Individual mistakes in *Ch* sufficiently prove that *Ch* constitutes a third, separate branch. Some examples of these errors are:

2,3 non creatus] increatus; 2,5-7 et erit ... immortalitatem] *om.*; 3,10  
 erunt] erant; 5,12 permiserint] -erunt; 6,2 adactum] coactum *Pa*  $\theta$   $\iota$ ,  
 eo actum *Ch*.

The two manuscripts depending on  $\theta$ , *Di* and *Ma*, contain individual mistakes each. The following lacunae sufficiently prove that neither of these manuscripts could have served as a model for the other:

2,6-7 sed quia ... habet immortalitatem] *om. Di*; 26,7 sed ego pono eam  
 a me] *om. Ma*; 26,23 suscepit, sed nec umquam] *om. Ma*; 32,7 quod  
 tenuerunt] *om. Di*; 38,29-30 ligare animas in carne] *om. Ma*.

Group  $\iota$  consists of three separate branches. Two of these branches are represented by one manuscript each, namely *Av* and *Tr*. These two manuscripts contain individual errors each. Some unique errors of *Av* are:

3,2 auctorem] auctorem a quo creatus sit; 5,20 affligerunt] affluerunt;  
 5,27 quas] quis; 11,4 subiungit] sub subiungit.

Following list contains several individual mistakes of *Tr*:

2,6 habeat] habet; 5,18-19 sua persecutione] persecutione sua; 7,1  
 iterum] item.

The third branch consists of *La*, *Vl* and *Vt*<sup>2</sup>. As will be demonstrated in a following paragraph, *Vt*<sup>2</sup> is a copy of *Vl*, itself a copy of *La*. At the moment it is still necessary to assess the relation between *Av*, *La* and *Tr*. In several instances, two manuscripts share a mistake, not found in the third. Altogether, however, both the low number of such instances and the nature of

<sup>58</sup> Although only a minor variation in spelling, it is striking that most manuscripts read *coniux* instead of *coniunx*.

these mistakes – either minor mistakes, mistakes that are easily corrected, or mistakes that could occur independently – seem to suggest these three manuscripts represent distinct branches of hyparchetype *ι*. The instances in which *Av* shares a mistake with *La* are:

2,5-7 et erit ... immortalitatem] *Tr*, sed quia apostolus mendax non est deus solus habet immortalitatem et erit iam mendax apostolos qui dicit de deo quod solus habeat immortalitatem *Av La*;<sup>59</sup> 10,6 auersionem] aduersionem; 19,1 praescientiam] praesentiam;<sup>60</sup> 49,32 requie nulli] requie nonnulli *Av La*, requie *Tr*;<sup>61</sup> 49,33 ut] aut *Av<sup>a.c.</sup> La<sup>a.c.</sup>*, ut *Av<sup>p.c.</sup> La<sup>p.c.</sup> Pa Tr*.

Mistakes common for *Av* and *Tr* are the following:

37,1 duorum] duum *Av Tr*, dum *La*;<sup>62</sup> 43,6-7 compararetur] comparatur *Av<sup>a.c.</sup> Tr*, comparatur *Av<sup>p.c.</sup>*.

The following errors are found in both *La* and *Tr*:

16,12 ac] hac; 38,9 domini] deum; 38,28 haec] hoc.

Interestingly, *Tr* contains some correct readings contrary to *Pa* or the other manuscripts of *ι*. These corrections, in other words, originate from another branch of the textual transmission (as they cannot derive from *Pa*), and thus the text of *Tr* is contaminated. These correct readings do not occur in *Tr* itself as a variant *post correctionem*, or as an addition *in margine* or *supra lineam*. Therefore, this contamination would have likely occurred in a predecessor of *Tr*, an intermediary model between *ι* and *Tr* (*κ*). The correct readings of *Tr*, in spite of the manuscript's dependence on *Pa/ι*, are the following:

2,5-7 et erit ... immortalitatem] *Tr*, sed quia apostolus mendax non est deus solus habet immortalitatem et erit iam mendax apostolos qui dicit de deo quod solus habeat immortalitatem *Av La Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*; 3,7 erit et non iam erit] non iam erit *Tr*, erit *Av La Pa Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*; 10,6 auersionem] *Tr*, aduersionem *Av La Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*; 14,3 magnitudines] *Tr*, manitudines *Av La Pa Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*; 14,7 tractibus] *Tr*, tractatibus *Av La Pa Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>59</sup> For this variant and the following, see also the discussion on *κ* below.

<sup>60</sup> Both *Av* and *La* use the abbreviation p\*sentiam, resembling *praesentiam* more probably than *praescientiam*. In *Av*, the same abbreviation is used later, where the context of the phrase would suggest the abbreviation p\*sentiam refers to *praescientiam* than *praesentiam* (cf. 19,8 *magna praescientia uel potius inscientia*). The abbreviation p\*sentiam could thus also simply signify *praescientiam*, although the abbreviation does not *prima facie* read as such.

<sup>61</sup> In this instance, *Tr* introduces a new, unique, mistake, omitting either *nulli* (*Pa*) or *nonnulli* (*Av La*; perhaps the hyparchetype reading of *ι*).

<sup>62</sup> Perhaps *duum* or *dum* was the hyparchetype reading of *ι*.

It seems impossible to assert which manuscript or branch was the source of  $\kappa$ 's (or  $Tr$ 's) correct readings. Some mistakes of  $Tr$  resemble typical readings of other known manuscripts, most notably  $Ag^3$  and  $Bg^l$ , but do not suggest one model in particular.<sup>63</sup>

The relation between the manuscripts  $La$ ,  $Vl$  and  $Vt^2$  is rather straightforward.  $Vt^2$  is a copy of  $Vl$ , itself a copy of  $La$ . All errors  $La$  contains in addition to those found in  $Pa$  and in addition to the errors common for  $\iota$ , are also found in  $Vl$ .  $La$  does not contain any additional individual mistakes viz-à-viz  $Vl$ , except when these mistakes of  $La$  are such clear errors (dittography of a word, syntactical errors) that  $Vl$ 's "corrections" of  $La$  are not unexpected. In addition to the errors common for  $La$  and  $Vl$ ,  $Vl$  does contain many additional errors as well. The mistakes of  $La$ , and the extent to which these mistakes were preserved in  $Vl$ , can be found in the following list:

3,6 bonum a malo] malum a bono; 5,10 Dei] *om.*; 5,14 decebat] dicebat; 5,25 configentur] confingentur; 12,2 regna illa] illa regna; 14,8 ac] et; 19,1 praescientiam] praesentiam; 23,7 femineam] feminam; 24,8 uero] ergo; 25,6 terrenus] diuinus; 29,4 nostram] uestram; 37,1 duorum] dum; 37,10 incognita] cognita; 37,21 aliquis] quis; 37,26 minatur] mittatur; 39,18 uos] nos; 49,1 enim] autem; 49,32 requie nulli] requie nonnulli; 49,39 ubera] ubera et.

$Vt^2$  contains all the readings of  $Vl$  listed above in addition to the subsequent errors of  $Vl$ . These errors of  $Vl$  are the following:

2,3 ingenuus] unigenitus; 5,16 se] *om.*; 7,4 cum] tamen; 9,4 in quantum sunt] *om.*; 9,11 uidet] -ens; 11,2 constituto] constructo; 15,2 quaeque] neque; 16,3 satis] sacris; 16,10 quaeque] quae; 17,13 inueniat] eueniat; 22,20 uestri] nostri; 23,10 cum] *om.*; 24,13 non] *om.*; 25,12 suscepisse ut] suscepissent; 27,5 ingressus] ingressus est; 28,1 uos] nos; 34,4 huiusmodi] huius; 35,10 medietatem] meditatione; 35,10 nosse] nolle; 36,4 a gente] gentis; 38,17 reddere] credere; 38,20 ut] cum; 38,30 mentitum] maritum; 39,17 aperte] a parte; 40,10-11 adoptionem] -es; 42,5 nos] uos; 43,3 timendum] timidum; 43,11 et] *om.*; 43,11-12 degenerans] de generatis; 44,10 posse quia] possit; 45,5 non festinaueritis] infestinaueritis; 46,2 in] etiam; 46,16 quem] quoniam; 47,5 qui cum] cum cum  $La$ , cum eum  $Vl$   $Vt^2$ ; 48,13 uestram] nostram; 48,15 turbamini] turpiamini; 49,10 uobis] nobis; 49,16 me] *om.*; 49,25 esse] *om.*; 49,27 illa] *om.*; 49,30 iam<sup>1</sup>] *om.*

$Vl$  has no errors which are not preserved in  $Vt^2$ . In addition to all errors common for  $Vl$  and  $Vt^2$ ,  $Vt^2$  contains various individual mistakes. These

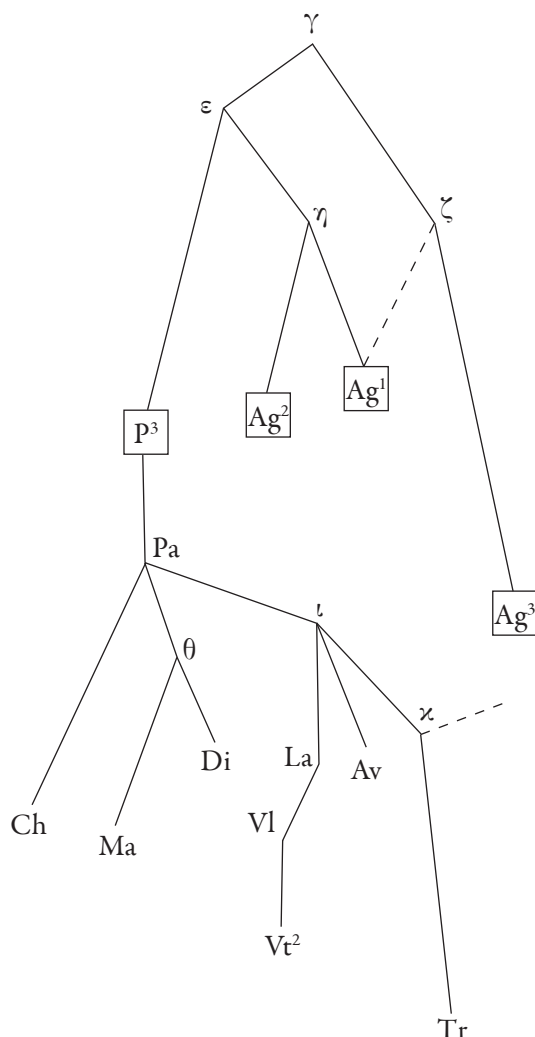
<sup>63</sup> 7,4 conatus] coactus  $Ag^3$   $Bg^l$   $Gr$ ; 33,7-8 coinquinatione] uel coinquinatione  $Ag^3$   $Bg^l$   $Ox$ ; 37,20 aut] ut  $Ag^3$   $Bo$   $Bg^l$   $Bg^2$   $Bx$   $Li$   $Pm$   $So$ ; 38,19 exornans] exorans  $Bo$   $Bg^2$   $Bx$   $Li$   $P^2$   $Pm$   $So$ .



mistakes, of which the following list sums up some omissions, prove that *Vt*<sup>2</sup> was copied from *Vl*. These omissions are:

21,3 o] *om.*; 40,3-4 in gloria seminatur in infirmitate surget] *om.*; 44,1 o] *om.*;<sup>64</sup> 49,5 iam] *om.*; 49,36 quae] *om.*

To synthesize, the relations between the manuscripts within  $\gamma$  are the following:



<sup>64</sup> This omission of *o* has an impact on the composition of *De fide* within the manuscript. In *P*<sup>3</sup> and all manuscripts derived from *P*<sup>3</sup>, the treatise is divided in 49 chapters (48 chapters for the manuscripts of *ι*). Among these manuscripts, the interjection *o* – the first letter of the chapter – is a decorated initial at the beginning of the 44<sup>th</sup> chapter. Because *Vt*<sup>2</sup> omitted the *o*, the first letter *D* of *Detestandum* is instead the decorated initial.

Since a majority of manuscripts of  $\gamma$  derive from  $P^3$ , only four manuscripts of this family need to be taken in consideration for the reconstruction of the archetype text of *De fide*, namely  $Ag^1$ ,  $Ag^2$ ,  $Ag^3$  and  $P^3$ . The remaining manuscripts (*Av Ch Di La Ma Pa Tr Vl Vt<sup>2</sup>*) can only contain further mistakes viz-à-viz  $P^3$ . A distinction can thus be made between the first four manuscripts and the latter nine. This distinction is serviceable in the sense that it reveals a new set of hyparchetype reading of  $\gamma$ . These readings were altered in  $P^3$  or  $Pa$  (in both cases either *ante correctionem* or *post correctionem*) and were thus not retained in subsequent manuscripts. These “new” hyparchetype readings of  $\gamma$  are:

39,7 de] *om.*; 46,1 eligit] *legite*; 47,9 quia<sup>2</sup>] *qui*; 48,13 partes] *pars*  
 $Ag^3$ , partis  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$ ; 49,34 est] *om.*  $Ag^{1.a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $Ag^{3.a.c.}$   $P^3$ , est  $Ag^{1.p.c.}$   $Ag^{3.p.c.}$ .

Geographically, the predominance of manuscripts from Angers is evident. Three important and early manuscripts were written in Angers,<sup>65</sup> and two additional hyparchetypes,  $\eta$  and  $\zeta$ , can be linked exclusively to these three Angers manuscripts. The text of  $\gamma$  is also well attested throughout France. Both  $P^3$  and  $Pa$  have their origins in Paris.<sup>66</sup> The text of  $Pa$  was then copied throughout France<sup>67</sup> and beyond, both to the north (present Belgium, Germany)<sup>68</sup> and to the south (Italy, Spain).<sup>69</sup> The influence of the manuscripts  $P^3$  and its later copy  $Pa$  on the whole of the transmission of *De fide* is also apparent. The modern division in 49 chapters first occurred in  $P^3$  and was preserved in  $Pa$ , and, subsequently, in *Ch*, *Di*, and *Ma*. In *Av*, *La*, *Tr*, *Vl*, and *Vt<sup>2</sup>* (cf.  $\iota$ ), the treatise is divided in 48 chapters (the notification of the 47<sup>th</sup> chapter is missing in this group). The modern title *De fide contra Manichaeos* also has its origins in this branch of the transmission. In  $P^3$ , Augustine’s *De fide et symbolo* preceded *De fide*.<sup>70</sup> The *explicit* of *De fide et symbolo* started at the last line of f. 62v (*explicit in christo iesu filio dei tractatus*), and continued on f. 63r (*aurelii augustini episcopi de fide catholica*). The next line then contains the *incipit* of *De fide* (*incipit aduersus*

<sup>65</sup> Provenance of  $Ag^1$  and  $Ag^3$ : Abbaye Saint-Aubin;  $Ag^2$ : Abbaye Saint-Serge.

<sup>66</sup>  $P^3$ : Saint-Maur des Fossés, Paris;  $Pa$ : Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

<sup>67</sup> *Av*: Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel; *Di*: Abbaye Notre-Dame de Cîteaux; *La*: *Cathédrale Notre-Dame*.

<sup>68</sup> *Ch*: Abbaye Saint-Jacques de Liège; *Tr*: Benediktinerabtei St Matthias, Trier.

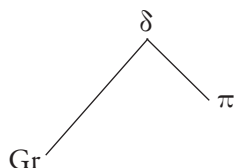
<sup>69</sup> *Vl*: Monasterio de San Miguel de los Reyes; *Vt<sup>2</sup>*: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; *Ma*: Duomo di Messina. Hombert (*Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 54.56.273) argues that, judging from the typical French gothic scripture, these three manuscripts were originally written in France. This certainly makes sense for *Vl*, a copy of *La*, and *Vt<sup>2</sup>*, itself a copy of *Vl*.

<sup>70</sup> See also the note made by the Maurists in their edition of *De fide: Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus octauus*, appendix, cols 23-24.

*manicheos*). In *Pa*, both elements found on *P*<sup>3</sup>'s f. 63r were combined into a new *incipit* for *De fide: aurelii augustini episcopi de fide catholica incipit aduersus manicheos*. This *incipit*, first found in *Pa*, has also been preserved in *Av*, *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, and *Tr*.<sup>71</sup> For the sake of continuity with the modern scholarly tradition, it seems opportune to continue to use the title *De fide contra Manichaeos*. It should be noted that this is a pragmatic choice, and this title does not reflect the archetype *incipit* of the treatise. The title used in the critical edition, however, will indeed reflect the *incipit* most convincingly preserved in the manuscript transmission.

#### d. Family $\delta$

The relation between the manuscripts is perhaps the most complex in the case of family  $\delta$ .<sup>72</sup> To reiterate, the *siglum*  $\delta$  signifies the hyparchetype of the manuscripts *Gr*, *Kl*, *Mü*, *Ox*, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *F*, *Vt*<sup>1</sup> and *Zw*. The position of the remaining manuscript, *P*<sup>1</sup>, will be clarified at the end of this section.



A first distinction can be made between *Gr* and the rest of  $\delta$  ( $\pi$ ). In the following instances, *Gr* retained an archetype reading, whereas  $\pi$  introduced new mistakes:

14,4 clementia fert] clementi affert *Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, clementia affert *Kl Ox F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*;<sup>73</sup> 15,9 tenebatur] tenebratur; 22,13 ibi] ubi; 29,2 cum] unde *Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, unde quia *Kl F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, unde igitur *Ox*; 37,19 ut] aut *Kl Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, om. *Ox*; 37,28 necandas] *Gr Ox*, negandas *Kl Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*; 38,20 fucationibus] *Gr Ox*, fugationibus *Kl P*<sup>4</sup> *F Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, fugacioribus *Mü*; 40,2 resurget] -it; 40,3-4 surget ... surget ... surget] -it ... -it ... -it.

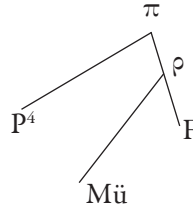
<sup>71</sup> *La* and its subsequent copies have a different *incipit*: *liber beati augustini contra manicheos*.

<sup>72</sup> Perhaps indicative of the complexity of this family is the disagreement between the stemma of MÜLLER/WEBER/WEIDMANN (*Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 68) and that of HOMBERT (*Conlatio cum Maximino; Contra Maximinum*, p. 347-361).

<sup>73</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, the lemma corresponds to both the archetype reading preserved in *Gr*, while the faulty variant corresponds to the whole of  $\pi$ .

However, *Gr* also contains multiple individual errors. Some examples are:

1,1 unus] unus uerus; 1,1 sanctus] *om.*; 2,6 habeat] -et; 2,6-7 sed ... immortalitatem] *om.*



Among the remaining manuscripts of  $\delta$ , one distinct group consists of *Kl*, *Ox*, *F*, *Vt*<sup>1</sup> and *Zw*. Manuscripts *Kl*, *Ox*, *Vt*<sup>1</sup> and *Zw* derive from *F post correctionem*. It is first necessary to consider the relation between *Mü*, *P*<sup>4</sup>, and *F*. It is difficult to discern the relation between these three manuscripts, although the common errors of *Mü* and *F* suggest these two manuscripts depend on a hyparchetype ( $\rho$ ). The common errors of *Mü* and *F* seem more convincing than those mistakes shared between *Mü* and *P*<sup>4</sup> or between *P*<sup>4</sup> and *F*. The mistakes shared between *Mü* and *F* (in particular *ante correctionem*) are the following:

2,7 habet] -eat *Mü F*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 5,27 relictæ] -o *P*<sup>4</sup>, -a *Mü F*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 8,4 iudicabimus] -auimus *Mü F*<sup>p.c.</sup>, iudiuimus *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 21,17 est] *om.*; 22,19 iam] *om.*; 30,6 ille] -a *Mü F*, -ae *P*<sup>4</sup>; 34,4 in] *om.*; 38,27 respondentis] -entes; 39,17 magnifica] -ata; 40,12 ecclesiae] -a; 44,5 facit] -iat; 44,9 exanime est] ex anima esse.

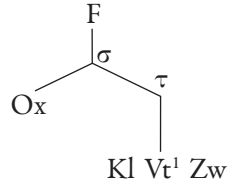
In all likelihood, *Mü* and *F* are more closely related to each other than to *P*<sup>4</sup>. The similarities between *P*<sup>4</sup> and *Mü* on the one hand<sup>74</sup> and *P*<sup>4</sup> and *F* on the other hand<sup>75</sup> seem mostly incidental. In those cases, the shared mistake is often a word (or word form) at odds with the surrounding syntactical context. It is likely that this type of error was actually a characteristic reading of the hyparchetype  $\pi$ , which afterwards could have been “corrected” to a grammatically more correct form in a subsequent manuscript.<sup>76</sup> The common errors of *Mü* and *F* are somewhat different both in number and in nature. The most convincing mistakes in this regard are the few

<sup>74</sup> 4,2 quam] quem; 5,21 passae] passi; 12,4 sic] si; 15,9 hac occasione] ac occasionem; 19,9 tueri] tuere; 35,5 gentis] gentes; 36,1 hominibus] omnibus; 37,2 uelletis] uelitis.

<sup>75</sup> 5,1-2 uoluntaria] uoluntarie *P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 7,1 eadem] eandem *P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 12,13 fine] finem; 25,9 enim est] est enim; 38,7 figura] figuram; 39,8 oratum] orandum.

<sup>76</sup> For example, when *Mü* and *P*<sup>4</sup> read *quem* instead of *quam* in 4,2, perhaps this mistake was typical for  $\pi$ . The copyist of *F* could have changed this erroneous reading to the grammatically evident form *quam* (*cupiditas, quam ...*) instead of *quem*.

omissions *Mü* and *F* have in common. Therefore, it seems likely *Mü* and *F* derive from a hyparchetype  $\varrho$ .



The position of *F* is essential for the reconstruction of  $\delta$ . *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> contains a large number of hyparchetype readings of  $\delta$  (or of  $\pi$  or  $\varrho$ ), with parallels in *Gr*, *Mü* and *P*<sup>4</sup>. The remaining manuscripts (*Kl*, *Ox*, *Vt*<sup>1</sup> and *Zw*) have transmitted the unique mistakes of *F* (or the “corrections” found in *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>):

3,5 aeternum<sup>1</sup>] aeternum uel aeternus *F*(uel -nus *sup. l.*), aeternum *Ox*, aeternus *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*; 5,10 animas] -abus *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; <sup>77</sup> 5,27 relictas] relictas luce *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Ox Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, luce relictas *Kl*; 6,2 adactum] audactum siue sedatum *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>(*add. in marg. m*<sup>2</sup>) *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, sedatum *Ox*; <sup>78</sup> 6,8 se] *om. Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, se *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 7,1 eadem] eandem *P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, eadem *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 7,1 subsiciuam] subsiciuam uel succidiuam *F*(uel succidiuam *in marg.*), succidiuam *Kl Ox Zw*, succindam *Vt*<sup>1</sup>; 8,8 est] est id est mali *F*(id est mali *in marg.*) *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*; 11,5-6 surgeret] surgeret se *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 12,6 impenderet] se impenderet *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Ox Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 14,1 turpitudine] turpitudine sit; 14,4 clementia fert] clementi affert *Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> *Vt*<sup>1</sup>, clementia affert *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Kl Ox Zw*; 14,9 inuestium] inuestium uel inuestitorium *F*(-torum *add. sup. l.*), inuestitorium *Kl Zw*, inuestium *Ox, om. Vt*<sup>1</sup>; 15,6-7 inuestium] inuestium id est inuestitorium *F*(id est inuestitorium *add. sup. l.*), id est inuestitorium *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, inuestium *Ox*; 16,13 princeps] -es *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 21,17 est] *om.*; 22,4-5 proprietatem linguae] proprie talem linguae usum *F*, proprietatem linguae usum *Kl Ox*, proprietatem linguae usum *Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*; 22,19 iam] *om.*; 24,16 filius] -um *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 25,2 nuntiata] *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> *Ox*, -tum *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*<sup>p.c.</sup>, -tur *Zw*<sup>a.c.</sup>; 29,2 cum] unde *Mü P*<sup>4</sup> *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, unde quia *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, unde igitur *Ox*; 32,1 rationales] -iones *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, -ionabiles *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; <sup>79</sup> 34,4 in] *om.*; 35,6 ad sphaeram] ad hanc speram *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*, speram *Ox*; 37,4 Adam] *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> *Ox*, ad Adam *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> *Kl Vt*<sup>1</sup> *Zw*; 37,15 uobis] *om.*; 39,8 oratum] orandum *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 40,27 possidebit] -bunt *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 42,3 peccatorum uestrorum] errare peccatorum uestrorum pondere *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>(errare *et pondere sup. l.*); 42,6 credamus] -atis *F Kl*

<sup>77</sup> Unless specified otherwise, *Kl Ox Vt*<sup>1</sup> and *Zw* share the reading of *F* or *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> *F*, f. 66v contains indications that specify *audactum* or [*siue*] *sedatum* as alternatives for *edactum*, which is found in the main text. The scribe of the Oxford manuscript had chosen for one of the two alternatives, whereas the other three manuscripts include the entire marginal note of *F* in their texts.

<sup>79</sup> Perhaps *F* was first corrected to *rationales*; the letters *al* (*sup. l.*) seem to have faded away, whereas the second correction -*abiles* (*in marg.*) remains legible.

*Zw*, -atur *Ox*, *om.* *Vt<sup>l</sup>*; 43,4 subsiciuam] succidiuam *F*(*in marg.*); 44,9 est] esse *F Kl Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*, sit *Ox*; 46,1 aut] atque; 46,12 ei] ei que *F<sup>p.c.</sup>*; 46,13 lapsae] lapsa est.

As a whole, *Kl*, *Ox*, *Vt<sup>l</sup>* and *Zw* share several new mistakes, which are not found in *F*. This implies the four manuscripts as a group derive from an intermediary hyparchetype ( $\sigma$ ). These errors are:

2,4 habeat solus] solus habeat; 11,4 uero] uere; 15,9 tenebatur] tenebratur *F<sup>a.c.</sup> Kl Ox Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*, tenebatur *F<sup>p.c.</sup>*; <sup>80</sup> 19,2 monstraret] ostenderet; 29,4 opponatis] -itis; 37,18 uel] et; 38,14 declarauit] -bit; 38,23 apostolum Andream] Andream apostolum; 47,7 qui] quia *Kl Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*, quoniam *Ox*.

Additionally, *Kl*, *Vt<sup>l</sup>* and *Zw* have a significant amount of errors in common, which do not derive from *F*, and are not found in *Ox*. These mistakes are:

3,4 ingenitum<sup>1</sup>] -us; 3,5 aeternum<sup>1</sup>] -us; 3,11 potestate] maiestate *Kl Zw*, *om.* *Vt<sup>l</sup>*; 5,26 cui] suis; 5,27 relictæ] luce relictæ *Kl*, relictæ luce *Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*; 6,2 adactum] audactum siue sedatum; 8,8 quisque] quisquis; 8,8 est] est id est mali; 12,10 commixta] commixtio; 15,2 inferna] inferni; 15,6-7 inuestium] id est inuestitorum; 16,5 ignem] igneam; 17,9-10 confudit] confusae; 18,2 incorruptibilis] inconuertibilis; 19,1 fieri] facere; 24,16 penetratur] uulneratur; 24,18 quamquam] quam; 25,7 et] nec; 25,11 coinquinatam] -um; 25,19 credantur] credant; 26,4 quid] quod; 26,5 quo] quod; 26,24 mundo] mundando *Kl Zw*, mundanto *Vt<sup>l</sup>*; 32,8 clauis] clauibus *Kl Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw<sup>a.c.</sup>*, clauis *Zw<sup>p.c.</sup>*; 36,2 uestri] nostri; 36,3 pomis] ponis *Kl Vt<sup>l</sup>*, penis *Zw*; 36,13 sed] uel; 38,14 altero] alio; 39,12 poterit dicere] dicere potuit *Kl Vt<sup>l</sup>*, dicere poterit *Zw*; 39,13 intelligentes] -entis; 40,9 peccati] -o; 40,24 commutationem] communionem; 42,2 licet] lucet; 44,3 quicquid] quid *Kl<sup>a.c.</sup> Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*, quod *Kl<sup>p.c.</sup>*; 44,9 exanime est] anima esse; 44,10 irrationalem] -abilem; 44,12 rationalem autem] rationalem autem animam *Kl*, rationalem animam autem *Vt<sup>l</sup> Zw*; 46,6-7 neque aliquid eius immutari potest, quia totus incommutabilis est] *om.*; 47,12 tectum] tentum.

These errors imply a common hyparchetype ( $\tau$ ) for the three manuscripts *Kl*, *Vt<sup>l</sup>* and *Zw*. Although there are several instances in which *Kl* and *Vt<sup>l</sup>* share a mistake not found in *Zw*,<sup>81</sup> and similarly, *Vt<sup>l</sup>* and *Zw* also share

<sup>80</sup> *F* contains the reading *tenebratur*. The *r* is underlined, indicating the letter ought to be omitted. It seems more probable that one model ( $\sigma$ ) misread this indication and copied *tenebratur* in spite of *F*'s apparent correction, than that this mistake was reproduced independently in the different manuscripts.

<sup>81</sup> 12,3 erit] erat; 21,4 mali] mari; 24,21 illi] -a; 25,2 tibi] tibi est; 37,8 dementia] clementia.

some mistakes not found in *Kl*,<sup>82</sup> it seems most likely these three manuscripts constitute three separate copies of the text of hyparchetype  $\tau$ .

The unique manuscript *Ox* merits additional attention. The scribe of *Ox* copied his model in a liberal and creative way. He did not shy away from using synonyms,<sup>83</sup> from changing the word order of his model,<sup>84</sup> from omitting small portions of sentences, sometimes deliberately,<sup>85</sup> or from bringing additions to the text.<sup>86</sup> The scribe is obviously adept at Latin. When it comes to bible citations, he often abbreviates words and gives additions. The changes to biblical citations are almost always normalisations to conform the citations to the Vulgate reading.<sup>87</sup> Because of its many particularities, it is hard to judge where exactly *Ox* fits in within the whole of  $\delta$  and more particularly with regard to its most near manuscripts, namely *F*, *Kl*, *Vt*<sup>l</sup> and *Zw*. In some instances, *Ox* contains an archetype reading in spite of its dependence on *F*.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, I believe these archetype readings are incidental and can be attributed to the characteristic style of the *Ox* scribe, who would often adjust his model text. The amount of instances in which *Ox* corresponds to *F* is far more overwhelming than the amount of instances in which *Ox* contains an archetype reading where *F* does not. The composition of *Ox* also supports the hypothesis that *Ox* derives from *F*.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> 19,2 se habere] habere a se *Vt*<sup>l</sup>, habere se *Zw*; 32,10 phantasmata] fasma *Vt*<sup>l</sup> *Zw*<sup>a.c.</sup>, fantasma *Zw*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 37,10 mirari] -e *Vt*<sup>l</sup> *Zw*<sup>a.c.</sup>, -i *Zw*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 38,19 suam] suum.

<sup>83</sup> e.g. 2,6 quia] quoniam; 9,3 enim] ergo.

<sup>84</sup> e.g. 1,6 dominationes siue principatus] principatus siue dominationes; 2,2 habere auctorem] auctorem habere.

<sup>85</sup> A particularly creative omission is that of *et* in the phrase *subiungit et dicit* (11,4), which he rephrases into *subiungit dicens*.

<sup>86</sup> e.g. 5,25 praedicto] praedicto illo; 6,2 propriae] nisi propriae.

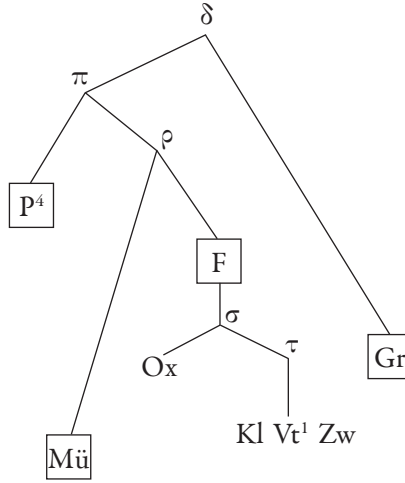
<sup>87</sup> e.g. 25,14 ego sum ueritas] ego sum u. et u. et u; 40,10-11 adoptionem expectantes redemptionem corporis nostri] adoptionem filiorum exsp. redpt. corp. nostri.

<sup>88</sup> 3,5 bonum malo] *Ox*, bono malum *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 25,2 nuntiata] *Ox*, -um *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>; 35,6 ad illam] *Ox*, ut illa *F*; 37,28 necandas] *Ox*, negandas *Mü* *P*<sup>f</sup> *F*; 38,20 fucationibus] *Ox*, fugationibus *P*<sup>f</sup> *F*, fugacioribus *Mü*; 39,17 magnifica] *Ox*, -ata *Mü* *F*; 46,1 eligit] *Ox*, legite *F*.

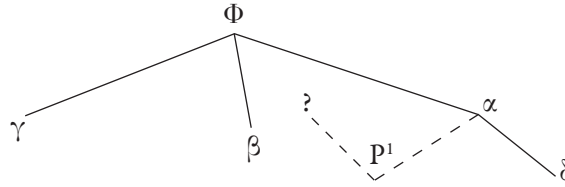
<sup>89</sup> Both manuscripts contain a fragment of Ambrose's *De mysteriis* (F, f. 15v-16v [*des.: in hac fide mundo mortuus*]; *Ox*, f. 17r-18v. [*des.: in hac fide mortuus mundo*]). The fragment seemed to have originally been inserted in *F* between *Aduersus quinque haereses* (f. 1r-14v) and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (f. 17r-54v), the latter text being written on a new section of the manuscript (i.e. at the beginning of the third quire of the book). The text of Ambrose was thus inserted in the empty space between *Aduersus quinque haereses* and the beginning of the third quire. At the end of f. 16v (the end of the second quire), the text cuts short mid-sentence. Cf. Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 4, 21-23, ed. O. FALLER S.J., *Sancti Ambrosii opera pars VII*, Vienna, 1955 (CSEL, 73), p. 97: *In hac fide mundo mortuus es, deo resurrexisti, et quasi in illo mundi consepultus elemento, peccato mortuus ad uitam es resuscitatus aeternam*. The presence of this fragment in both *F* and *Ox* could confirm the dependence of *Ox* on *F*. First, *Ox* introduced a new mistake at the end of the fragment (*mortuus mundo* instead of *mundo*



To summarize, the relations between the manuscripts of  $\delta$  are as follows:



Similarly to the manuscript  $P^3$  in  $\gamma$ ,  $F$  effectively divides  $\delta$  in two groups: those that derive from  $F$ , and those that do not. This distinction is relevant when considering the hyparchetype readings of  $\delta$  and the relation between  $\delta$  and  $P^I$ .



In any case,  $P^I$  does not share any of the characteristic mistakes of both  $\gamma$  and  $\beta$ . For the reconstruction of the possible relation between  $\delta$  and  $P^I$ , it is of primary importance to compare the readings of  $P^I$  with  $Gr$ ,  $Mü$ ,

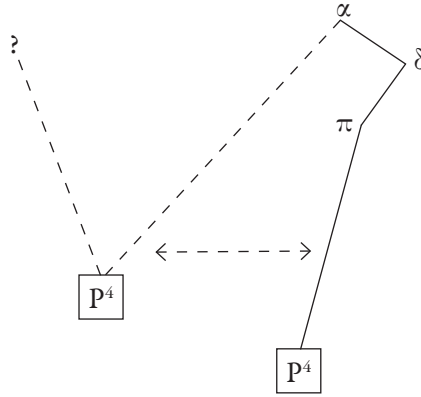
*mortuus*). Second, if the model of  $Ox$  had a more complete version of *De mysteriis*, the manuscript provided ample space for a further continuation on the text. As it stands, the text comes to an abrupt halt halfway f. 18v, after which a blank f. 18b is inserted, before *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* starts on f. 19r. The lack of the Ambrose fragment in  $Kl$ ,  $Vt^1$  and  $Zw$  could probably be due to the “editorial activity” in the intermediary hyparchetype  $\tau$ . There, the fragment could have been omitted because it was obviously incomplete. Third,  $Ox$  did not retain the original sequence of works found in the archetype (*Aduersus quinque haereses* – *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* – *De fide et symbolo* – *De fide contra Manichaeos* – *Conlatio cum Maximino* – *Contra Maximinum* – *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*) and in  $F$ . Instead,  $Ox$  contains *De fide et symbolo*, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, *Aduersus quinque haereses*, the fragment of Ambrose’s *De Mysteriis Sacramentorum*, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, *Conlatio cum Maximino*, and *Contra Maximinum*.



$P^4$  and  $F$  (in particular *ante correctionem*) instead of with the whole of  $\delta$ . In my opinion,  $P^I$  is either an independent manuscript, separate from the three families, or it depends on a hyparchetype between  $\Phi$  and  $\delta$  ( $\alpha$ ). These are the instances in which  $P^I$  shares a mistake with (a selection of) the four aforementioned manuscripts of  $\delta$ :<sup>90</sup>

14,2 scribit] scripsit; 21,10 infirmitatis] -em  $M\ddot{u}$   $P^I$   $P^4$   $F$ ; 24,21 illi] illa  $Gr^{a.c.}$   $P^I$   $P^4$ ; 36,1 hominibus] omnibus  $M\ddot{u}$   $P^I$   $P^4$ ; 38,27 respondentis] -entes  $M\ddot{u}$   $P^I$   $F$ ; 41,3 miserabili] mirabili  $Gr^{a.c.}$   $P^4$ , mirabile  $P^I$ ; 42,2 licet] lucet  $Gr^{a.c.}$   $M\ddot{u}$   $P^I$   $P^4$ ; 46,2 spiritum sanctum] sanctum spiritum  $Gr$   $P^I$   $P^4$ ; 48,15 turbamini] turpamini  $M\ddot{u}$   $P^I$   $P^{4a.c.}$   $F$ .

Overall, the low frequency and the ambiguous nature of these variants do not convincingly prove an affinity between  $P^I$  and  $\delta$ . In some sense,  $P^I$  remains a manuscript *sui generis*.



There seem to be, however, some ties between  $P^I$  and one representative of  $\delta$  in particular, namely  $P^4$ . There are a few instances in which  $P^I$  shares a mistake with  $P^4$ . In both manuscripts these mistakes usually do not manifest themselves as readings *post correctionem*. These mistakes are:<sup>91</sup>

3,1 quam] quod; 13,3 dolorem] -e; 15,3 momento] memento; 15,11-12 suae patriae transfretationem] sua patria et transfretatione  $P^I$ , sua patria transfretatione  $P^4$ ; 21,20 uincere] -eret  $P^I$   $P^{4p.c.}$ ; 26,5 quo] quod; 30,7 ut] et; 47,2 malo] mala.

<sup>90</sup> Admittedly, some of these readings can also be found in the more ancient manuscripts of other branches of the transmission. Cf. the critical apparatus of the edition.

<sup>91</sup> Some of these readings can also be found in other manuscripts. Cf. the critical apparatus of the edition.

While there seems to be some affinity between  $P^I$  and  $P^4$ ,<sup>92</sup> it is unclear how the two manuscripts are related. It is true that the provenance and date of  $P^I$  most closely corresponds to that of  $P^4$ .<sup>93</sup> The two abbeys in which these manuscripts were written could have enjoyed some correspondence or exchange of texts. Nevertheless, the nature of the common errors of  $P^I$  and  $P^4$  does not allow for a clear view on the exact relation between these two exemplars.

With regard to the geographical circulation of family  $\delta$ , two of the earliest manuscripts originate from southern France.<sup>94</sup> Presence of the branch's surviving codices in Bavaria<sup>95</sup> and especially in Austria<sup>96</sup> implies a northward and then eastward circulation of the text. One striking characteristic of the family  $\delta$  is its *lacuna* at the end of the treatise.<sup>97</sup> Other texts of the original collection *Aduersus duas haereses* have been preserved intact in the family. Thus, this *lacuna* only pertains to the ending of *De fide*, and seems most likely to have resulted from a codicological accident in the hyparchetype  $\delta$ . The collection could have, possibly, have been planned to be copied on separate quires, which would afterwards be sewn together. The text of *Conlatio cum Maximino* would have been intended to start on a new quire after *De fide*, while *De fide* was to be copied on the immediately preceding quire. During the copying process, however, the quire on which *De fide* would have been written appeared to have insufficient space for the entirety of the treatise. Because the following quire would have already been occupied by the beginning of *Conlatio cum Maximino*, the codex would have been finalised without the final lines of *De fide*.

This hypothesis may not be entirely convincing. On the one hand, a somewhat similar situation seemed to have occurred in  $F$ ,<sup>98</sup> where an incomplete text of Ambrose (f. 15v-16v) was inserted between the end of *Aduersus quinque haereses* on the second quire and the beginning of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* on the third quire. The text of Ambrose's text

<sup>92</sup> A similar hypothesis is suggested by HOMBERT (*Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 359-361) and MÜLLER/WEBER/WEIDMANN (*Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 55-56) in their respective editions.

<sup>93</sup>  $P^I$ : Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Moissac, 10<sup>th</sup> c.;  $P^4$ : Abbaye Saint-Victor de Marseille, early 11<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>94</sup> *Gr*: Grande Chartreuse;  $P^4$ : Abbaye Saint-Victor de Marseille.

<sup>95</sup> *Mü*: Kloster Tegernsee.

<sup>96</sup> *Kl*: Augustiner Chorherrenstift; *Ox*: Stift Engelszell; *F*: Stift Sankt Florian; *Zw*: Stift Zwettl. The provenance of  $Vt^I$  has not yet been traced further back than its present repository in Vatican City. Its close acquaintance with *Kl* and *Zw* could suggest, possibly, that this manuscript was originally written in Austria too, and only afterwards transferred to Italy.

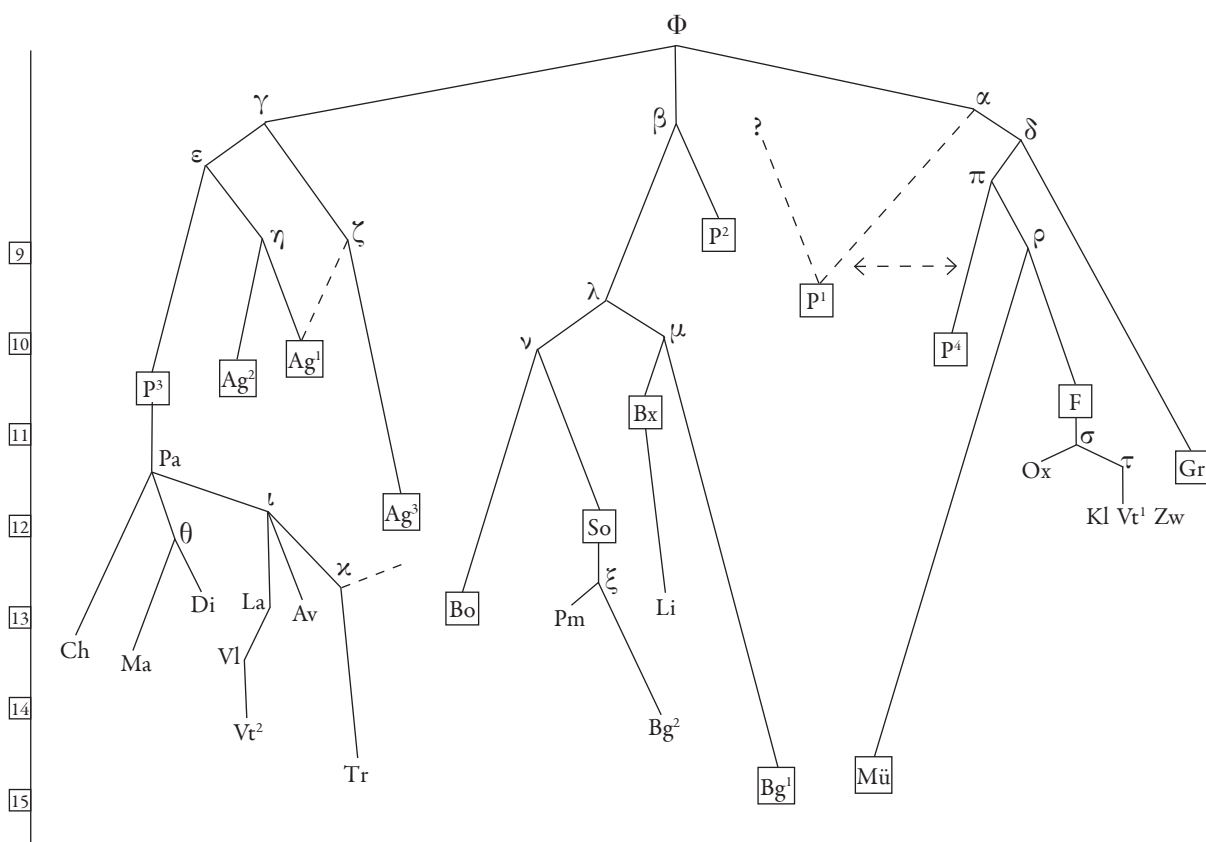
<sup>97</sup> 49,29-39: quomodo ... conuolate] *om*.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the discussion on  $F$ 's composition, n. 89 (above, p. 31-32).

cuts off mid-sentence at the end of the second quire and was not finished afterwards. On the other hand, the same manuscript contains evidence of how a scribe could still add small sheets of parchment in order to finish an otherwise incomplete text.<sup>99</sup> In another manuscript, *La*, another solution is offered: there, another scribe added the missing text of Augustine's *De immortalitate* (f. 12r-16v) at the bottom of f. 14r-14v, where space was available.

### e. Additional Remarks on the Textual Transmission

The textual transmission of *De fide* as a whole can be represented as follows:



<sup>99</sup> See *F*'s f. 77 and f. 81. The addition of these two smaller sheets explains why the tenth quire of the manuscript (f. 73r-82v) counts ten folia instead of the usual eight (cf. quire 9: f. 65r-72v; quire 11: f. 83r-90v).

The present edition of *De fide* is an eclectic edition. The text will be a reconstruction of the archetype text based on a selection of extant manuscripts. Of all 30 manuscripts, 14 will be included in the apparatus. These manuscripts are *Ag*<sup>1</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So*, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *Gr*, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü* and *F*.<sup>100</sup> In other words, all *codices descripti* will not be considered for the reconstruction of the archetype text. While the general outlines of the textual transmission of *De fide* are rather clear – there are three major families in addition to one more or less independent manuscript – there are a few important issues with regard to the archetype worth mentioning.

The earliest extant manuscript of *De fide*, *P*<sup>2</sup>, dates from the ninth century. The period between the completion of the text, probably early in the fifth century, and its oldest extant witness spans four centuries. It is only evident that during this period errors would have crept into the text of *De fide*.

In general terms, and somewhat neglecting the stemmatological relation between all manuscripts, one should also be aware of “conservative” and “innovative” tendencies in the textual transmission. Some manuscripts or hyparchetypes betray more conservative trends, while others contain more “innovations”. More “conservative” manuscripts (if one can qualify manuscripts as such) tend to attain readings that seem at odds with their immediate (syntactical/grammatical) context, whereas the scribes of “innovative” manuscripts were more inclined to adjust these readings to their surrounding context. Very broadly speaking, the more “conservative” manuscripts of *De fide* are *Ag*<sup>1 a.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup> (especially *ante correctionem*), *P*<sup>4</sup> and *Mü*. More “innovative” manuscripts are *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup> (in particular when corresponding to *Ag*<sup>3</sup>; see hyparchetype ζ), hyparchetype λ (*Bx*, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bo*, *So*) and *Gr*. The manuscripts *P*<sup>1</sup> and *F* are more ambiguous. *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> seems rather “innovative”, but the manuscript does contain various archetype readings *ante correctionem*. Evidently, readings *post correctionem* in any manuscript often constitute “innovative” readings. The distinction between “conservative” and “innovative” manuscripts can serve to explain how the same variant readings (“errors”) can occur simultaneously in otherwise unrelated manuscripts.

The present edition aims to reconstruct the archetype text of *De fide*, but also to correct grammatical errors or possible errors in Medieval spelling. Several types of errors seem to originate from the earliest stages of the transmission. Three examples of such categories: (1) confusion of the

<sup>100</sup> The order of *sigla* reflects, to an extent, the manner in which these manuscripts relate to each other.

suffixes *-e* and *-em*, or *-a* and *-am*;<sup>101</sup> (2) confusion in spelling between *a* and *ae*;<sup>102</sup> (3) confusion in spelling between *i* and *e*.<sup>103</sup> It should be made clear that the difficult, sometimes ungrammatical readings attested in the “conservative” manuscripts are often indeed the archetype readings, even if erroneous or unusual from a classicizing point of view. In these cases it can be difficult to decide which variant should be chosen for the critical edition: the grammatically evident form, often attested in the “innovative” manuscripts, or the so-called *lectio difficilior* – sometimes at odds with the surrounding syntax – more often attested in the “conservative” manuscripts? Complementary notes at the end of the edition will clarify some textual choices.

One metatextual element I would like to address here is the treatise’s division in chapters. The division in 49 chapters is found in some manuscripts in  $\gamma$  (namely *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, *P<sup>3</sup>* and *Pa*). Modern editions, from Amerbach to Zycha, have attained this division. For the sake of structure and readability, I have included the numbering of 49 chapters, even though this division was not present in the archetype. The only distinction that can be found in all branches of the manuscript transmission, is a distinction between the first chapter (a confession of faith ending with *amen*), and the rest of the treatise.

#### 4. Comparison with Other Editors

##### a. The Collection *Aduersus duas haereses*

As indicated in the introduction on the manuscript tradition of *De fide*, the work circulated as part of a collection of seven (mostly anti-Manichaean or anti-Arian) texts. This section will discuss the differences between my stemma and those of other modern editions of these texts, most notably the excellent recent editions of Hombert (*Conlatio cum Maximino; Contra Maximinum*) and of Müller/Weber/Weidmann (*Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*).<sup>104</sup> For *Conlatio cum Maximino*, the archetype of the text (Hombert’s  $\alpha$ ) correspond to the archetype of *De fide* (our  $\Phi$ ). The case is

<sup>101</sup> e.g. 11,2 indigente] *sic*  $Ag^{2p.c.} Ag^3 P^{3p.c.} P^{2p.c.}$  Gr, indigentem  $Ag^l Ag^{2a.c.} P^{3a.c.} P^{2a.c.}$  Bx  $Bg^l Bo So P^l P^4 Mü F$ ; 21,15 patientiam] *sic*  $Ag^l Ag^3 P^2 Bx Bg^l Bo So P^l Gr Mü F$ , patientia  $Ag^2 P^3 P^4$ .

<sup>102</sup> e.g. 5,32 eadem] *sic*  $Ag^{lp.c.} Ag^2 P^{3p.c.} P^{2p.c.}$  Bx  $Bg^l Bo So Gr F^{p.c.}$ , eadem  $Ag^{la.c.} Ag^3 P^{3a.c.} P^{2a.c.} P^l P^4 Mü F^{a.c.}$ .

<sup>103</sup> e.g. 37,3 ferimini] *sic*  $Ag^{lp.c.} Ag^3 Bx Bg^l Bo So Gr$ , ferimini  $Ag^{la.c.} Ag^2 P^3 P^2 P^l P^4 Mü F$ .

<sup>104</sup> I would like to thank prof. Weidmann for taking the time to discuss some of the disparities between his stemma and mine in person.

slightly different for *Contra Maximinum*, of which a second family of manuscripts (Hombert's  $\beta$ ) exists along Hombert's hyparchetype  $\alpha$  (more or less identical to Hombert's archetype  $\alpha$  of *Conlatio cum Maximino*). Similarly, the transmission of *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio* contains two hyparchetypes,  $\varphi$  (corresponding to our archetype  $\Phi$  of *De fide*) and  $\alpha$ , and two independent witnesses,  $S$  and  $T$ . Only the manuscripts of Hombert's family  $\alpha$  or Weidmann's  $\varphi$  contain *De fide* as well. Both Hombert and Weidmann assume a tripartite transmission in three families:  $\gamma$  ( $\alpha^1$  Hombert),  $\beta$  ( $\alpha^2$  Hombert) and  $\delta$  ( $\alpha^3$  Hombert).

With regard to family  $\beta$ , the findings of Hombert, Weidmann and I are in agreement. Hombert, in his discussion on  $\gamma$ , stated that  $Ag^1$ ,  $Ag^2$  and  $P^3$  ( $P^8$  Hombert) all three derive from the hyparchetype  $\gamma$ . Evidence in the critical apparatus of his edition could however suggest  $Ag^1$  and  $Ag^2$  did have a shared model, similarly to the hyparchetype  $\eta$  of *De fide*.<sup>105</sup> Another disagreement with Hombert's stemma pertains to the relation between  $Pa$ ,  $Di$  and  $Ma$ . While I assume an intermediary hyparchetype  $\theta$  for  $Di$  and  $Ma$ , Hombert states the two manuscripts, along with  $Av^2$  (which does not contain *De fide*) were copied directly from  $Pa$ .

On family  $\delta$ , however, the conclusions diverge somewhat. Weidmann considers both  $P^1$  ( $M$  Weidmann) and  $P^4$  ( $V$  Weidmann) as independent manuscripts, not pertaining to  $\gamma$ ,  $\beta$  or  $\delta$ . In the case of  $P^4$ , the typical readings of  $\delta$  in *De fide* (in particular its omission at the end of the treatise) unambiguously proves the manuscript belongs to  $\delta$ . The exact position of  $P^1$  within the textual transmission is a difficult matter. I prefer to follow Hombert in this regard, who carefully suggests the manuscript's relation to  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ , and its acquaintance with  $P^4$  ( $P^{12}$  Hombert). Weidmann agrees that there is some affiliation between  $P^1$  and  $P^4$ .<sup>106</sup> With regard to the "Aus-

<sup>105</sup> These references make use of Hombert's chapter and verse numbers. *Conl. Max.* I,2 conuenissent] cumuenissent  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$ ; *Conl. Max.* VI,13 abunde] abundae  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$ ; *Conl. Max.* IX,9 sunt] sint  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$ . See also the overview in P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 304. One convincing argument against a shared model for  $Ag^1$  and  $Ag^2$  (cf.  $\eta$ ) would be the addition *sanctum* in *Conl. Max.* XI,13. According to Hombert's apparatus, this addition is attested in  $Ag^2$  and  $P^8$  ( $P^3$ ), but not in  $Ag^1$ . The addition of *sanctum* would then be a shared mistake of  $Ag^2$  and  $P^3$ , which could suggest these two manuscripts derive from a common hyparchetype, a hyparchetype that certainly would not have been the model for  $Ag^1$  (it would seem very unlikely for the copyist of  $Ag^1$  to omit *sanctum* in the phrase *dixit spiritum sanctum*). However, upon review of  $Ag^2$ , it seems  $Ag^2$  does not contain the addition *sanctum* (f. 71v). Thus the reading *spiritum sanctum* is a mistake typical for  $P^3$ . Somewhat similarly, in *Conl. Max.* X,22, Hombert notes both  $Ag^2$  and  $P^8$  ( $P^3$ ) omitted *quod est*. This omission only occurs in  $Ag^2$  (f. 71r), not in  $P^3$ .

<sup>106</sup> P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 2, p. 359-361. H. MÜLLER, D. WEBER, C. WEIDMANN, *Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*, p. 56.

trian" manuscripts *Kl*, *Ox*, *F*, and *Zw* (*Vt*<sup>l</sup> does not contain the texts edited by Hombert and Weidmann), my findings confirm those of Hombert. He considers *F* the model for the other Austrian manuscripts, assuming two intermediary hyparchetypes: *Kl* and *Zw* are both copies of  $\tau$  ( $\tau^3$  Hombert), and the text of  $\sigma$  ( $\tau^2$  Hombert) was the model for both *Ox* and  $\tau^3$ . Weidmann's statement that *Ox* might have been contaminated through influence of  $\alpha_1$  (which did not include neither *De fide* nor *Conlatio cum Maximino* or *Contra Maximinum*) cannot be confirmed nor rejected.

#### b. Amerbach, Erasmus and the Leuven Edition

The *editio princeps* of *De fide* was published by Amerbach in 1506. The treatise was entitled *De fide contra Manichaeos*, and was attributed to Augustine. The title was an adaptation of one of the titles found in the manuscript transmission of *De fide*, namely *De fide catholica aduersus Manichaeos*, found in *Av*, *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, *Pa* and *Tr*. Amerbach had consulted one of these manuscripts (or a now-lost exemplar from the same group). In all these manuscripts, the treatise is attributed to Augustine. In addition, Amerbach divided the treatise in 49 chapters. This division remained in use in subsequent editions. He would have found this division in 49 chapters in *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, *P*<sup>3</sup> or *Pa*. Textual evidence further suggests the text of Amerbach's edition is dependent on *Tr*<sup>107</sup> and *Di*,<sup>108</sup> or now-lost manuscripts closely related to either *Tr* or *Di*.

Erasmus mostly retained the text established by Amerbach. For his revision of Amerbach's text, he would have consulted (at the very least) one manuscript of the group *Kl-Vt*<sup>l</sup>-*Zw* (hyparchetype  $\tau$ ).<sup>109</sup> Erasmus' edition then served as the basis for the revised edition of the Leuven theologians. They indicated they made use of a *codex Chartusiensis* and a *codex Cambronensis*. In all probability, both manuscripts derived from the hyparchetype  $\lambda$ . The Leuven editors noted that *Chartusiensis* read *Christum in carne uenisse* in 22,12. This reading is attested in the extant manuscripts *Bo*, *Bg*<sup>2</sup>, *Pm* and *So* (hyparchetype  $\nu$ ). The Leuven editors also provided the alternative title *De unitate trinitatis* for the treatise *De fide*. This title is attested in *Bx* and its copy *Li*. This could suggest the *codex Cambronensis* was related

<sup>107</sup> 3,7 erit et] *om.*; 5,18-19 sua persecutione] *inu.*; 12,2 manichaei] *o manichaei*; 26,16 simus] *sumus*; 38,2 facta uel dicta sunt] *facta sunt uel dicta*; 39,18 uiderentur] *indicerentur*; 40,17 et parienda] *om.*; 47,5 qui] *non*; 49,32 eius requie nulli] *pro eius requie*.

<sup>108</sup> *Am.* shares one unique error with *Di*: 44,12 accepit] *acceperit*. In addition, *Am.* shares *Di*'s division in 49 chapters. *Tr* differs in this regard, as its text is only divided in 48 chapters.

<sup>109</sup> 17,9-10 confudit] *confusae*; 24,18 quamquam] *quam*.



to these two manuscripts. Nevertheless, both the *Chartusiensis* and the *Cambronensis* cannot be identified with an extant manuscript.<sup>110</sup>

### c. The Maurists

The significance of the Maurists' edition of *De fide* (hereafter *Maur.*) cannot be overstated. The Maurists convincingly rejected Augustine's authorship and attributed the work to Evodius. With regard to the structure of *De fide*, they somewhat adjusted the division in 49 chapters. Five chapters commence at a different point in *Maur.*<sup>111</sup> Subsequent editions – the editions of Zycha and my current work – have followed the Maurists' altered structure of the text. Thus, contrary to the preceding editions, *Maur.*'s structure not reflect a division in chapters found in the manuscript transmission. The amount and quality of manuscripts collected is impressive. For their edition, they made use of a *codex Fossatensis* (*P*<sup>3</sup>), *codex Corbeiensis* (*P*<sup>2</sup>), *codex Colbertinus* (*P*<sup>1</sup>), *codex Vaticanus* (*Vt*<sup>1</sup>), *codex Cisterciensis* (*Di*) and a *Laudunensis eccl[esiae] codex* (*La*). In other words, they had consulted manuscripts of every family of *De fide*, some of which are the most valuable witnesses for *De fide* (namely *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, and *P*<sup>3</sup>). The variant readings of the Maurists' edition (*Maur*) can be found in the critical apparatus.

### d. Zycha

As regards Zycha's previous edition of *De fide*, his dependence on  $\delta$  immediately becomes clear: two of his manuscripts, *F* and *P*<sup>4</sup> (*V* in his edi-

<sup>110</sup> J. K. COYLE, "Augustine's two treatises *De moribus*", in *Signum pietatis*, ed. by A. ZUMKELLER, Würzburg, 1989, p. 75-90, esp. p. 86 believes the manuscript *Carthusianus* of *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* consulted by the Leuven theologians would have come from a monastery of that order in Leuven, "but the fate of this library is unknown". L. CEYSSENS, "Le 'Saint Augustin' du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'édition de Louvain (1577)", *Dix-septième siècle*, 34 (1982), p. 103-120, esp. p. 108-109 comes to a similar conclusion: "Ils [les manuscrits] provenaient en premier lieu de Louvain même et des environs: du collège du Saint-Esprit, des maisons des jésuites, des chartreux, des windeshémiens (Saint-Martin et Bethléem) et des norbertins du Parc". A catalogue of manuscripts kept at Cambron was published by R. PLANCKE in *Les catalogues de manuscrits de l'ancienne abbaye de Cambron*, Mons, 1938. However, it is difficult to discern whether or not the title *De unitate trinitatis* (n° 190, p. 58-59) or *De fide catholica* (n° 243, p. 66-67) does refer to the anti-Manichaean treatise *De fide*.

<sup>111</sup> Following list gives the opening words of these five chapters as found in *Ch*, *Di*, *Ma*, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *Pa*, and the Amerbach edition. Chapter 18: Deus magne (17,17; cf. sed certe 18,1); Chapter 28: cogitate ergo (27,11; cf. et tamen uos 28,1); Chapter 36: cum autem (35,12; cf. quis ista 36,1); Chapter 39: numquid et (39,14; cf. sed uos 39,1); Chapter 41: eligite (41,6; cf. Sed non (41,1).



tion), belong to this family. Zycha seemed to prefer the readings of *F* in particular, as his edition contains many unique variants only found in *F*, including some innovations of *F<sup>p.c.</sup>*. He also consulted *P<sup>l</sup>* (*P*) and *P<sub>m</sub>* (*M*). This means that he consulted no manuscript of the family  $\gamma$  and only one, rather unreliable, manuscript of  $\beta$ . His edition also included some personal conjectures (e.g. 13,5 in primo libro thesauri eorum] in eorum primo libro thesauri Zycha; 16,1 aestum] -us; 24,4 a] *om.*). The critical apparatus of the present edition includes variant readings of Zycha's edition, and will allow the reader to compare present edition with Zycha's.

## 5. Conclusion and Preliminary Notes on the Edition

The treatise *De fide* has been transmitted in three major families of manuscripts, stemming from one common archetype. Manuscript *P<sup>l</sup>* has some ties with family  $\delta$  (in particular with *P<sup>d</sup>*), yet also enjoys an independent status within the transmission of *De fide*. Most of the extant manuscripts were written in present France (with representatives of all three families and *P<sup>l</sup>*), Belgium (mostly from family  $\beta$ ), and Austria (all from family  $\delta$ ). This means that two important regions for the transmission of Augustinian texts in general, the British isles and Italy, only have secondary importance for *De fide* and for the collection in which *De fide* circulated. There are minor differences between the stemma proposed in this article and the stemma's of Hombert (*Conlatio cum Maximino; Contra Maximinum*) and Weidmann (*Collatio Augustini cum Pascentio*), although these differences might not have a major impact on the selection of textual variants in practice. In addition to the established stemmatological relations, it will also be necessary to consider each textual variant in its syntactical context. For this reason, the additional distinction between "innovative" and "conservative" manuscripts will further facilitate the choice of textual variants in the critical edition.

The edition contains three apparatuses. A first apparatus is a biblical apparatus, listing the biblical texts the author cites or alludes to. This apparatus is largely indebted to previous editions, in particular to the reprint of the Maurists' edition in the *Patrologia latina* series<sup>112</sup> and to Zycha's edition, in addition to Féliers' article on Evodius' usage of biblical texts.<sup>113</sup> A second apparatus, the source apparatus, will cite the Manichaean and apocryphal sources. The author of *De fide* cites two Latin Manichaean texts,

<sup>112</sup> *Patrologia latina* 42, Paris, 1886, cols 1139-1153.

<sup>113</sup> J.-H. FÉLIERS, "L'utilisation de la Bible dans l'œuvre d'Evodius", *Revue des études augustiniennes* 12 (1966), p. 41-64.

the *Epistula fundamenti* and the *Thesaurus*, and (resumes of) apocryphal texts, the *Acts of Andrew* and the *Acts of John*. The two Latin Manichaean texts are only preserved in the citations of Augustine and the author of *De fide*. The source apparatus will list the source text, fragment number, and if the author cites only part of the fragment, the verse number of the citation as can be found in the editions of both texts by Markus Stein;<sup>114</sup> for the apocryphal texts, the apparatus will mention the source and to what extent the author's reference to the passage corresponds to a known section of the *Acta Andreae* (AA)<sup>115</sup> or the *Acta Iohannis* (AJ).<sup>116</sup> The third apparatus is the critical apparatus, listing all textual variants (besides insignificant variations in spelling) of the 14 most important manuscripts and of the Maurists' and Zycha's edition. With the exception of a section at the end of the treatise (49,29-39), which has not been transmitted in  $\delta$ , and some incidental minor omissions, all 14 manuscripts and both editions contain the entirety of *De fide*.

With regard to the content, *De fide contra Manichaeos* has a strong biblical and doctrinal focus. The treatise's first chapter is a confession of faith, of which many elements reoccur throughout the treatise. The actual refutation of Manichaeism begins in the treatise's second chapter. Following themes are discussed in the treatise: theology (1-3); the origin of evil (4-10); the Manichaean doctrine of salvation (11-20); Christology (21-36), discussing the topics of incarnation (22), Mariology (23-27) and the Passion (28-36); the canon (37-39); bodily resurrection and eschatology (40-45); in his conclusion (46-49, Evodius summarizes the Catholic and Manichaean conceptualisation of God in an attempt to convince the Manichaeans to convert to Catholic Christianity.

One final note should be added on the treatise's title. A majority of the manuscripts refer to the treatise as *Aduersus manicheos* in their *incipits*. This is the title which can be found in the present critical edition. Nevertheless, throughout this article (and other studies) I continue to refer to the work as *De fide contra Manichaeos* for three reasons. First, this is the title by which the treatise is known to the modern audience. Second, the title does correspond to the content of the text. The first chapter of *De*

<sup>114</sup> M. STEIN, *Manichaica latina 2: Manichaei epistula fundamenti*, Paderborn, 2002 (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 27/2); M. STEIN, *Manichaica latina 4: Manichaei Thesaurus*, Paderborn, 2016 (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 27/4).

<sup>115</sup> J.-M. PRIEUR, *Acta Andreae*, Turnhout, 1989 (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, 5-6).

<sup>116</sup> E. JUNOD, J.-D. KAESTLI, *Acta Iohannis*, Turnhout, 1983 (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, 1-2).

*fide* consists of a confession of faith. This confession of faith is well-incorporated in the whole of the treatise.<sup>117</sup> Third, this title helps to set *De fide* apart from other anti-Manichaean treatises (in particular those of Augustine), whereas the description *Aduersus Manichaeos* remains rather vague. Within the edition itself, I will make use of the title *Aduersus Manichaeos*, as attested in the manuscript tradition of the treatise.

<sup>117</sup> See also A. VANSPAUWEN, “‘*Contra Domini uel Apostoli auctoritatem*’: la autoridad de Pablo en el tratado polémico ‘De fide contra Manichaeos’ de Evodio de Uzala”, *Augustinus* 61 (2016), p. 395-411, esp. p. 399-402.

## ADVERSVS MANICHAEOS, VTRVM SANCTI AVGVSTINI VTRVM SANCTI EVODII IGNORATVR

1. Vnus Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, inuisibilis, incomprehen-  
sibilis, inenarrabilis, inuiolabilis, incoinquinabilis, *qui solus habet immorta-*  
*litatem et lucem habitat inaccessibilem.* Ipse lumen uerum, uita et ueritas,  
bonus, summus et quaecumque de illo humanus sermo poterit enuntiare;  
5 quae tamen ab eo dantur, ut aliquo modo dici possint. *Ex quo omnia, per*  
*quem omnia, siue sedes, siue dominationes, siue principatus, siue potestates;* et  
omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt, sicut in utroque Testamento humi-  
libus et pie quaerentibus manifestatur; ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum.  
Amen.

2. Huic Manichaeus aduersarium esse dicit nescio quem gentis prin-  
cipem tenebrarum, quem etiam asserit ingenitum, nec habere auctorem  
a quo creatus sit. Et utique si ingenitus et non creatus est, per se ipsum  
est immortalis. Et si per se immortalis est, non erit Deus qui habeat solus  
5 immortalitatem, et erit iam mendax apostolus, qui dicit de Deo quod solus  
habeat immortalitatem. Sed quia apostolus mendax non est, Deus solus

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1, 2/3 I Tim. 6, 16      3 uita – ueritas] cf. Io. 14, 6      5/6 Col. 1, 16  
2, 5/6 solus – immortalitatem] cf. I Tim. 6, 16

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**Tit.** incipit aduersus manicheos utrum eiusdem utrum sancti eyodii ignoratur *Ag<sup>l</sup>*, inci-  
pit liber aduersus manicheos qui utrum sancti augustini utrum sancti euodii ignoratur *Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*Ag<sup>3</sup>*, incipit aduersus manicheos *P<sup>3</sup>*, incipit eiusdem contra manicheos utrum eiusdem utrum  
sancti euodii ignoratur *P<sup>2</sup>*, *om.* *Bg<sup>l</sup>*, incipit liber eiusdem de unitate trinitatis *Bx*, incipit  
tractatus eiusdem contra manicheos *So*, incipit liber sancti augustini episcopi de fide catho-  
lica *Bo*, incipit aduersus manicheos utrum eiusdem utrum sancti euodii ignoratur *P<sup>l</sup>* *P<sup>4</sup>*, in-  
cipit aduersus manicheos alius liber eiusdem sancti augustini episcopi et doctoris *Mü*, contra  
manicheos tractatus quidam beati augustini epi *Gr*, (tracta)tus contra ....(manich)eos utrum  
eiusdem utrum sancti euodii ignoratur *F<sup>in marg.</sup>*, de fide contra manichaeos liber unus euodio  
tributus *Maur*, euodii de fide contra manichaeos *Zycha*

1, 1 Vnus] unus uerus *Gr* Spiritus sanctus] *inu.* *Ag<sup>l</sup>*, spiritus *Gr* incomprehen-  
sibilis] et -is *P<sup>l</sup>* 2 incoinquinabilis] et -is *P<sup>l</sup>* qui] quia *P<sup>l</sup>* 3 habitat] inhabitat  
*Ag<sup>3</sup>* inaccessibilem] incessabilem *Ag<sup>l a.c.</sup>* *Ag<sup>2</sup>* *P<sup>3</sup>* 4 summus] sumus *P<sup>4</sup>* quaecum-  
que] quicumque *Bx<sup>a.c.</sup>* 5 eo] illo *Maur* possint] -unt *Ag<sup>2 a.c.</sup>* 6 omnia] omnia in  
quo omnia *Bo So* principatus] prinpatus *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* 7 in<sup>1</sup>] *sup. l.* *Ag<sup>l</sup>* 8 gloria] gloria  
honor et potestas *P<sup>3</sup>*, gloria et honor et potestas *Maur*

2, 1 aduersarium] aduerium *P<sup>l a.c.</sup>* (sar *sup. l.*) esse dicit] *inu.* *Bo So*, esse dixit *P<sup>l</sup>*  
2 auctorem] actorem *Ag<sup>l a.c.</sup>* 3 utique] utque *P<sup>l</sup>* 3/4 per – immortalis<sup>1</sup>] *om.* *Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
4 est immortalis] *inu.* *Bx*, est immortalis est *P<sup>l</sup>* habeat] -et *γ* *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* 5 immorta-  
litem] immortalitem *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* erit] *om.* *Bg<sup>l</sup>* quod] qui *P<sup>4</sup>* 6 habeat] -et *Gr*  
6/7 Sed – immortalitatem] *om.* *Gr*

AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS. WHETHER THIS BOOK  
IS WRITTEN BY SAINT AUGUSTINE OR  
SAINT EVODIUS, IS NOT KNOWN.

1. One God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, invisible, incomprehensible, indescribable, inviolable, unpollutable. *He alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light.*<sup>119</sup> He is the true light, life and truth, the good, the highest and all that human speech may express about Him; yet through Him these attributes are granted in order that they can some way be expressed. *From Him and through Him everything – whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers –* everything has been created through Him and in Him, as it is revealed in both Testaments to the humble and to who faithfully seek for their true meaning. Glory to Him for ever and ever. Amen.

2. In opposition to Him, Mani<sup>120</sup> posits an adversary, some prince of the race of darkness. Mani asserts the prince too is unbegotten and does not have a maker by whom he is created. And certainly, if he is unbegotten and not created, he is immortal on his own behalf. But if he is immortal on his own behalf, it will not be the case that God alone has immortality. The Apostle will then be considered a liar, because he<sup>121</sup> says of God that he alone has immortality. But, because the Apostle does not lie, God alone has

<sup>119</sup> For Latin bible fragments, I have consulted the New Revised Standard Version, adjusting the translation if necessary to reflect the Latin phrasing of the author.

<sup>120</sup> The Latin *Manichaeus* can refer to either (1) Mani, the founder of Manichaeism; or (2) a Manichaean (pl. the Manichaeans).

<sup>121</sup> Lit. “who” (*qui*). The relative clause in Latin does not express cause or reason here.

habet immortalitatem et ideo solus potest et animis et quibus uult corporibus praestare immortalitatem.

3. Falsum est ergo quod Manichaeus asserit, nescio quam mali naturam cum principe suo non habere auctorem, sed esse ingenitam. Deinde si ingenitus Deus, ingenita etiam nunc gens tenebrarum, non erit contrarium ingenitum et ingenitum, uidens et uidens, regnans et regnans, uiuens  
5 et uiuens, aeternum et aeternum. Et si contrarium est bonum malo, ex aliqua ergo parte discordabit bonum a malo; ex multa uero coniunctum et concordans erit et non iam erit merum malum habendo tanta communia bona cum Deo. Si uero dicunt: «ingenitum est in suo», nihil dicunt. Nam ingenitum et ingenitum, aeternum et aeternum, in quantum ingenita  
10 et aeterna sunt, numquam erunt contraria. Non enim quia imperator in sua potestate magnus est et mediastrius in operatione sua contemptibilis est, ideo mediastrius non erit homo, quia homo est imperator?

4. Sed si quisquam quaerit quid sit malum, audiat apostolum dicentem: *radix omnium malorum est cupiditas, quam quidam appetentes a fide pererrauerunt et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.*

5. Cupiditas autem in unoquoque homine est, non naturalis, sed uoluntaria. Ideoque dixit: *quam quidam appetentes.* Quod enim appetendo habetur, si non appeteretur, non haberetur. Nam et Dominus ostendens quod in hominis potestate sit, ait: *aut facite arborem bonam et fructum*

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4, 2/3 I Tim. 6, 10

5, 4/5 Matth. 12, 33

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2, 7 habet] -eat Mü F<sup>u.c.</sup> animis] annis uel animis Bx(uel animis sup. l.)  
3, 1 est ergo] inu. Bo So, ergo est ergo P<sup>h.c.</sup> (ergo<sup>1</sup> del.) quam] quod P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>t</sup>  
1/2 naturam - principe] natura in principi P<sup>l</sup> 2 habere] -eret P<sup>t</sup> sed] se  
P<sup>t</sup> ingenitam] -um P<sup>l</sup> 3 tenebrarum] sit -arum Ag<sup>l</sup>(t<sup>1</sup> sup. l.) 4 et uidens] sup.  
l. Ag<sup>l</sup> 5 aeternum<sup>1</sup>] erum Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup>, aeternum uel aeternus F(uel -nus sup. l.) et<sup>2</sup>] om. Ag<sup>l</sup> bonum malo] bono malum Gr F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha, bono malo P<sup>t</sup> Mü F<sup>u.c.</sup>  
6 discordabit] -auit Gr<sup>u.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup> Mü F bonum - malo] bonum malo β, malum a bono  
P<sup>l</sup> uero] ergo P<sup>l</sup> 6/7 coniunctum - concordans] inu. Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So 7 non  
iam] inu. Bo So Maur, non eam Ag<sup>l.d.c.</sup> habendo] auendo Mü, cauendo F 8 est] esse  
Bo So 9 ingenitum<sup>1</sup>] genitum Ag<sup>3a.c.</sup> ingenitum<sup>2</sup>] et ienitum P<sup>l</sup> 10 contraria]  
-ium P<sup>l</sup>, contraria Gr<sup>u.c.</sup> Non] num Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Maur Zycha quia] sup. l. Ag<sup>2</sup>  
10/11 sua - magnus] suam potestatem agnus Ag<sup>l.d.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>, suam potestatem magnus P<sup>3a.c.</sup>  
11 mediastrius] mediastinus P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bx Bo So F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha contemptibilis] contempla-  
tione sua contemplabilis P<sup>l</sup> est<sup>2</sup>] sit P<sup>l</sup> 12 mediastrius] mediastinus P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bx Bo So  
F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha erit] erat Bg<sup>l.d.c.</sup> est imperator] et imperator est P<sup>l</sup>  
4, 2 quam] nam P<sup>2a.c.</sup>, quem P<sup>t</sup> Mü quidam] -em P<sup>l</sup> a] ad P<sup>t</sup> pererrauerunt]  
aberrauerunt Maur Zycha

5, 1 non] sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup> uoluntaria] -e P<sup>t</sup> F<sup>u.c.</sup> 2 quidam] -em P<sup>t</sup> Mü 3 Domi-  
nus] non dominus Gr<sup>u.c.</sup> 4 potestate] -as P<sup>l</sup> fructum] fructums P<sup>t</sup>

immortality, and therefore he alone is able to bestow immortality to the souls or bodies He wants to bestow it to.

3. Thus what Mani claims is false, that is, that some evil nature, together with its prince, does not have a maker, but is uncreated. On this account, since God is uncreated, and now according to him the race of shadows is uncreated too, there will be no contrast between uncreated and uncreated, seeing and seeing, ruling and ruling, living and living, eternal and eternal. And if good is contrary to evil, in some regard it will be in disagreement with evil. However, for the most part it is in accordance and in agreement with it. And evil will not be pure evil, because it has so many good attributes in common with God. If they would say, however: "he is uncreated in himself", they say nothing. For uncreated and uncreated, eternal and eternal, in so far as they are uncreated and eternal, will never be opposite. Surely it is not the case that, because a general is great in his power, and an errand boy is lowly in his service, that therefore the errand boy will not be human, because the general is a human.

4. But if someone asks what evil actually is, let him hear the Apostle saying: *desire is the root of all evil; in their pursuit of it, some have wandered away from the faith and pierced themselves with many pains.*

5. Desire, however, exists in each and every human – not naturally, but on behalf of one's free will. Therefore, the Apostle said: *some, in their pursuit of it.* Indeed, what can be attained by pursuit, when it would not be pursued, would not be attained. For the Lord as well reveals that desire

- 5 *eius bonum, aut facite arborem malam et fructum eius malum.* In *Actibus* etiam conscriptis a Leucio, quos ipsi accipiunt, sic scriptum est: «etenim speciosa figmenta et ostentatio simulata et coactio uisibilium ne quidem ex propria natura procedit, sed ex eo homine qui per se ipsum deterior effectus est per seductionem». Ipse etiam Manichaeus non potuit nisi fateri
- 10 animas, etiam quas dicit ad Dei substantiam pertinere, propria uoluntate peccare. Nam sic in secundo *Thesauri* libro dicit: «hi uero qui negligentia sua a labe praedictorum spiritu purgari se minime permiserint mandatisque diuinis ex integro parum obtemperauerint legemque sibi a suo liberatore datam seruare plenius noluerint neque ut decebat sese gubernauerint», et cetera. Item in *Epistula fundamenti* sic dicit de illis animabus:
- 15 «quae mundi amore errare se a priore lucida sua natura passae sunt atque inimicae lumini sancto extiterunt aperteque in perniciem sanctorum elementorum se armarunt et igneo spiritui obsecutae sunt, infesta etiam sua persecutione sanctam ecclesiam atque electos in eadem constitutos caelestium praeceptorum obseruatores afflixerunt, a beatitudine et gloria terrae sanctae arcentur. Et quia a malo se superari passae sunt, in eadem mali stirpe perseuerabunt, pacifica illa terra et regionibus immortalibus sibimet interdictis. Quod ideo illis eueniet, quia ita iniquis operibus se obstrinxerunt, ut a uita et libertate sanctae lucis alienarentur. Non igitur
- 25 poterunt recipi in regna illa pacifica, sed configentur in praedicto horribili globo, cui etiam necesse est custodiam adhiberi. Vnde adhaerebunt his

5, 6/9 etenim – seductionem] AA uel AJ loc. incert. 11/14 hi – gubernauerint] Thes. 2 16/29 quae – segregarunt] Ep. fund. 8

5, 5 aut – malum] om. β fructum] -us Mü malum] Gr<sup>in marg.</sup> 6 Leucio] leutio Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> Bx Bo So Gr P<sup>4</sup> 7 ne] nec Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup> Gr 8 effectus] factus uel effectus So (uel effectus sup. l.) 9 nisi] om. Bg<sup>1</sup> 10 animas] -is F<sup>h.c.</sup>, -abus F<sup>p.c.</sup> ad] a Mü<sup>a.c.</sup> substantiam] -a P<sup>4</sup> 11 peccare] om. δ Thesauri] thesauri Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>3</sup> Bx F<sup>h.c.</sup>, thesauro P<sup>2a.c.</sup> dicit] dixit Maur hi] hic Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup>, his F<sup>h.c.</sup> 11/12 negligentia sua] -ie sue P<sup>1</sup> 12 a labe] allabore P<sup>1</sup>, a lebe P<sup>4</sup> spiritu] -uum Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Bo So Gr F Maur Zycha purgari] -e P<sup>1</sup> permiserint] -erit P<sup>1</sup> 12/13 mandatisque diuinis] Ag<sup>3in marg.</sup> 13 obtemperauerint] obtemperaueint Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> legemque] legem quae P<sup>4</sup> liberatore] liberato F 14 noluerint] -erit P<sup>4a.c.</sup> decebat] -eat Ag<sup>2</sup> 15/14 gubernauerint] gubernar\* P<sup>1</sup>(-arunt ut uid.) 15 fundamenti] fudamenti Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> animabus] -antibus β 16 amore] errore γ sua natura] sue -e P<sup>1</sup> 17 lumini] -is P<sup>1</sup>, -e P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>h.c.</sup> 18 armarunt] -uerunt Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>1</sup>, amarunt Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> etiam] enim P<sup>1</sup> sua] sue P<sup>1</sup> 18/19 sua persecutione] inu. Maur 19 electos] -us P<sup>4</sup> Mü F eadem] eandem Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F constitutos] constitos Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>, constitutos P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>h.c.</sup> 20 gloria] glaria Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> 21 arcentur] -buntur Ag<sup>3</sup> Et] om. P<sup>4</sup> malo – superari] malos superari P<sup>1</sup>, malis exsuperari Gr, malos exsuperare P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>h.c.</sup> passae] -i P<sup>4</sup> Mü mali] -e P<sup>1</sup> 22 stirpe] -em Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> 23 eueniet] ueniet Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx quia] qui a P<sup>3</sup> ita] om. Ag<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> obstrinxerunt] obstrixerunt P<sup>1</sup> 25 configentur] confringentur P<sup>1</sup>, configentur Gr<sup>p.c.</sup> praedicto] precepto Bo 26 etiam] etiam recipi P<sup>1</sup>



lies within man's capability, when he says: *either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or make the tree bad, and its fruit bad*. The following is also written in the *Acts* authored by Leucius,<sup>122</sup> a work they accept as authoritative: "surely, fair inventions and a disingenuous showing and a coercion of visible things do not, in fact, proceed from their own nature, but from that man who of his own will has become worse through seduction". Mani himself too cannot but admit that souls, even those which he claims belong to God's substance, sin on behalf of their own will. For in the second book of his *Treasure* he says: "those however who by their own negligence did not allow themselves at all to be cleansed in the spirit from the stain of the aforementioned and did not obey the divine commandments in their entirety, and were unwilling to observe fully the law given by their liberator, and did not govern themselves as was fitting", and so on.<sup>123</sup> Likewise he says as follows in his *Fundamental epistle* on those souls, "which had allowed themselves to wander off from their former light-nature by love of the world, emerged as enemies of the sacred light, armed themselves openly for the destruction of the sacred elements, and submitted themselves to the spirit of fire. These souls, also, by their hostile persecution did harm to the holy Church and its elect, who are established in it and who keep the heavenly commandments, and are shut out of the blessedness and glory of the sacred earth. And because they allowed themselves to be overcome by evil, they shall remain within that breed of evil, forbidden from access to that peaceful earth and the immortal regions. This will happen to them because they have become so entangled in unjust works that they have become alienated from the life and freedom of the sacred light. Therefore, they cannot be received into those peaceful kingdoms,

<sup>122</sup> Five apocryphal *Acts* were attributed to Leucius in Antiquity: the Acts of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew and Thomas. The provenance of this fragment is uncertain. In chapter 38, the author refers to the *Acts of Andrew*, and chapter 40 contains an implicit reference to the acts of John. PRIEUR, *Acta Andreae* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, 5-6), Turnhout, 1989, p. 25-26, states the citation is probably from the Acts of Andrew. See also M.R. JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1953, p. 350.

<sup>123</sup> I have consulted earlier translations of Latin Manichaean texts where available. These earlier translations form the basis of my translation of the Manichaean fragments. See *Greek and Latin Sources on Manichaean Cosmogony and Ethics*. Translated by dr Greg Fox and John Sheldon. Compiled with introduction and commentary by prof. Samuel N. C. Lieu, Turnhout, 2010 (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, subsidia 6), p. 5; R. TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, New York, 2006 (The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century, I/19), p. 301. On the reconstruction of the *Thesaurus*, see also M. STEIN, *Manichaea latina 4: Manichaei Thesaurus*, Paderborn, 2016 (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 27,4), in particular p. 36 for this fragment.

rebus animae eadem quas dilexerunt, relictæ in eodem tenebrarum globo, suis meritis id sibi conquirentes. Neque enim futura haec cognoscere studuerunt atque ab iisdem, cum tempus dabatur, se segregarunt ».

6. Rogo uos: ubi audiuntur haec uerba, dubitatis adhuc Manichæum adactum esse confiteri [non] esse peccatum propriae uoluntatis? Non enim unum uerbum inde dixit, sed tam multa, ut quemuis graui somno mersum excitaret. Dixit: « negligentia sua »; dixit: « minime permiserint »; dixit: 5 « parum obtemperauerint »; dixit: « seruare noluerint ». Item dixit: « obsecutæ sunt »; dixit: « se superari passæ sunt »; dixit: « se obstrinxerunt »; dixit: « suis meritis id sibi conquirentes »; dixit: « neque enim futura haec cognoscere studuerunt atque ab iisdem, cum tempus dabatur, se segregauerunt », et uos dubitatis dicere propria uoluntate peccari?

7. Iterum ipse dicit in eadem epistula: « lucis autem subsiciam partem, hoc est, animas peccatrices », et uos non dicitis peccare nisi gentem tenebrarum? Sed quid de isto loquar (qui quamuis erraret, tamen euidentissima ueritate hoc conatus est dicere), cum ipsum Dominum nostrum Iesum 5 nolitis intelligere dicentem *ignem praeparatum esse peccatoribus et diabolo et angelis eius*, quos omnes uoluit intelligi peccatores? Non enim iniustitia est apud Deum, ut damnet eos qui nihil peccauerunt.

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7, 5/6 Matth. 25, 41      6/7 iniustitia – Deum] cf. Rom. 9, 14

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7, 1/2 lucis – peccatrices] Ep. fund. 9, 1

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5, 27 eadem] *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3p.c.</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Gr F<sup>p.c.</sup> Zycha*, eadem *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>*. Vide adnotationes. quas] -a P<sup>2a.c.</sup>, -os P<sup>1</sup> relictæ] -o P<sup>4</sup>, -a Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>, -a luce F<sup>p.c.</sup> eodem] eadem *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>* 28 conquirentes] non querentes P<sup>1</sup> 29 iisdem] hisdem *Ag<sup>3</sup> δ* segregarunt] -auerunt β *Gr Maur*, congregarunt Mü

6, 2 adactum] edactum *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>*, coactum *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Gr*, & actum uel &actum P<sup>1</sup>, audactum siue sedatum F<sup>p.c.</sup> (add. in marg. m<sup>2</sup>), adactum *Maur Zycha*. Vide adnotationes. non<sup>1</sup>] om. *Maur Zycha*. Vide adnotationes. propriae] nisi propriae *Ag<sup>3</sup> Gr* 3 ut] et *Bo*, in P<sup>4</sup> quemuis] quamuis δ *Zycha* quemuis – somno] quem uisom no P<sup>1</sup> mersum] uersum P<sup>1</sup> 4 excitaret] -are P<sup>1</sup> permiserint] -erit P<sup>1</sup>, miserunt P<sup>4</sup> 6 superari] supera P<sup>4</sup> obstrinxerunt] obstruxerunt *Ag<sup>2</sup>*, obstrixerunt *Gr<sup>et.c.</sup>* 7 suis] se suis P<sup>1</sup> neque enim] inu. *Bg<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>* 8 iisdem] hisdem *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> δ* cum] sup. l. P<sup>2</sup> se] om. *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>* 9/8 segregauerunt] -arunt *Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* 9 et – peccari] om. δ peccari] -e P<sup>2</sup>

7, 1 eadem] eandem *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> F<sup>a.c.</sup>* epistula] -am *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup>* subsiciam] subciam P<sup>2a.c.</sup>, sisbciam *Bg<sup>1</sup>*, succiām *Bx Bo So*, subsiciam uel succidiām F (uel succidiām in marg.), succisiām *Maur Zycha* 2 est] om. *Gr* non] sup. l. *Bx* 3 de – loquar] loquar de isto *Gr* isto] -a P<sup>1</sup> 4 ueritate] uarietate P<sup>1</sup> conatus] coactus *Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Gr Maur*, cognatus *Bo* 5 nolitis] -ites *Gr<sup>et.c.</sup>* intelligere] -etis P<sup>1a.c.</sup> dicentem] -es P<sup>1</sup> praeparatum esse] inu. P<sup>1</sup> peccatoribus] om. *Bg<sup>1</sup>* et] om. *Bg<sup>1</sup> Maur* 6 iniustitia] iniustia P<sup>4</sup> 7 nihil] omnino nihil P<sup>3</sup> *Maur*

but will be confined in this terrible clod<sup>124</sup> already mentioned, for which a guard must also be assigned. These same souls therefore will cling to what they have loved, having been abandoned in the same clod of darkness and obtaining this for themselves by their own merits. Nor did they make any effort to understand these future happenings, or did they, when they were granted time to do so, distance themselves from these things”.<sup>125</sup>

6. I ask you: when these words are heard, do you even now doubt whether Mani was brought to confess there is a sin of one's own will? For he did not say just one word on that topic, but so many, as if to wake anyone from a deep sleep. He said: “by their own negligence”; he said: “did not allow themselves at all”; he said: “did not obey”; he said: “were unwilling to serve”. Likewise he said: “submitted themselves”; he said: “have allowed themselves to be overcome”; he said: “have become so entangled in”; he said: “obtaining this for themselves by their own merits”; he said: “nor did they make any effort to understand these future happenings, or did they, when they were granted time to do so, distance themselves from these things”; and you hesitate to say one sins on behalf of one's own will?

7. Again he says in the same *Epistle*: “however, the cut-off part of light, this is, the sinning souls”, and you say no one sins except the race of shadows? But why would I speak of him (who, although he erred, still, in a moment of clear truth tried to admit this<sup>126</sup>), when you do not even want to understand our Lord himself, Jesus Christ, who said that *the eternal fire had been prepared for sinners and the devil and his angels*, by which name he wanted to designate all sinners? For there is no injustice with God, so that he would condemn those who have not sinned in the least.

<sup>124</sup> Gr. βῶλος or Lat. *globus* or *massa*, is a technical term in Manichaean cosmology. I follow Van Oort in his translation of the term with “clod” as opposed to more generic translations such as “globe” or “mass”. See J. VAN OORT, “Augustine and Mani on concupiscentia sexualis”, in *Augustiniana Traiectina*, ed. by J. DEN BOEFT, J. VAN OORT, Paris, 1987, p. 137-52, p. 140.

<sup>125</sup> See *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 13; R. TESKE, *Answer to Faustus, a Manichaean* (The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century, I/20), New York, 2007, p. 297; TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, p. 339.387. See also M. STEIN, *Manichaica latina 2: Manichaei epistula fundamenti*, Paderborn, 2002 (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 27,2), p. 36-39.

<sup>126</sup> *I.e.* that one sins on behalf of one's own free will.

8. Peccare enim quid aliud est nisi in ueritatis praeceptis uel in ipsa non stare ueritate? Quod si non uoluntate faciunt peccatores, iniuste iudicantur. Pertinere autem et angelos ad iudicium, apostolus ostendit dicens: *nescitis quoniam angelos iudicabimus?* Non autem pertinerent ad iudicium quo  
5 iudicantur, si non pertinerent ad peccatum quo rei fiunt, nec possint merito iudicari. Non enim homines iusti de iustis angelis iudicaturi sunt, quibus similes erunt, sed utique peccatoribus. Malefacti sui ergo per cupiditatem quisque auctor est.

9. Est ergo in potestate ut sit cupiditas, et ideo etiam malum in potestate est. In potestate ergo est quod in uoluntate esse non debet. Malum enim non potest esse natura nec substantia nec uita, quia haec bona sunt, in quantum sunt. Sed et si aliquos naturaliter dicimus malos, propter originem ueteris peccati dicimus, in quo iam nostra mortalitas nascitur. Totum itaque quod uocatur malum in hominibus, peccatum est et poena. Peccatum fit ab anima rationali, cui liberum uoluntatis arbitrium est, et poena infligitur iustitia Dei, quae nihil facit iniuste. Aduersus haec solita caecitate Manichaei latrant et, cum conuincantur naturam non esse malum, sed in  
10 potestate esse hominis facere bene aut male, dicunt non esse animae liberam uoluntatem, et non uident caecitatem suam.

10. Quis enim non clamet stultum esse praecepta dare ei cui liberum non est quod praecipitur facere, et iniquum esse eum damnare cui non fuit potestas iussa complere? Et has iniustitias et iniquitates miseri non intelligunt Deo se ascribere. Sed quid uerum est nisi et Dominum dare prae-

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8, 1/2 in<sup>2</sup> – ueritate] cf. Io. 8, 44      3/4 I Cor. 6, 3

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8, 1 quid] ut *P<sup>l</sup>* ueritatis praeceptis] *inu. Bo So* 1/2 non – ueritate] nostra re ueritate *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, nostra reueritate *P<sup>3</sup>*, nostra seueritate *P<sup>2</sup>* 2 ueritate] -em *P<sup>4</sup>* 4 iudicabimus] -auimus *Mü F<sup>p.c.</sup>*, iudiuimus *F<sup>u.c.</sup>* quo] quid *P<sup>2</sup>* quod *P<sup>l</sup>* 5 iudicantur] -arent *P<sup>l</sup>* quo] quod *P<sup>l</sup>* possint] -ent *Ag<sup>3</sup> So Gr Maur* 6 iudicaturi] iudicari *Ag<sup>l</sup>* 7 similes] -is *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>* erunt] eruit *Ag<sup>l</sup>, om. P<sup>2</sup>* utique] utibus *ut uid. Bg<sup>l</sup>* peccatoribus] de peccatoribus *Maur Zycha* cupiditatem] cupitatem *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* 8 est] est id est mali *F*(id est mali *add. in marg.*)

9, 1 potestate<sup>2</sup>] cupiditate *P<sup>l</sup>* 2 est<sup>1</sup>] *om. Bg<sup>l</sup>* quod] quod si *β* 3 enim – natura] esse enim non potest natura *P<sup>l</sup>* uita] uicia *P<sup>l</sup>* quia] qui *P<sup>l</sup>* bona] uicia *P<sup>l</sup>* 4 et] *om. Ag<sup>l</sup>* dicimus] diximus *P<sup>l</sup>* malos] aliquos *P<sup>l</sup>* 5 peccati] -is *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* iam nostra] iam nostra iam *P<sup>l</sup>* 6 et] *om. P<sup>2</sup>* 7 rationali] -abili *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* uoluntatis] -i *P<sup>l</sup>* poena] peccatum *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 8 iniuste] iuste *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, iniustae *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>* solita] sola *P<sup>l</sup>* caecitate] -em *P<sup>4</sup>* 9 conuincantur] -untur *Maur Zycha* non – malum] malum non esse *Bo So* 10 esse hominis] *inu. So Gr* aut] et *Mü* 11 non] *om. F<sup>a.c.</sup>* caecitatem] cactitatem *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>* caecitatem suam] *inu. Gr*

10, 1 clamet] -at *P<sup>l</sup>* stultum esse] *inu. Bo So* 2 non<sup>1</sup>] *om. β P<sup>1a.c.</sup>* est] esse *P<sup>4</sup>* praecipitur] praecipit *Gr* iniquum – eum] inicum eum esse *P<sup>l</sup>* esse] est *P<sup>4</sup>* cui non] cuidam *P<sup>l</sup>* 4 Deo] -um *P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* se] sed *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>* et] ad *P<sup>l</sup>*, *om. P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* Dominum] deum *Ag<sup>2</sup>*

8. For what else does it mean to sin, except to fail to stand fast in the precepts of truth, or in truth itself? If sinners do not act out of their own will, they are judged unjustly. Yet the Apostle shows that angels too pertain to the judgment, when he says: *do you not know we are to judge angels?* However, they would not pertain to the judgment by which they would be judged, if they would not pertain to the sin of which they are guilty, nor could they be judged deservedly then. For it is not the case that just men will judge just angels, to whom they are similar, but, of course, they will judge sinners. To conclude, through desire everyone, no matter who, is the author of his or her own misdeed.

9. Thus, desire is situated within our capability, and therefore evil too is situated within our capability. What is not necessary for our will is then in our capability. For evil can be neither a nature nor a substance nor a life, because these concepts are good, to the extent that they exist.<sup>127</sup> But even if we say some people are naturally evil, we say so because of the origin of the ancient sin, in which, at present, our mortality is born. And so, everything that is called evil in humans, is sin and punishment. A sin is committed through the rational soul, which possesses a free judgment of will, and the punishment is inflicted on behalf of God's justice, which by no means acts unjustly. In their usual blindness the Manichaeans bark against these statements, and although they are convinced our nature is not something evil, but that good or evil conduct is situated in the capabilities of each human, they claim there is no free judgment of the will, and they do not see their own blindness.

10. For who does not proclaim it is stupid to give precepts to whom there is no freedom to accomplish what is demanded, and that it is unfair to condemn him who did not have the power to fulfil commands? And they, miserable fools, do not understand they ascribe these instances of injustice

<sup>127</sup> According to the author, evil is not an existing reality. Because God's creation is good, everything that exists is created as good. Nevertheless, because existence is not substantially equal to God, existence is imperfect. Imperfect as they are, people commit evil when they do not aim their full desire and attention to the goodness that is God. Augustine links this view on the non-existence of evil to the doctrine of creation *de nihilo*. See also M. DREVER, "Redeeming Creation: *Creatio ex nihilo* and the *Imago Dei* in Augustine", *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 15/2 (2013), p. 135-153.

- 5 cepta et animas liberae esse uoluntatis et malum naturam non esse, sed esse auersionem a Dei praeceptis, et esse iustum iudicium Dei quo damnet peccantes?

11. Interea cum dicat idem Manichaeus deum omnibus bonis abundantem, nullo in regnis eius insignibus indigente aut infimo constituto, ita etiam fundata eiusdem splendidissima saecula, ut a nullo umquam concuti uel moueri possint, in alio loco paulo post subiungit et dicit: «lucis uero  
5 beatissimae pater sciens labem magnam ac uastitatem quae ex tenebris surgeret, aduersus sua sancta impendere saecula, nisi aliquod eximium ac praeclarum et uirtute potens opponat, quo superet simul ac destruat stirpem tenebrarum, qua exstincta quies lucis incolis pararetur».

12. Certe ergo a nullo umquam concuti uel moueri potuerunt regna dei Manichaei. Si enim potuerunt, mentitus est dicendo non posse regna illa ab aliquo concuti. Et si concussa sunt necessitate aut timore, non erit Deus qui sic concuti potuit. Nam uidemus deum Manichaei secundum eundem  
5 Manichaeum malo necessitatis pressum, cum labes ac uastitas aduersus saecula eius impenderet, aliud quod faceret non haberet, partem suam ad pugnam dedisse, ut uel hoc modo quietem lucis incolis compararet. Ipsa uero pars eius, hoc est, de lumine lumen, de bono bonum, de sancto sanctum, de aeterno aeternum, de deo deus, de omnipotente omnipotens, corrupta sit, mortificata sit, commixta sit per omnia mundi corpora a summo  
10

11, 1/4 deum – possint] Ep. fund. 2, 21-24      4/8 lucis – pararetur] Ep. fund. 3

10, 5 naturam] -as *So<sup>a.c.</sup>*      6 damnet] -at *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup>*      peccantes] peccates *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, peccatores uel peccantes *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx* (uel -cantes *sup. l.*)

11, 1 Interea] intereat *P<sup>4</sup>*      2 nullo] -um *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So P<sup>4</sup>*      indigente] -em *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F. Vide adnotationes.*      infimo] infirmo *γ Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> F<sup>in marg.</sup> Maur*, in infimo *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*      constituto] -um *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So P<sup>1</sup>*      3 saecula] se scula *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*      4 paulo] *om. P<sup>1</sup>*      subiungit] iungit *P<sup>2</sup> Bx Bo So*, adiungit *Bg<sup>1</sup>*      uero] *om. Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, -e *Gr<sup>in marg.</sup>*, -a *P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>*, -ae *F<sup>p.c.</sup>*      5 labem] -ens *Ag<sup>1</sup>*, -i *Ag<sup>2</sup>*, -e *P<sup>1</sup>*      magnam] -a *P<sup>1</sup>*      ac] et *Bg<sup>1</sup>*, hac *P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup>*      uastitatem] -e *P<sup>1</sup>*, uastatem *P<sup>4</sup>*      quae] quo *Gr* surget] -ere *P<sup>1</sup>*, surget se *F<sup>p.c.</sup>* (se *sup. l. m<sup>2</sup>*)      6 impendere] impedere *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*      aliquod] aliquo *Ag<sup>3</sup>*      ac] hac *P<sup>1</sup>*, et *Mü*      7 potens] potens numen *Maur Zycha*      ac] hac *P<sup>1</sup>*      8 qua] quo *Gr*, quae *P<sup>4</sup> Mü F*      quies] -em *P<sup>1</sup>*

12, 1 potuerunt] poterunt *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*      dei] *om. P<sup>1</sup>*      2 potuerunt] -uerint *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*      mentitus] -iatus *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*      3 aliquo] -a *P<sup>1</sup>*      sunt] sint *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*      erit] erat *Gr*      4 sic] si *P<sup>4</sup> Mü*, uero uel sic *F* (uel sic *sup. l. m<sup>2</sup>*)      uidemus] -eamus *Ag<sup>2</sup> deum] om. P<sup>4</sup>*      5 malo] -a *P<sup>1</sup>*      6 saecula] sua saecula *Ag<sup>1</sup>* (sua *sup. l.*) *Ag<sup>3</sup>*      eius] *om. γ*, huius *P<sup>1</sup>*      impenderet] -iret *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup>*, impederet *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, se impenderet *F* (se *sup. l. m<sup>2</sup>*)      aliud] aliudque *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Maur Zycha*, et aliud *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Gr*      7 hoc] *om. Gr*      compararet] -eret *F<sup>a.c.</sup>*      8 hoc est] *sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup>*      9 deus] -um *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> β P<sup>4</sup> Mü*      omnipotens] -entem *Ag<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> Bo*, -ente *P<sup>1</sup>*      10 a summo] assummo *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup>*, a sumo *P<sup>4</sup>*

and unfairness to God. But what else is true, except that the Lord gives precepts, that the souls possess a free will, that evil is not a nature, but is the aversion from God's precepts, and that it is through His righteous judgement that God punishes sinners?

11. In the meantime, although the same Mani says "God is abundant of all things good, and in his splendid kingdoms there is no one who is poor or in a lower rank. His shining aeons are also founded in such a way that they cannot be shaken or moved by anyone",<sup>128</sup> in another passage just a little later he adds the following and says: "the father of the most blessed light, however, knowing that a great ruin and devastation, which was rising from the darkness and menaced his sacred aeons, unless he opposed to it something outstanding, brilliant and powerful, by which he would at once overcome the descendants of the darkness and destroy them, and thus, following their destruction, rest would be secured for the inhabitants of the light".<sup>129</sup>

12. Surely then, the kingdoms of Mani's god cannot ever be shaken or moved by anyone. If they could, he lied when he said those kingdoms cannot be shaken by anyone. And if they are shaken because of necessity or fear, he will not be God if he could be shaken in such a manner. For we see that Mani's god, according to that same Mani, is being forced by the evil of necessity, when ruin and devastation menaced his sacred aeons, and had no other choice of action but to send a part of himself to combat, so he could at least this way secure rest for the inhabitants of the light. However, this part of him, that is, light of light, good of good, holy of holy, eternal of eternal, god of god, almighty of almighty, would be corrupted, mortified, and mingled with all worldly bodies from the highest to the lowest, from heaven to the lowest filth of nature.<sup>130</sup> In this way also prostitutes in

<sup>128</sup> STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 20-27, esp. p. 24; *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 9; TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, p. 243.365.

<sup>129</sup> This sentence is either an incomplete citation of the Manichaean text, or an anacoluthon. STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 28-29. 87-88; *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 11; TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, p. 295.338.382-383.

<sup>130</sup> Lit. "to manure" (*ad stercora*).



usque ad imum, a caelo usque ad stercora, ut et meretrices in theatris et in locis turpioribus turpiores habeant in se oppressum deum, qui liberari forte non possit. Dicit enim in fine ipsius epistulae unde unum capitulum iam posuimus, ipsam dei partem quae commixta est, non totam posse reuocari  
15 ad pristinam libertatem.

13. Ecce uictoria, ecce triumphus qualem fecit Manichaei deus. Nam post amissam partem suam in luctu est, sicut Manichaeus idem dicit: « uelum contra se habet, qui dolorem eius temperet, ne corruptionem partis suae uideat. Hodie enim diuina quam commemorat substantia, subiaceret  
5 genti tenebrarum ut lutum figulo ». Hoc in primo libro *Thesauri* eorum scriptum est.

14. Qualis interea turpitudine, quam in eodem *Thesauro* suo inter cetera turpia in septimo libro scribit sic dicens: « tunc beatus ille pater, qui lucidas naues habet diuersoria et habitacula secum magnitudines, pro insita sibi clementia fert opem, qua exuitur et liberatur ab impiis retinaculis et  
5 angustis atque angoribus suae uitalis substantiae. Itaque inuisibili suo nutu illas suas uirtutes, quae in clarissima hac naui habentur, transfigurat easque parere facit aduersis potestatibus, quae in singulis caelorum tractibus ordinatae sunt. Quae quoniam ex utroque sexu masculorum ac feminarum

13, 3/5 uelum – figulo] Thes. 1

14, 2/16, 15 tunc – admiscetur] Thes. 3

12, 11 imum] summum  $Ag^2$  a caelo] accelo  $Ag^{1a.c.}$ , ad caelum  $P^4$  stercora] terra  $P^4$  et<sup>1</sup>] *om.*  $P^{1a.c.}$  12 habeant] -ent  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$ , -erent *Maur Zycha* oppressum] -is  $Bg^1$  qui] *om.*  $P^1$  liberari] -e  $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So*  $So^{a.c.}$ , liberare se  $So^{p.c.}$  forte] *Gr* <sup>*in marg.*</sup> 13 fine] -em  $P^4$  *F* ipsius] *om.*  $Bg^1$  iam] quem  $P^1$  14 ipsam – partem] partem ipsam dei por tam  $P^1$  partem] -e  $P^4$

13, 1 uictoria] -iam *Gr* triumphus] -um *Gr* Manichaei] a -o  $P^2$ , -us  $P^1$  Nam] non  $Ag^2$ , *om.*  $P^1$  2 amissam] admissam  $P^1$ , amissam *Mü*  $F^{a.c.}$  luctu] -us  $P^1$  Manichaeus idem] *inu. Bo So* dicit] ait *So* 3 qui] quod  $P^{3p.c.}$  *So Gr Maur Zycha* dolorem] -e  $Ag^2$   $P^1$   $P^4$  ne] nec  $P^4$  3/4 partis suae] patris sui  $P^1$  4 commemorat] commemat  $Gr^{a.c.}$  5 lutum] nutum  $P^1$  in – eorum] in eorum in primo libro thesauri *F*, in eorum primo libro thesauri *Zycha* Thesauri] thensauri  $Ag^1$   $Ag^{2a.c.}$   $P^3$   $P^2$  *Bx Gr*  $p.c.$   $F^{a.c.}$ , tesauri  $P^1$ , tesari  $Gr^{a.c.}$ , th<sup>\*</sup>auri *Mü*

14, 1 turpitudine] cupido *Gr*, turpitudine sit *F* eodem] eo  $Bg^1$  Thesauro] thensauro  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$   $P^{3p.c.}$   $P^{2a.c.}$  *Bx F*  $p.c.$ , tensauro  $F^{a.c.}$  suo] *om.*  $P^3$  *Bo So Maur* 2 scribit] scripsit  $P^3$   $P^1$   $\delta$  *Maur Zycha* lucidas] licidas  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  3 secum] seu  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$ , secum uel secundum  $Bg^1$  *Bx* (uel secundum *sup. l.*), secundum *Bo So Maur Zycha* magnitudines] -udinibus  $\delta$  4 clementia fert] clementi affert  $P^4$  *Mü*  $F^{a.c.}$ , clementia affert  $F^{p.c.}$  qua] quae  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $P^{2p.c.}$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So*  $P^1$   $\delta$ . *Vide adnotationes.* et<sup>1</sup>] uel  $P^1$  5 angustis atque] *om.*  $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So* angoribus] langoribus *Gr* suae] -a  $Ag^3$   $P^2$  uitalis] -i  $P^1$  substantiae] -ia  $Ag^3$   $P^2$  6 suas uirtutes] *inu. P*  $P^3$  hac] ac  $P^{2a.c.}$   $P^4$ , *om.* *Bx*  $a.c.$  7 aduersis] -us  $P^1$  tractibus] tractatibus  $P^3$  ordinatae] -i  $P^1$  8 ac] et  $Ag^2$ , aut  $P^1$



theatres and more scandalous people in more scandalous places would have in themselves an oppressed god, who perhaps cannot be liberated. For he says at the end of his epistle, of which we already put forward one chapter, that this part of god itself, which is mingled, cannot be recalled wholly to its earlier freedom.

13. Behold the victory, behold the triumph which Mani's god achieved. Surely, after he lost his part he is in mourning, as Mani himself says: "he has a veil before himself, so he could soothe his pain, and so that he could not see the corruption of his own part. For today the divine substance which he mentions, is subject to the race of darkness like clay to a potter".<sup>131</sup> This is written in the first book of their *Treasure*.

14. Meanwhile, he writes of such a disgrace in the seventh book of that same *Treasure* among other disgraceful things when he says the following:<sup>132</sup> "then that blessed Father, who has shining ships as dwellings or magnitudes<sup>133</sup> as lodging places with him, in his innate clemency brings aid by which he is stripped and set free from the impious bonds and straits and torments of his own vital substance. By his invisible nod he transforms his powers, which he has in this shining ship, and causes these powers to show themselves to the opposite species, which are set in different parts of the heavens. These are of both sexes, male and female. Hence, he too makes

<sup>131</sup> See N.A. PEDERSEN, "The Veil and Revelation of the Father of Greatness", in *'In search of Truth': Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort*, ed. by J.A. VAN DEN BERG e.a., Leiden/Boston, 2011 (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 74), p. 229-234, esp. p. 229; STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 4, p. 34-35.

<sup>132</sup> What follows is a lengthy citation of the *Treasure*, one of the Manichaeans' canonical writings. See STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 4, p. 38-43, and *ibid.*, p. 114-138. The fragment explains how the Manichaean God liberates good particles from the evil particles. These good particles are mingled with hostile powers. The Manichaean god transforms its emanations into the shape of beautiful boys and virgins. The hostile powers in turn are aroused by these apparitions. Lust is the fundamental sin of the Manichaean principle of evil. As the hostile powers are distracted by the charming appearance of the boys and virgins, some good particles can escape their condition of being intermingled with evil and can return to their original position in the heavens.

<sup>133</sup> "Magnitudes" is a technical term in Manichaean cosmology. The magnitudes are God's emanations. See STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 4, p. 117-118.

- consistunt, et ideo praedictas uirtutes partim speciem puerorum inuestium  
 10 parere iubet generi aduerso feminarum, partim uirginum lucidarum forma  
 generi contrario masculorum, sciens eas omnes hostiles potestates prop-  
 ter ingenitam sibi letalem et spurcissimam concupiscentiam facillime capi  
 atque iisdem speciebus pulcherrimis quae parent et mancipari hocque modo  
 dissolui. Sciatis autem hunc eundem nostrum beatum patrem hoc idem  
 15 esse quod etiam suae uirtutes, quas ob necessariam causam transformat in  
 puerorum et uirginum intemeratam similitudinem. Vtitur autem his tam-  
 quam propriis armis atque per eas suam complet uoluntatem.

15. Harum uero uirtutum diuinarum, quae ad instar coniugii contra  
 inferna genera statuuntur quaeque alacritate ac facilitate id quod cogitaue-  
 rint momento eodem efficiunt, plenae sunt lucidae naues. Itaque cum ratio  
 poposcerit ut masculis appareant eadem sanctae uirtutes, ilico etiam suam  
 5 effigiem uirginum pulcherrimarum habitu demonstrant. Rursum cum ad  
 feminas uentum fuerit, postponentes speciem uirginum puerorum inues-  
 tium speciem ostendunt. Hoc autem uisu decoro illarum ardor et concupis-  
 centia crescit atque hoc modo uinculum pessimarum cogitationum earum  
 soluitur uiuaque anima, quae eorumdem membris tenebatur, hac occasione  
 10 laxata euadet et suo purissimo aeri miscetur, ubi penitus ablutae animae  
 ascendunt ad lucidas naues, quae sibi ad euectionem atque ad suae patriae  
 transfretationem sunt praeparatae.

14, 9 consistunt] constunt *Gr<sup>l.c.</sup>* et ideo] ideo *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Gr Maur Zy-  
 cha* partim] post in *Ag<sup>l</sup>* speciem] -e *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So F Maur Zycha* in-  
 uestium] inuestium *uel* uenustorum *Ag<sup>2</sup>(uenustorum add. sup. l. m<sup>2</sup>)*, inuestium *uel* inues-  
 titorum *F(-torum add. sup. l.)* 10 generi] *sup. l. Bx* lucidarum] lucidatorum *P<sup>3</sup>*  
 11 generi contrario] ienere contraria *P<sup>l</sup>* eas] eos *P<sup>l</sup>* 12 capi] cupi *Ag<sup>l.c.</sup>*, rapi *Bo So*  
 13 iisdem] hisdem *P<sup>2</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bo So P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* quae] que *P<sup>4</sup>* parent] apparent *Maur*  
 et mancipari] mancipari *Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Maur Zycha*, emancipari *Gr* hocque]  
 hoc quoque *Ag<sup>l</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup>* 14 dissolui] -uit *P<sup>l</sup>* hunc] tunc *P<sup>l</sup>* 15 uirtutes] -is *Ag<sup>l</sup>*  
 necessariam] -as *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup>*, -a *P<sup>l</sup>* causam] -as *Ag<sup>2</sup>*, -a *P<sup>l</sup>* 16 intemeratam] interemerat *P<sup>l</sup>*  
 17 atque] *om. P<sup>l</sup>* suam complet] *inu. Bo So*

15, 1 uirtutum] -em *P<sup>4</sup>* ad] *om. Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So* coniugii] coniugii *P<sup>l</sup>* 2 ge-  
 nera] *om. Gr* ac] et *Bo So*, hac *P<sup>l</sup>* 3 momento] memento *P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup>* efficiunt]  
 aficiunt *P<sup>l</sup>* plenae] -a *P<sup>l</sup>* 4 masculis] -us *Gr<sup>l.c.</sup>* eadem] *Ag<sup>l.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bx*  
*Bo So Gr F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha*, eadem *Ag<sup>l.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>l.c.</sup>*, ecce *Bg<sup>l</sup>*. *Vide*  
*adnotationes.* ilico] illo *Gr* 5 effigiem] efficiem *P<sup>l</sup>*, effigiam *P<sup>4</sup>* uirginum]  
 -em *Gr<sup>l.c.</sup>* habitu] abitum *P<sup>l</sup>* Rursum] -us *Ag<sup>2</sup>* 6 inuestium] inuestitu *P<sup>2p.c.</sup>*, in-  
 berbium *Gr*, inuestium id est inuestitorium *F(id est inuestitorium add. sup. l.)* 9 teneba-  
 tur] -bantur *P<sup>l</sup>*, tenebratur *P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>l.c.</sup>* hac] hoc *Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, ac *P<sup>4</sup> Mü* occasione] -em  
*P<sup>4</sup> Mü* 10 euadet] -it *Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> So*  $\delta$  *Maur Zycha* aeri] -e *P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* miscetur]  
 -itur *P<sup>4</sup> F<sup>l.c.</sup>* 11 euectionem] uectionem *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup>*, euectionem uel euectionem *Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx(uel*  
 euectionem *sup. l.)*, eleccionem *P<sup>l</sup>* suae patriae] -em -em *Ag<sup>l.c.</sup>*, -a -a *P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup>* 12 trans-  
 fretationem] et transfretatione *P<sup>l</sup>*, transfretatione *P<sup>4</sup>*

the aforesaid powers appear at some times in the shape of beardless boys to women of the opposite species, at other times in the shape of fair virgins to males of the opposite species. He knows that all these hostile powers are easily captivated because of the deadly unclean lust that is congenital to them, and will yield to the beautiful forms which appear, and will so be dissolved. Know that our blessed father is identical with these powers of his, which for a necessary purpose he transforms into the undefiled likeness of boys and virgins. He uses these as his proper weapons, and by them accomplishes his will.

15. The shining ships are full of these divine powers which are set over against members of the infernal race as in a kind of marriage. Quickly and easily, in a moment, they achieve their purpose. When reason demands that these same holy powers should appear to males, immediately they show themselves in the form of beautiful virgins. Again, when they have come to women, they put off the appearance of virgins and take on that of beardless boys. Now at this comely sight their ardour and concupiscence grow, and in this way the fetter of their evil thoughts is broken, and the living soul which was held bound in their members is released on this occasion and escapes and mingles with the purest air which is its native element. Souls that are completely purified board the shining ships which have been prepared to carry them away and to transport them to their fatherland.

16. Id uero quod adhuc aduersi generis maculas portat, per aestum atque calores particulatim descendit atque arboribus ceterisque plantationibus ac satis omnibus miscetur et coloribus diuersis inficitur. Et quo facto ex ista magna et clarissima naui figurae puerorum et uirginum parent contrariis potestatibus, quae in caelis degunt quaeque ignem habeant naturam; atque ex isto aspectu decoro uitae pars quae in earumdem membris habetur, laxata deducitur per calores in terram. Eodem modo etiam illa altissima uirtus, quae in naui uitalium aquarum habitat, similitudinem puerorum ac uirginum sanctarum per suos angelos apparet his potestatibus quarum natura frigida est atque humida quaeque in caelis ordinatae sunt. Et quidem his quae feminae sunt, in ipsis forma puerorum apparet; masculis uero uirginum; ac mutatione et diuersitate personarum diuinarum ac pulcherri-  
marum humidae frigidaeque stirpis princeps, masculi seu feminae, soluuntur atque id quod in ipsis est uitale, fugit; quod uero resederit, laxatum deducitur in terram per frigora et cunctis terrae generibus admiscetur ».

17. Quis non rideat uel potius doleat et detestetur istum hominem tam horrenda et execrabilia de diuina substantia dicentem? Ergo substantiae lucis aeternae, parti Dei, in captiuitate, in calamitatibus, in aerumnis, in pressuris, in sordibus atque immunditia, secundum uestrum errorem, uestram constitutionem non poterat aliter quotidie subueniri, nisi beatus Pater, qui naues lucidas habet diuersorias, quem tertium legatum appellatis, et uirtus altissima uirtutes suas in diuersi sexus naturam commutet; quas

16, 1 per aestum] praestum  $P^1$  aestum] -us *Zycha* 2 calores] colores  $P^1$  *Gr* ac] hac  $P^1$  2/3 ac - coloribus] *om. Ag^1* 3 coloribus] caloribus  $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So* Et<sup>2</sup>] *om. Ag^3 Bg^1 Bx Bo So Gr, del. Ag^1* facto] facto facto *Bo*, pacto *Maur Zycha* ex ista] exista  $P^1$ , existam  $P^4$  4 et<sup>1</sup>] *om. P^1* clarissima] praeclarissima  $P^1$  naui] -e  $P^1$  contrariis] contra aliis  $P^1$  5 quaeque] que que  $P^1$  *Mü*, que quem  $P^4$  ignem] -cam  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So Gr Maur Zycha* habeant] -ent  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^{3p.c.}$   $P^{2p.c.}$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So Gr Maur Zycha* 6 earumdem] eorumdem  $Ag^1$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $Bx^{d.c.}$ , earum  $Gr^{d.c.}$  habetur] abentur  $P^{1a.c.}$ , abetur  $P^{1p.c.}$  7 terram] -a  $P^1$  illa altissima] *inu. δ Zycha* 8 similitudinem] -e  $Ag^1$  *Bo So F Maur*, in -e  $Ag^3$  *Zycha*, in -em *Gr* 10 ordinatae] -i  $P^1$ , -a  $P^4$  11 his] *is Gr* feminae] femini  $P^1$  in] *om. Ag^3* ipsis] -a  $P^1$  puerorum] *om. Ag^2* masculis] -i  $P^1$  12 ac<sup>1</sup>] hac  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^{2p.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $P^1$ , hac uero *Maur Zycha* mutatione] -em  $P^1$  diuersitate] -em  $P^1$  personarum] puerorum  $Mü^{d.c.}$  ac<sup>2</sup>] hanc  $P^4$  13 princeps] -ipes  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^{2p.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So Gr F^{p.c.} Maur Zycha* seu] siue  $P^1$  14 fugit] fuit  $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo* quod<sup>2</sup>] quot  $P^1$  15 deducitur] reducitur  $P^4$  in] ad  $\gamma$  *Maur*

17, 1 non] enim *Bo* detestetur] -atur  $Bg^1$   $P^4$   $Mü$   $F^{p.c.}$ , detastatur  $F^{u.c.}$  2 horrenda] -o  $P^1$  de] *om. P^4* 3 captiuitate] -em  $P^1$  4 in<sup>2</sup>] *sup. l. Mü* immunditia] -as  $P^2$ , -is  $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So* errorem] -am  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  5 constitutionem] confutationem  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$  subueniri] -e  $Gr^{d.c.}$   $P^4$  6 diuersorias]  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $P^2$   $P^1$   $P^4$   $Mü$  *F*, -a  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So Gr Maur Zycha. Vide adnotationes.* appellatis] -atur  $Mü$  7 altissima] -i  $Ag^2$  diuersi] -is  $P^1$  naturam] -a *Bo So* commutet] -etur  $Bg^1$  quas] post  $P^1$

16. Whatever still shows the taint of the opposite species goes down step by step through fiery heat, gets mixed up with trees and other plants and all crops, and is stained with diverse colours. Therefore, out of that great shining ship the figures of boys and virgins appear to the hostile powers whose home is in the heavens and who have fire as nature. At the fair sight the part of life which is held bound in their members is released and brought down by heat to earth. In the same way also the highest power, that inhabits the ship of living waters, appears through his angels by means of a similarity of boys and saintly virgins to those powers whose nature is cold and moist, which also are set in the heavens. To those who are female it appears in the form of boys, and to males in the forms of virgins. By this transformation and diversity of divine and beautiful forms the prince of cold and moist stock – in the appearance of males or of females – is dissolved and the vital element in them escapes. What remains is loosened and brought down to earth by cold and is mingled with all the species of earth”.<sup>134</sup>

17. Who would not laugh at someone, or rather feel sorrow and hate towards that man who says such horrible and accursed things about the divine substance? Thus, according to your error, according to your constitution, not in any other way could aid be given on a daily basis to the substance of eternal light, a part of god, in its captivity, its calamity, its distress, its anxiety, its filth and uncleanness, unless the blessed father, who has shining ships as lodging places, which you call the third ambassador, together with the highest virtue would transform his virtues into the nature of the opposite sex? You call these virtues pure, yet still, just like that highest virtue, in the manner of prostitutes, with its beauty had poured a deadly and all too unclean desire into the princes of shadows, they

<sup>134</sup> *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 5; TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, p. 341-342.

quidem intemeratas dicitis, sed tamen, ut meretricum more pulchritudine  
 10 dit, inuicem accendant. Non enim inuenistis uerum, quo tantam turpitudi-  
 nem aliquando honestius diceretis. Et qua causa hoc faciunt? Vt eis in libi-  
 dinem concitatis occasionem liberationis reperiatur substantia diuina. Quid  
 aliud sonat nisi ut etiam per genitalia daemonum uias euadendi inueniat  
 diuina maiestas? Deus magne, subueni animis ista turpia credentibus, ista  
 15 nefanda sectantibus. Quis haec non exhorreat, rogo uos? Quis tam caecus  
 est, ut ista credat, rogo uos?

18. Sed certe respondeatur mihi ab his qui ipsum Manichaeum sequun-  
 tur: « si Deus incorruptibilis est uel omnis natura summi boni inuiolabilis,  
 immaculabilis, inadibilis, incoinquinabilis, incomprehensibilis, quid pote-  
 rat facere mali natura huic tantae naturae, si nollet cum illa pugnare, ne  
 5 ad tantum dedecus deduceretur? » Hoc dixi: « quid factura erat Deo gens  
 tenebrarum, si nollet cum illa pugnare? » Si mihi dicitur: « nihil », quaero  
 cur hodie eius pars, hoc est, dei deus, in calamitatibus, in pressuris, in cap-  
 tiuitate, in subiectione sit constituta, ut tam turpiter etiam liberetur et nec  
 sic liberari tota possit; uel ipse pater, ut luctum habeat memoratae partis  
 10 suae causa, quem luctum Manichaeus in suis libris apertissime praedicat?

19. Ait quidam: « nihil ei fieri poterat, sed ut ostenderet praescientiam  
 se habere cogitationum principum tenebrarum, et ut monstraret nihil se  
 timere, propterea pugnavit ». Cui ego dixi: « qui potuit cogitationes prin-  
 cipum tenebrarum uidere ac neminem timere, quare non uidit luctum sibi  
 5 imminem de partis suae infelicitate, quam hodie patitur? Quam partem

17, 8 dicitis] -itas *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* sed] sic *Bg<sup>l</sup>* 9 principum] -em *P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup>*, principum *P<sup>l</sup>*  
 tenebrarum] *om. Ag<sup>l</sup>* confudit] confundit *Ag<sup>lp.c.</sup> Bx Bo So, om. Bg<sup>l</sup> Gr*, confusae *Maur*  
*Zycha. Vide adnotationes* 9/10 confudit – accendant] inuicem accendant confun-  
 dit *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 10 inuicem] -e *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* accendant] -at *Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>* uerum] -u  
*P<sup>1a.c.</sup>*, -i *P<sup>1p.c.</sup>*, uerbum *Gr* turpitudinem] pulchritudinem *Maur* 11 aliquando] ali-  
 quanto *Ag<sup>3</sup> β G<sup>2p.c.</sup>* qua] quia *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* eis] in eis uel meis *Ag<sup>l</sup>* 12 occasionem] -e *F*  
 reperiatur substantia] repperi ad substantiam uel repperi ad substantiam *P<sup>l</sup>* 13 genitalia]  
 gentilia *Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx* 14 magne] man& *P<sup>l</sup>* turpia] *om. Bo So*, turpia quia *P<sup>l</sup>* ista<sup>2</sup>]  
 -am *P<sup>l</sup>* 15 sectantibus] factantibus *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>* Quis<sup>2</sup>] quia *Bg<sup>l</sup>*  
 18, 1 his] iis *Maur Zycha* sequuntur] secuntur *P<sup>l</sup> Gr P<sup>4</sup> F* 2 omnis] -es *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*  
 3 immaculabilis] incoinquinabilis *Ag<sup>3</sup>* inadibilis] inadilis *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*, insuadibilis *P<sup>l</sup>*, inan-  
 dibilis *Gr<sup>4c.</sup>* incoinquinabilis] immaculabilis *Ag<sup>3</sup>*, incoinquinabilis *P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup>* quid]  
 qui *Gr<sup>4c.</sup>* poterat] -erit *Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>* 4 si – pugnare] est si nollet natura *P<sup>l</sup>* 5 de-  
 decus] decus *P<sup>l</sup>* dixi] -it *P<sup>l</sup>* 6 cum – pugnare] pugnare cum illa pugnare *P<sup>l</sup>*  
 7 deus] *om. Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Maur, del. Ag<sup>l</sup>* 8 sit] sic *P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>l</sup>* nec] *sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup>* 9 sic]  
 sit *P<sup>4</sup>* liberari] -eretur *P<sup>l</sup>* liberari tota] *inu. Ag<sup>2</sup>* luctum] lutum *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* par-  
 tis] patris *P<sup>l</sup>* 10 quem] con *P<sup>l</sup>*  
 19, 1 quidam] -em *P<sup>3a.c.</sup> F<sup>2p.c.</sup>* 2 principum] principium *P<sup>l</sup>* nihil] *om. P<sup>l</sup>*  
 3 pugnavit] -auit *P<sup>l</sup>* ego] ergo *Bg<sup>l</sup>* potuit] potui *P<sup>l</sup>* principum] *om. P<sup>2</sup>*  
 4 timere] temere *P<sup>l</sup>* 5 partis] patris *P<sup>2</sup>* infelicitate] -em *P<sup>l</sup>*

would, in turn, incite lust themselves. For you have not found the truth, by which you would eventually describe that disgrace more rightfully. And why do they do this? So that, while these hostile princes are urged to lust, divine substance would find an occasion to be liberated. What else does that sound like, if not that even through the genitals of demons divine majesty finds a route of escape? Great God, aid the souls of them,<sup>135</sup> who believe such disgraceful teaching, who pursue these illicit doctrines. Who would not tremble before these words, I ask you? Who is blind to such an extent that he would believe those words, I ask you?

18. But certainly, they who follow Mani himself would respond to me: “if God is incorruptible, or every nature of the highest good inviolable, immaculate, unapproachable, unpollutable, incomprehensible, what could the nature of evil do to such a nature, were God unwilling to fight with it, in order to prevent being dragged down to such an infamous state?” I have said the following: “what would the race of shadows have done to God, if he did not want to fight it?” If I am told: “nothing,” I ask why then today a part of him, this is, god of god, is put in calamity, in distress, in captivity, in subjection, so that he too would be liberated in such a disgraceful manner, and could not even in such a manner be liberated completely? Or why would the father himself undergo these things? So that he mourns because of the already mentioned part (of which mourning Mani preaches very openly in his books)?

19. Someone says: “nothing could have overcome him, but in order to demonstrate he knew the thoughts of the princes of shadows beforehand, and to show he feared nothing, for that reason he fought”. To him I have said: “he who was able to see the thoughts of the princes of shadows and to fear no one, why did he not see the mourning that threatened to overcome

<sup>135</sup> Lit. “the souls which” (*animis... credentibus ... sectantibus*).



suam numquam recipiet integram, quia remanet inde aliquid, sicut ipse dicit, quod purgari non poterit et in globo tenebrarum in aeternum damnabitur ». Magna praescientia, uel potius inscientia et misera infirmitas, hoc est totum quod neminem timebat. Certe si se tueri aliquo modo non poterat, rogaret ut sibi parceretur, ne ad tantum dedecus integritas illa et decus omnium ornamentorum perduceretur.

20. Item dictum est a quodam: « nihil ei poterat facere gens tenebrarum, sed ipse noluit pati rem malam circa fines suos et misit qui eam debellaret ». Cui ego dixi: « si ita est ut dicis, ipse potius inuenitur malus qui rem uicinam nihil ei nocentem delere uoluit. Et sicut malus in illam, sic crudelis in suam aut ignarus futurae calamitatis eius. Cum enim putat rem bonam se posse perficere, ut in regno mali, quod ei non nocebat, regionem suam extenderet, prius non praeuidit infelicitatem quae memoratam partem eius quotidie premit; deinde quod eam totam numquam in pristinam libertatem recipere poterit ».

21. Sed cum huic obiectioni responderi minime possit, solitam imperitiam opponunt: « quid facturi erant Iudaei Christo, si nollet ab eis pati? » O utinam uidere possint quod facile uiderent, nisi per nebulas contentionis excaecarentur: quid sit imminentis mali premi necessitate, quam deum suum passum asseuerant, et quid sit misericordiae benignissimum officium, quod sapientia et uirtus Dei Dominus Iesus Christus uoluntate et ineffabili potestate per hominem quem suscepit ex uirgine, generi humano exhibere dignatus est, ut hominibus per hominem patientiae demonstraret exemplum! Oportebat enim – et hoc iustum erat – ut homines per patientiam humilitatis uincerent difficultatem infirmitatis carnis suae, quia in eam per elationem superbiae ceciderant, sicut in Adam primo homine nostra

19, 6 numquam] quam *P<sup>l</sup>* 8 misera] miseria *P<sup>2</sup> Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* 9 timebat] -bant *P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>*  
se tueri] s&ueri *P<sup>l</sup>*, se -e *P<sup>4</sup> Mü* 10 et] ut *P<sup>l</sup>*

20, 1 ei] *sup. l. Gr* 2 noluit] nolui *P<sup>l</sup>* pati] parti *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* rem] esse *Bg<sup>l</sup>* 3/2  
debelleret] -arent *P<sup>l</sup>* 3 est] *sup. l. Gr* ipse] -a *P<sup>l</sup>* inuenitur malus] *inu. Bo So*  
malus] manus *P<sup>l</sup>* rem] recte *Bg<sup>l</sup>* 4 uoluit] uolui *P<sup>l</sup>* 5 futurae] in sua futura  
*P<sup>l</sup>* putat] -aret *Bx<sup>a.c.</sup> Bo So* 6 regno] -um *Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>l</sup>* 7 extenderet] hostenderet  
*P<sup>l</sup>* quae] quam *P<sup>l</sup>* 8 premit] -at *Maur* eam] ea *P<sup>l</sup>*, et *P<sup>4</sup>* totam] notam  
*P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>*, totum *P<sup>l</sup>* pristinam] -um *P<sup>l</sup>*

21, 1 responderi] -ere *Gr P<sup>4</sup>* minime] in me *P<sup>l</sup>* possit] -im *P<sup>l</sup>*, -ent *Gr*  
2 Christo] de christo *Bx* ab eis] habeis *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>* 3 possint] -ent *Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So*  
*Gr F<sup>3.c.</sup> Maur* quod] quid *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2.a.c.</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* 4 excaecarentur] execrarentur  
*Mü* 5 asseuerant] adseuerat *F<sup>3.a.c.</sup>* benignissimum] -us *P<sup>4</sup>* 6 quod] quam  
*Maur* uoluntate] -i *P<sup>2</sup>* 7 hominem] hominem *Ag<sup>l</sup>* suscepit] -i *P<sup>l</sup>* generi  
humano] -is -i *P<sup>l</sup>* 8 hominem – exemplum] homini patientiam demonstrare exem-  
plo *P<sup>l</sup>* 9 homines] -is *P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>* 10 difficultatem] in difficultatem *P<sup>l</sup>* infirmitatis]  
-em *P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F* quia] qui *P<sup>l</sup>* 11 elationem] helectionem *P<sup>l</sup>*, elationis *P<sup>4</sup>* ceciderant]  
-erunt *F<sup>3.a.c.</sup>* homine nostra] -i -o *P<sup>l</sup>*



him and which he suffers today, because of the bad fortune of his part? He shall never recover that part of him entirely, because, as he says himself, some of it remains that cannot be cleansed, and which will be condemned forever to the clod of shadows". A great foreknowledge, or rather, a lack of knowledge and a miserable weakness, that is the whole reason why he feared no one. Surely, if he could not protect himself one way or another, he would have asked to be spared, so that he, integrity itself and gracefulness in all ornaments, would not be dragged down to such a disgrace.

20. Likewise, it was said by someone: "the race of shadows could not have done anything to him, but he himself did not want to tolerate an evil presence around his borders and he sent someone to fight the race." To him I have said: "if what you say is true, then he himself would rather be found evil, who wanted to destroy a neighbouring presence that in no way harmed him. And just as he is evil to that neighbouring presence, he is cruel towards his own cause, or ignorant of the calamity that would await him. For while he would think he could realise a good deed, so that he would extend his region in the kingdom of evil, which did not harm him, he first did not foresee the unhappiness that every day weighs down on that aforementioned part. Afterwards, he did not foresee that he could never recover that part entirely to its former freedom".

21. But since they cannot at all respond to this objection, they, in their usual inexperience, shout in opposition: "what would the Jews have done to Christ, if he did not want to suffer from them?" Oh, if only they could see what they would easily see, were they not blinded by the thick clouds of strife, namely the difference between being pressed by the necessity of a threatening evil, which they assured their god suffered, and the most benign work of mercy, that the wisdom and virtue of God, Jesus Christ, realised: of his own will and of his ineffable power, through the human nature he took up from a virgin, he deemed it worthy to appear before the human race, so he could demonstrate to humans as a human an example of patience! For it was fitting – and this was righteous – that humans through the patience of humility would overcome the difficulty of their flesh's weakness, because they have fallen to this state of difficulty through the self-exaltation of pride, which, as our scripture demonstrates, happened in Adam, the first man. Now then, can you too say that there were some<sup>136</sup> people whom God wanted to teach patience, and that he for that reason wanted to suffer those evils at the hands of the race of shadows, just like

<sup>136</sup> Lat. *aliqui*. With this term, the author seems to refer to the Manichaean distinction between the Elect and the Hearers, of which only the first group could achieve personal salvation.

Scriptura indicat. Numquid et uos potestis dicere quia erant aliqui homines quos Deus uolebat docere patientiam – propterea uoluit a gente tenebrarum tanta mala pati, quemadmodum Dominus a Iudaeis? Aut numquid potestis  
 15 dicere quia suscepit aliquam naturam passibilem Deus, in qua pateretur a gente tenebrarum quidquid ei facere potuit, ut tamen ipse in sua substantia nulla ex parte mutaretur, sicut Verbum Dei, qui est Filius Dei, etiam ipse sicut Pater incommutabilis suscepit hominem mortalem, ut integra et inuiolata deitate in carne mortali doceret mortales per patientiam mortem  
 20 uincere et ipsius infirmae carnis futuram in melius commutationem resurrectione monstraret?

22. Cum ergo esset per se ipsum inuisibilis, uisibilis in homine apparuit, quem de femina suscipere dignatus est, ut in Euangelio legimus. Dicit et apostolus: *factum de muliere*. Et isti dicunt: «quare non ait ex uirgine?», non intelligentes quod consuete dictum sit secundum proprietatem linguae Scripturarum, sicut de Eua dictum est: *formauit eam in mulierem*,  
 5 antequam uel ostenderetur uiro. Quamuis Maria non incongrue propter partum dicitur mulier, uirgo uero, quod uirilem nescierit conuentionem neque pariendo uirginitas eius corrupta sit. Quod autem angelus et Elisabeth dixerunt Mariae: *benedicta tu inter mulieres*, nulla quaestio est quia  
 10 reuera benedicta est uirgo inter mulieres. Sed ne dicatis: «sicut angeli apparuerunt, sic haberet corpus, ne de femina nasceretur». Quid si uobis dicatur: «ubi legistis Christum uenisse?» Nonne dicturi estis: «in Euangelio»? Respondetur ergo uobis ibi esse scriptum Christum natum de uirgine, sed solita foeditate dicetis Scripturam ipsam falsam esse. Nec uidetis

22, 2 Euangelio] cf. Luc. 2      3 Gal. 4, 4      5 Gen. 2, 22      9 Luc. 1, 42  
 10/11 sicut – apparuerunt] cf. Luc. 1, 26-38

21, 12 quia] qui *P<sup>l</sup>*      13 uolebat] nolebat *Ag<sup>2</sup>*      docere] *om. Bo*      patientiam] -a *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>t</sup>*      14 a] ad *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> P<sup>l</sup>*      15 dicere] *sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup>*      suscepit] -i *P<sup>l</sup>*      Deus] *om. P<sup>l</sup>*      a] ad *P<sup>l</sup>*      16 potuit] -erit *P<sup>l</sup>*      ipse] -a *Bg<sup>l</sup>*      17 nulla] *sup. l. P<sup>l</sup>*      qui] quem *Ag<sup>l</sup> Mü*      est] *om. Ag<sup>l</sup> Mü F*      18 integra] integra ipsae *P<sup>l</sup>*      20 uincere] -eret *P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>l.p.c.</sup>*      ipsius] ipse *Bg<sup>l</sup>*      futuram] -a *P<sup>l</sup>*      resurrectione] -em *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup>*, resurrectionemque *P<sup>t</sup>*(cionemque *add. in marg.*)

22, 3 Et] *om. Bo So*      4 sit] est *Bg<sup>l</sup>*      proprietatem linguae] proprie talem linguae usum *F*, proprietatem linguae usum *Zycha*      5 eam – mulierem] in mulierem eam *Ag<sup>2</sup>*      6 uel] *sup. l. P<sup>l</sup>*      uiro] uirgo *Bo So*      6/7 propter – mulier] dicitur mulier propter partum *Ag<sup>2</sup>*      7 partum] partum *P<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*      dicitur] dicit *Bg<sup>l</sup>*      quod] quia *Bo So*      9 inter mulieres] in -ibus *P<sup>l</sup>*      10 est] es *P<sup>l</sup>*      11 haberet] -ere *Bx<sup>a.c.</sup> P<sup>l</sup>*, -et *δ Zycha*      Quid] quod *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> om. P<sup>l</sup>*      12 dicatur] -atis *Bx<sup>a.c.</sup>*      uenisse] in carne uenisse *Bo So Maur Zycha*      Nonne] non me *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*      dicturi] dicituri *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup>*      13 ibi] ubi *P<sup>t</sup>*      Mü *F*      esse scriptum] scriptum est *Maur*      14 foeditate – Scripturam] feritate dicente scriptura *P<sup>l</sup>*      ipsam] istam *Bg<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*      uidetis] cui detis *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*

the Lord at the hands of the Jews? Or can you say that God took up some passible nature, in which he underwent at the hands of the race of shadows whatever it could do to him, so that not a single part of his substance would be subject to change, as is the case for the Word of God, who is the Son of God? Or can you say that he too, just like the unchangeable Father took up a mortal human, so too he could – while his divinity remained untouched and unscathed – teach in the mortal flesh to mortals to overcome death through patience, and show by means of his resurrection the future change for the better of the weak flesh?

22. Although the Son was in himself invisible, he appeared visible as a man. He deemed it worthy to take up his human form from a woman, as we read in the Gospel. The Apostle confirms: *born of a woman*. In contrast, the Manichaeans declare: “why does he not say *of a virgin*?”, I presume because they do not understand that in the particularity of scriptural language it is commonly said so, as it was said of Eve, *He formed it*<sup>137</sup> *into a woman*, before she was even shown to her husband. Although Mary was not unjustly called woman because of her child-birth, she certainly remained a virgin because she never had intercourse with a man, and neither was her virginity corrupted in her giving birth. With regard to what the angel<sup>138</sup> and Elisabeth said to Mary, *blessed are you among women*, there can be no question that she is truly blessed as a virgin among women. Hopefully you will not say: “similarly to how angels appeared, such a body he would have had, so that he would not have been born of a woman”. What would you say if you would be asked: “where do you read Christ has come?” Would you not say: “in the Gospel”? Then you will receive the answer that there it is written that Christ was born from a virgin. However, in your usual foulness you declare that this passage of Scripture is falsified. And you do not see that someone, similarly blind to you, could also do this: what you will have called genuine, he will say it is falsified, and what you call falsified, those passages are genuine, he will say. And when you act like this, you

<sup>137</sup> *I.e.* the rib of Adam.

<sup>138</sup> Gabriel.

- 15 aliquem similem uobis caecum hoc posse facere, ut ea quae uos dixeritis uera, ille falsa esse dicat, et quae dicitis falsa, illa uera esse dicat. Ac sic aperiat is ianuas omni hominum errori uel sceleri, ut unusquisque prout uoluerit uel delectatus fuerit ipsas diuinas Scripturas accipiat, respuat uero quae non intelligens et offensus putauerit mala, et non iam inueniatur haec  
20 regula erroris uestri unde tales corrigantur.

23. Accipite integre canonicas Scripturas, si integri esse desideratis. Si enim intelligeretis uel crederetis certe quod apostolus dixit: per feminam nostrum genus fuisse deceptum – ait enim: *timeo ne sicut serpens Euam seduxit astutia sua, sic et uestrae mentes corrumpantur* – possitis intelligere  
5 per feminam nostrum genus oportuisse liberari, ut quoniam per feminam mors facta est, per feminam uita recuperaretur atque ita demonstraretur non ipsam creaturam femineam esse culpandam, cuius est Deus conditor, sed uoluntatem qua Eua peccauit. Sed timent maiestatis illam incoinquinabilem et ineffabilem potentiam in uirginis utero credere fuisse, ne sanguine  
10 eius pollueretur, cum et in apostolis et in multis dignis feminis et habitauerit et nunc habitet, qui utique corpora habent, sanguinem habent. Si enim in Maria coinquinari potuit, et in omnibus potuit; si autem non potuit in illis, utique nec in Maria potuit, in cuius uisceribus susceptionem corporis operata est Dei sapientia.

24. Certe ipsum Manichaeum de patre atque matre natum fuisse non negabunt, cuius animam secundum suum errorem deum esse omnipotentem

23, 3/4 II Cor. 11, 3      11 habitet] cf. Io 1, 14

22, 15 aliquem] -am  $Ag^{la.c.}$   $P^t$  similem] similem esse  $Bg^{la.c.}$  caecum] ad caecum  $P^t$ , cetum  $P^t$  hoc] aut  $P^t$  16 uera<sup>1</sup>] -e  $P^{2a.c.}$ , uere uel uera  $Bx$ (uel -a  $sup.$  l.) ille] -a  $Bg^l$   $Bo$   $So$ , -ae  $P^t$  quae] qui  $P^{la.c.}$ , quit  $P^{lp.c.}$  illa] -e  $Ag^2$   $Ag^3$   $Gr$   $F^{p.c.}$   $Maur$   $Zycha$  uera esse] uera  $Gr^{a.c.}$ ,  $inu.$   $Gr^{p.c.}$  sic] si  $Ag^2$   $Bg^l$   $P^t$  17 ianuas]  $om.$   $\beta$  omni] homini  $P^t$ , omnium  $Bg^l$   $\delta$  errori] -is  $P^t$  ut]  $sup.$  l.  $Gr$  18 uel] et  $P^t$  ipsas] -a  $Ag^l$  19 intelligens] intellexerit  $P^{2p.c.}$ ( $xerit$   $m^2$   $sup.$  l.) iam]  $om.$   $Mü$   $F$   $Zycha$  haec] hac  $Ag^3$   $Gr$   $Maur$ , mala ex  $P^t$  20 erroris] -es  $P^t$   $Mü$   $F^{p.c.}$   $Zycha$  unde tales] und&ales  $P^2$

23, 2 apostolus] -os  $Ag^{la.c.}$  dixit] dicit  $P^t$  3 nostrum genus]  $inu.$   $Bo$   $So$   $Maur$  deceptum] deiectum  $So$  timeo] timotheo  $Ag^2$  4 possitis] -etis  $Ag^{lp.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $Bg^l$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$   $Gr$   $F^{p.c.}$   $Maur$  5 feminam<sup>1</sup>] -a  $P^t$  liberari] -are  $P^t$  6 mors – feminam]  $om.$   $Bg^l$  demonstraretur] monstraretur  $Ag^{la.c.}$  7 esse] ense  $P^t$  est]  $sup.$  l.  $Gr$  8 qua] quam  $Ag^{la.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^t$  timent] tament  $Bo^{a.c.}$  9 ineffabilem] inaffabilem  $Gr^{a.c.}$  uirginis] uirgineo  $\delta$   $Zycha$  credere]  $sup.$  l.  $Ag^3$  sanguine] de sanguine  $P^t$  10 pollueretur] -uetur  $P^t$  et<sup>1</sup> – apostolis]  $sup.$  l.  $Bg^l$  et<sup>3</sup>]  $om.$   $Ag^3$  habitauerit] inhabitauerit  $P^t$  11 habitet] inhabitet  $Ag^3$  qui] quae  $Ag^3$ , quae uel qui  $Bx$ (uel qui  $sup.$  l.) sanguinem habent]  $om.$   $P^t$ , -e -ent  $P^t$ , et -em -ent  $Maur$   $Zycha$  12 omnibus] -i  $P^t$  autem] enim  $Bo$   $So$  13 in<sup>2</sup>] ut  $Bo$

24, 1 matre] de matre  $Ag^l$   $Ag^2$   $Ag^3$   $P^{3p.c.}$   $Maur$   $Zycha$  2 negabunt] -bant  $Bg^l$  animam] -a  $Ag^2$   $P^{3a.c.}$   $P^t$   $P^t$   $Mü$   $F$

could open the doors to every human error or misdeed. For anyone could then accept those passages of divine Scripture which he wanted or in which he found joy. Likewise, he could reject those passages which he did not understand and, himself offended, deemed evil. Ultimately, in accordance to your error, a normative rule by which such people would be corrected, could not be found.

23. Accept untouched the canon of Scripture, if you desire to be untouched. For, if you would understand or firmly believe what the Apostle says, that through a woman our race was deceived – for he says: *I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning, your thoughts will be led astray* – you could understand that through a woman our race deserved to be freed, so that, since death was caused on behalf of a woman, life will be recovered on behalf of a woman. Here you could find proof that not female nature,<sup>139</sup> of whom God is the creator, is to blame, but the will by which Eve sinned. Yet they are afraid to believe that the unpollutable and ineffable power of his majesty existed in a virgin's womb, out of fear that he would be polluted through her blood. However, he took residence in<sup>140</sup> the apostles and many dignified women – and he still inspires them – who certainly all have bodies and blood. For, if he could have been polluted in Mary, he could have been polluted in everyone. If he could not have been polluted in the latter, he certainly could not be polluted in Mary, in whose organs God's wisdom took up a body.

24. Certainly, they will not deny Mani himself was born of a father and mother. Similarly, they will not deny that, according to their error, his soul

<sup>139</sup> Lit. "the female creature itself". Here *creatura* seems not to refer to the woman Eve in particular, but to Eve's created condition as a woman.

<sup>140</sup> The wording resembles Jn 1,14 ("and lived among us"). The author emphasises the real presence of wisdom within the apostles and the dignified women of the New Testament, but also within contemporary inspired Christians. This wisdom is personified as the 'Wisdom', Christ. As such, the author draws a parallel between inspired Christians and Mary. Just like the inspiration of these Christians does not change the divine substance of Christ, so too did the virgin birth of Christ not harm his divinity.

similiter non negabunt, qui se mira superbia assumptum a gemino suo, hoc  
 est, a Spiritu sancto esse gloriatur. Et utique si geminus est Spiritus sancti,  
 5 et ipse Spiritus sanctus est et ipse Deus omnipotens ut sanctus Spiritus.  
 Qui tamen Manichaeus carnem habuit, in qua si coinquinatus est Spiritus  
 sanctus aut eius anima gemina Spiritus sancti, coinquinabilem deum  
 colunt. Si uero nusquam Deus coinquinatur, cum etiam lux corporum cae-  
 lestium usque ad terras perueniat et non coinquinetur, cum manifestum sit  
 10 solem istum cui genu flectunt, in omnibus stercorebus et putoribus radios  
 suos expandere et eos nusquam coinquinari, desinant blasphemare et rogent  
 Deum ut ab errore liberentur. Incoinquinabilis enim substantia non ideo  
 non coinquinatur, quia nihil attingit, sed quia permanet in sua munditia,  
 quaecumque sit quidquid attigerit. Sicut corpus inuulnerabile aut impene-  
 15 trabile: numquid illud dicimus quod non percutitur ferro, sed potius quod  
 etiam cum percutitur non penetratur? Et ideo magis probatur Filius Dei  
 non posse de sanguine feminae coinquinari, quia per feminam natus est,  
 quamquam si non per feminam nasceretur et membra illa deuitasset, uide-  
 retur indicasse posse se inde pollui, et minus a nobis fidenter incoinqui-  
 20 nabilis diceretur. Consecrauit autem uirginitatem, quia de uirgine nasci  
 uoluit. Et sola illi mater in terris eligenda erat ad suscipiendum hominem,  
 qui iam patrem habebat in caelis.

25. Sed dicunt: « quare ergo negauit matrem suam, quando ei dixit: *quid  
 mihi et tibi, mulier?* et quando, cum ei nuntiata esset quod eum uellet  
 uidere, respondit: *quae est mater mea aut qui sunt fratres mei?* et eos potius  
 in hunc affectum computauit qui facerent uoluntatem Patris eius? » Quia

25, 1/2 Io. 2, 4      3 Matth. 12, 48

24, 3 negabunt] -bant *Bg<sup>l</sup>* se] sibi *Bg<sup>l</sup>*, *om. Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* mira] -e *P<sup>t</sup>* assumptum]  
 assumto *P<sup>t</sup>* gemino] genio *Maur* 4 a] *om. Zycha* geminus] minus *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, ge-  
 minis *F<sup>a.c.</sup>*, genius *Maur* 5 Spiritus sanctus] *inu. Maur* sanctus Spiritus] *inu. Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So F Maur Zycha* 6 carnem] carmen *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>* 7 gemina] genia *Maur*  
 deum] -o *Ag<sup>2</sup>* 9 coinquinetur] -atur *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 10 putoribus] pudoribus *Mü* radios]  
 radio *P<sup>l.a.c.</sup>* 11 eos] eis *Maur* desinant] -unt *P<sup>t</sup>* blasphemare] -ari *P<sup>t</sup>* ro-  
 gent] -ens *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>* 13 non] *om. Bx<sup>a.c.</sup> So* coinquinatur] in quo inquinatur *P<sup>t</sup>*  
 14 inuulnerabile] -em *P<sup>t</sup>* aut impenetrabile] *sup. l. P<sup>3</sup>* 15 dicimus] decimus *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*  
 16 cum] *om. P<sup>t</sup>* percutitur] pereutimur *P<sup>t</sup>* Filius] -um *F<sup>p.c.</sup>* 17 coinquinari]  
 non coinquinari *P<sup>t</sup>* feminam] remina *P<sup>t</sup>* 18 quamquam] quando quidem *Ag<sup>3</sup>*, quia  
 quam *P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>*, quam *Maur* deuitasset] -asse *P<sup>t</sup>* 19 indicasse] enim iudicasse *Maur*  
 posse se] se *Ag<sup>3</sup>*, possesse *P<sup>t</sup>* incoinquinabilis] incoinquinabilis *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup> P<sup>3</sup>*, incoinqui-  
 nables *P<sup>t</sup>* 21 illi] -a *P<sup>t</sup> Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup>* eligenda] erigenda *P<sup>t</sup>* suscipiendum] -am *P<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*  
 22 qui] quia *P<sup>t</sup>* patrem] pate *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* habebat] abebant *P<sup>t</sup>*  
 25, 2 tibi] tibi est *P<sup>3</sup> Bo So* ei - esset] enunciasset *P<sup>3</sup>*, ei -um esset *F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha*.  
*Vide adnotationes.* 2/3 uellet uidere] *inu. Bo So* 3 et] ac *Maur Zycha* 4 face-  
 rent] -eret *P<sup>t</sup>* Quia] quo *So*

was the almighty God. He, in an astonishing display of pride, boasted he was adopted by his twin (this is, the Holy Spirit). And surely, if he is the twin of the Holy Spirit, he himself is Holy Spirit and almighty God himself, as Holy Spirit. And yet this Mani had a fleshly body. If in that body the Holy Spirit, or his soul, the twin of the Holy Spirit, was polluted, they worship a god susceptible to pollution. If, however, God can in no way be polluted, when the light of celestial bodies too can reach the earth and not be polluted, when it is clear that the sun, for whom they bend the knee, spreads its rays towards all manure and stench, and these rays are never polluted, let them stop blaspheming and may they ask God to be freed from their error. Indeed, an unpollutable substance is not unable to be polluted because it does not come in contact with anything, but because it remains in its cleanness, no matter the nature of what it comes in contact with. The same is the case for an invulnerable or impenetrable body: surely you do not call something by that name which is not struck by the sword, but rather that which, even when it is struck, is not penetrated? In this way too it is proven more aptly that the Son of God cannot be polluted through the blood of a woman because he was born from a woman. If, on the other hand, he was not born from a woman and if he avoided her limbs, he would seem to indicate he could suffer pollution through these limbs, and he would less faithfully be called unpollutable by us. However, he sanctified virginity, because he wanted to be born from a virgin. And he only had to choose a mother on earth to take on human nature, he who already had a father in the heavens.

25. Yet they proclaim: "Why then did he refuse his mother, when he told her: *what is it to you and me, woman?* and when, at the time he received the report she wanted to see him, why did he respond: *who is my mother and who are my brothers?* and why did he rather count those people who fulfil



- 5 exemplo suo iam docebat negandos esse terrenos parentes propter Deum. Opera enim diuina facienti terrenus affectus obstrepere non debebat. Nam si propterea non habebat matrem, quia negauit matrem, nec Petrus et ceteri apostoli habebant patres, quia monuit eos dicens: *et patrem ne uocaueritis uobis super terram; unus enim est Pater uester, qui in caelis est*. Quod ergo  
 10 eos monuit de patre terreno, hoc de matre prior fecit. Hoc ergo dicimus: sapientiam Dei suscipiendo hominem non esse coinquinatam, sed misericorditer ad hominum salutem hominem suscepisse, ut fieret sicut apostolus dicit: *mediator Dei et hominum homo Iesus Christus*. Non enim dubitanti discipulo suo mentiri potuit qui dixit: *ego sum ueritas*, quando ei cicatrices  
 15 uulnerum suorum, ut etiam manu tangeret, praeuit. Quomodo enim huic in aliquo securi fidem haberemus, si discipulo suo sic mentitus est? Absit talis blasphemia nec eos ipsos in sempiternum reos teneat qui hoc audent asserere aut credere, sed euigilent aliquando et intelligant quam nefaria peruersitate ista credantur.

26. Nos autem Christum Dominum uerum hominem suscepisse credimus et in ipso uisibiliter inuisibilem hominibus apparuisse, in ipso inter homines conuersatum fuisse, in ipso ab hominibus humana pertulisse, in ipso homines docuisse a quibus esset recedendum, quid esset perferendum,  
 5 quo esset tendendum. Totum autem hoc nulla fecit necessitate. Vnde ipse dicit: *propter hoc me Pater diligit, quia ego pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam illam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam*. Non

25, 8/9 Matth. 23, 9      13 I Tim. 2, 5      13/15 dubitanti – praeuit] cf. Io. 20, 27-28      14 Io. 14, 6  
 26, 6/8 Io. 10, 17-18

25, 5 negandos] negandos se  $Ag^{1a.c.}$ , negando se  $Ag^2$   $P^{3a.c.}$ , negando suo  $P^1$ , negando  $P^4$  terrenos parentes] *inu. Bo So* 6 facienti] facienti  $P^1$  affectus] effectus  $P^4$  obstrepere] -ebat  $F^{a.c.}$  9 uobis] nobis  $F^{a.c.}$  enim est] *inu. Ag^3 Bg^1 Bo So Gr P^4 F Maur Zycha* 10 eos] *sup. l. Ag^3* ergo] *sup. l. Gr* 11 sapientiam] -a  $Ag^2$   $P^1$   $P^4$   $Mü$  coinquinatam] -a  $Ag^2$   $P^4$  12 ad] ob *Maur* hominum] -em  $Gr^{a.c.}$   $P^{4a.c.}$  13 Iesus Christus] *inu. P^3 Bg^1 Bx Bo So P^4 Mü F Maur Zycha* dubitanti] -antur uel -antus  $P^1$  13/14 dubitanti – suo] discipulo suo dubitanti *Bo So* 14 quando ei] quando  $Ag^3$   $P^4$  *Maur Zycha*, quando et  $\beta$  15 manu] -um  $P^4$  huic] *om. P^4* 16 in – securi] *om. Gr* discipulo suo] -os -os  $P^1$  est] esset *Maur Zycha* 17 blasphemia] -e  $P^1$  ipsos] *om. Bo So* reos] *sup. l. F* teneat] -et  $P^1$  18 euigilent] -ant  $Ag^{2a.c.}$  intelligant] -ent  $P^1$  18/19 nefaria peruersitate] -am -em  $P^1$  19 credantur] -atur  $P^{1a.c.}$

26, 1 Christum] *om. Maur* credimus] -itur  $P^1$  4 homines] per -es *Gr* recedendum] credendum  $P^4$  esset<sup>2</sup>] esse  $Ag^3$  5 quo] quod  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $P^1$   $P^4$  tendendum] tenendum  $Ag^2$  nulla] -o  $P^4$  6 dicit] dixit *Gr* 7 sumam] summam *Bo P^1 P^4 Mü* tollit eam] eam -et  $P^{2a.c.}$ , eam -it  $P^{2p.c.}$   $Bg^1$  *Bx Bo So*, -et ea  $P^4$  eam<sup>2</sup>] ea  $P^4$  8 eam – habeo<sup>2</sup>] anima mea et potestatem  $P^{4in marg.}$  sumendi] summendi  $P^1$   $Mü$  eam<sup>2</sup>] ea  $P^4$



his Father's will in this state of intimacy?" He did so, because through his example he already taught that earthly parents are to be denied in favour of God. Of course an earthly fondness must not stand in the way for someone who fulfils heavenly works. For, if he did not have a mother for that reason, namely because he refused his mother, then neither Peter nor the other apostles have a father, because he admonished them saying: *and call no one your father on earth, for you have one Father – the one in heaven*. Thus, the admonishment he gave with regard to the earthly father, he fulfilled before with regard to his mother. Therefore, we say the following, that the wisdom of God, by assuming man did not become polluted, but in a merciful manner took up human existence for the welfare of humanity, so it would be fulfilled what the Apostle describes: *mediator between God and human-kind, Jesus Christ, himself human*. For he who said *I am the truth* could not have lied to his disciple, when he held forth the scars of his wounds, so the doubting disciple could even touch it with his hand. How could we ever be secure in our faith in him, no matter the subject, if he had lied to his disciple in such a way? Perish such a blasphemous thought, and may such blasphemy not be the cause for them, who dare to assert or believe in it, to be guilty for eternity! But rather, let them eventually come to be vigilant and understand how much illicit vileness is needed in order to believe such blasphemous thoughts.

26. We, however, believe Christ the Lord took up true human nature and he, invisible, appeared visible in his human nature to humanity. We believe he, in his human nature, abided with humans, in his human nature underwent human toils by humans, in his human nature he taught humans what one ought to avoid, what one ought to endure, what one ought to strive for. He did all of this, however, not because of some necessity. Whence he said: *for this reason the Father loves me, because I lay down my soul in order to take it up again. No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own*

- ergo mali necessitate amisit eam: uoluit enim, ut illa quae in passione eius  
 10 facta sunt omnia fierent ad humanam naturam docendam, non ad suam  
 tuendam. Sicut enim nos qui ex anima et corpore constamus, cum sumus  
 inuisibiles secundum animam, uisibiles autem secundum corpus, omnia  
 quae uisibiliter siue honoris et beneficiorum accipimus, siue contumeliae  
 uel iniuriae patimur, ad animam, quae inuisibilis est, tamquam ad princi-  
 15 pem necesse est ut referamus, quia ipsa corpori principatur – nam et cum  
 simus secundum animam immortales, cum mortui corpore fuerimus, nos  
 mortui dicimur – ita et Dominus secundum carnem et formam serui, quam  
 suscipere dignatus est, et contumelias passus et uincula et flagella et mor-  
 tuus esse manifestatur, ut omnia ueridice Veritas et nihil falso fecisse creda-  
 20 tur, quia potestate ac uoluntate Verbum caro factum est et natus et passus  
 et mortuus et resurrexit nulla sua necessitate, sed uoluntate et potestate,  
 cuius nulla pars aliquando depraedata, nulla nunc usque captiua est, non  
 solum diuinae, sed nec ipsius mortalis quam suscepit, sed nec umquam capi  
 poterit nisi ab his qui ei per fidem uoluerint mundo corde coniungi. Non  
 25 sicut deus Manichaei, qui necessitatis malo pressus hodie hic ex parte, quod  
 negare non possunt, in miseriis et calamitatibus uoluntatur.

27. Intelligite sane, si potestis, etiam inter ipsos homines quantum distet  
 inter necessitatem et uoluntatem. Si quis uerbi gratia merito peccati sui in  
 carcerem iubente iustitia mittatur, alius adsit uir sanctus, qui eumdem car-  
 cerem ingrediatur propter illius consolationem aut liberationem, numquid  
 5 ambo in carcere ex una causa constituti sunt? Ille missus est, ille ingressus;  
 ille poenam patitur, ille misericordiam facit; ille ingressus est cum uoluit,  
 egressus est quando uoluit; ille, nisi interueniente indulgentia, nullo iure

26, 17 formam serui] cf. Phil. 2, 7

20 Verbum – est] cf. Io. 1, 14

26, 9 necessitate] -em *P<sup>t</sup>* ut] ab illo ut *P<sup>i</sup>* passione] -em *P<sup>i</sup>* 10 huma-  
 nam] -em *P<sup>i</sup>* 11 nos] uos *Bo* corpore] -orae *P<sup>i</sup>* sumus] simus *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup>* *Ag<sup>3</sup>* *Bg<sup>t</sup>*  
*Bx Bo So Maur* 12 inuisibiles] uisibiles *P<sup>1a.c.</sup>* 13 quae] qua et *P<sup>i</sup>* contumeliae]  
 -a *P<sup>i</sup>* 13/14 contumeliae – iniuriae] iniuriae uel contumeliae *Bo So* 14 iniu-  
 riae] -a *P<sup>2</sup>* patimur] -imus *P<sup>t</sup>* 15 quia] que *P<sup>i</sup>* ipsa] -i *γ* et] *sup. l.* *Ag<sup>3</sup>*,  
 ea *P<sup>i</sup>* cum] *sup. l.* *P<sup>3</sup>* 16 animam] -a *Mü* immortales] -is *P<sup>i</sup>*, mortales *Mü*  
 corpore] -i *Maur* 16/17 nos mortui] *inu. Bo So*, nos *Gr* 17 dicimur] -amur *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*  
 18 dignatus est] *om. Gr* 19 esse] est *P<sup>t</sup>* manifestatur] -etur *P<sup>i</sup>* ut] et *P<sup>i</sup>*  
 ueridice] ueridice *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>* *F<sup>a.c.</sup>*, ueridicet *P<sup>i</sup>* falso] -a *P<sup>t</sup>* 20 potestate – uoluntate]  
*inu. Ag<sup>3</sup>* ac] a *Bo*, hac *P<sup>i</sup>* et<sup>2</sup>] est *P<sup>i</sup>* 21 mortuus] mortuus est *Ag<sup>3</sup>* (est *add.*  
*sup. l.*) 22 captiua est] captiuitate *P<sup>i</sup>* 23 mortalis] -is naturae *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 24 his] eis  
*Maur Zycha* 25 necessitatis] -es *P<sup>1a.c.</sup>* hic] *om. P<sup>1a.c.</sup>* *P<sup>t</sup>* ex parte] expressus *P<sup>i</sup>*  
 26 uoluntatur] -untatur *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*, uoluntatur *Ag<sup>2</sup>*, uoluntatur *P<sup>2</sup>*  
 27, 1 Intelligite] intelligi *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* distet] -at *P<sup>t</sup>* 2 merito] merit ob *P<sup>i</sup>* pecca-  
 ti] -is *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* in] *sup. l.* *F* 3 carcerem<sup>1</sup>] -e *Ag<sup>3a.c.</sup>* alius] aliun *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>* 4 illius]  
 illus *P<sup>t</sup>* 5 carcere] -em *F*

*accord. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it up again.* Well then, he did not lose his soul, forced by the necessity of evil, for he wanted everything that was done in his passion to serve the teaching of human nature, not to preserve his own nature. Just like it is necessary for us, who consist of soul and body, since we are invisible with regard to the soul yet visible with regard to the body, to attribute every visible bestowment of honour and favour which we receive, or every insult or injustice we suffer, to the soul, which is invisible, as if to the ruling principle, because the soul rules over the body – for although we are invincible according to the soul, when we undergo our bodily death, we are said to “have died” – so too the Lord, according to the flesh and the form of the servant, which he deemed worthy to assume, was shown to suffer insults and fetters and flagellation, and was shown to have died. All this served so that we would believe the Truth accomplished everything truthfully, and did nothing falsely, because the Word became flesh through his power and will, was born, suffered, died, and rose again, not because of some necessary compulsion, but on behalf of his own power and his will. No part of him was ever robbed, no part of him is captive up till now not only of his divine nature, but also of his human nature which he assumed; nor could he ever be held on to, except by those who would want to unite with him through faith and with pure heart. This is different for Mani’s god, who, in part, is entangled here and now in misery and calamity, forced by the evil of necessity. They cannot deny this.

27. Understand then, if you can, how much of a distance there is between necessity and will, even between humans. If someone, to give an example, would be sent to prison as a punishment for his sin (should justice so demand), and someone else, a saintly man, would be present, who enters the same prison for the consolation or liberation of the first, would you say both of them are stationed in the prison for the same reason? The first one is sent, the other entered; the first one undergoes punishment, the other acts out of compassion. He entered when he decided to and left at the instant he decided to; for the first one on the other hand, it will not be possible, unless some sort of remission would intervene, to be liberated through any form of righteousness. And men are capable of this, and freely

poterit liberari. Et hoc homines facere possunt et praestant libere beneficium, cum aliquando sibi nihil cupiant praestari. Cogitate ergo iam si  
 10 Deus potest pati aliquam necessitatem, cum possint homines bene facere uoluntate, nulla mercede conducti, nulla necessitate compulsi. Nullam ergo necessitatem patitur Deus neque necessitate facit quae facit, sed summa et ineffabili uoluntate ac potestate.

28. Et tamen uos maxime secundum errorem uestrum non debuistis opponere istam contradictionem qua dicitis: «quid facturi erant Iudaei Christo, si nollet ab eis pati?», quia secundum eiusdem Manichaei blasphemias Christus carnem non habuit nec aliquid a Iudaeis est passus. Sic enim  
 5 in *Epistula fundamenti* dicit: «inimicus quippe, qui eundem saluatorem iustorum patrem crucifixisse se sperauit, ipse est crucifixus, quo tempore aliud actum est atque aliud ostensum». Princeps itaque tenebrarum affixus est cruci idemque spineam coronam portauit cum suis sociis et uestem coccineam habuit, acetum etiam et fel bibit, quod quidam Dominum potasse  
 10 arbitrati sunt, atque omnia quae hic sustinere uisus est, tenebrarum ducibus irrogata sunt, qui clauis etiam et lancea uulnerati sunt.

29. Vtquid ergo opponitis dicentes: «quid facturi erant Iudaei Christo, si nollet ab eis pati?», cum de passione ipsius ita sentiatis, ut non ipsum Deum passum aliquid in corpore suo, sed principem tenebrarum illa omnia passum putetis? Contra fidem autem nostram quomodo ista opponatis?

30. Nos enim credimus, ut in Euangelio scriptum est, quia Christus uoluit pati et quando uoluit passus est. Non enim quando uoluerunt, Iudaei pas-

28, 8 spineam – portauit] cf. Matth. 27, 29      8/9 uestem – habuit] cf. Matth. 27, 28      9 acetum – bibit] cf. Matth. 27, 34

28, 5/7 inimicus – ostensum] Ep. fund. 7

27, 8 liberari] liberarie *P*<sup>l</sup>      facere possunt] faciunt *P*<sup>3a.c.</sup>, facere -int *P*<sup>2</sup>      9 cupiant] -iunt *Bg*<sup>l</sup>      iam] *om. Bo So*      si] *om. P*<sup>l</sup>      10 potest pati] potest iam pati *Bo So*, *inu. Gr*      necessitatem] -e *P*<sup>t</sup>      cum possint] compos sint *Ag*<sup>l</sup>, cum -unt *Ag*<sup>3</sup>  
 11 uoluntate] *om. Bg*<sup>l</sup>, -em *P*<sup>l</sup>      Nullam] -a *P*<sup>t</sup>      12 sed] *sup. l. Gr*      13 ac] hac *P*<sup>l</sup>  
 28, 1 uestrum] -am *P*<sup>l</sup>      2 opponere] hoc ponere *P*<sup>t</sup>      istam] -e *P*<sup>2</sup>(*ut uid.*)  
 istam contradictionem] *inu. Bo So*      erant] sunt *Bg*<sup>l.a.c.</sup>      3 quia] qui *Bg*<sup>l</sup>      eiusdem] eundem *P*<sup>2</sup>      4 est passus] *inu. P*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>l</sup> *Maur Zycha*, esse -us *P*<sup>t</sup>      6 crucifixisse se] crucifigi *P*<sup>2</sup>, crucifixum *Bg*<sup>l</sup> *Bx Bo So*, crucifixisse *Gr*      ipse – crucifixus] *inu. Bo So*  
 7 actum] hauctum *P*<sup>l</sup>, auctum *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup>      atque aliud] atque *P*<sup>3a.c.</sup>(aliud *add. sup. l. m*<sup>2</sup>), aliut atque aliut *P*<sup>l</sup>(atque *sup. l.*)      8 idemque] id est quae *P*<sup>t</sup>      suis sociis] *inu. Bg*<sup>l</sup>  
 9 quidam] -em *Gr*      11 irrogata] interrogata *Bg*<sup>l</sup>, inrogate *P*<sup>t</sup>  
 29, 1 opponitis] hoc ponitis *P*<sup>t</sup>      2 ab – pati] pati ab eis *Bo So*      cum] unde *P*<sup>t</sup> *Mü F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, unde quia *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>      ipsius] eius *Bo So*      3 sed] at *Bg*<sup>l</sup> *Bx*, aut *Bo So*      illa] illic *P*<sup>t</sup>      4 nostram] uestram *P*<sup>l</sup>      opponatis] -itis *Ag*<sup>l.p.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *Maur*  
 30, 1 Nos] non *Ag*<sup>2</sup>      2 uoluerunt] -uerant *Bg*<sup>l</sup>

realize a good deed, although they never desired to realize a favour for themselves. Consider then whether God could suffer any form of necessity, since humans are able to act well through their will, without being motivated by any reward, or forced by any compulsion. Thus, God suffered no necessity, nor did he achieve what he did because of necessity, but through his exalted and ineffable will and power.

28. And yet, especially you – if you take your own erroneous views into consideration – should not have attempted to raise that counterargument by which you say: “what would the Jews have done to Christ, if he did not want to suffer from them?” After all, according to the blasphemy of this same Mani, Christ did not have a body, nor did he suffer anything from the hands of the Jews. Indeed, Mani says the following in his *Fundamental epistle*: “the enemy, as you can see, who hoped to have crucified the same savior, the father of the righteous, was crucified himself. At that time one deed was accomplished, while another appeared to happen”.<sup>141</sup> Then, the prince of shadows is nailed to the cross, and he carried the thorn wreath with his allies and had the scarlet robe, drank sour wine and gall – which some supposed the Lord had drunk. Everything which he seemed to suffer here, is imposed to the chiefs of shadows, who were also wounded by nails and the lance.

29. To what intent then do you object, saying: “what would the Jews have done to Christ, if he did not want to suffer from them?”, when you hold such opinions of his passion, that God himself did not suffer anything in his body, but you rather think the prince of shadows went through all these tribulations? In what sense do you present this objection against our faith?

30. For we believe, as is written in the Gospel, that Christ wanted to suffer and suffered when he wanted. Surely the Jews did not accomplish

<sup>141</sup> See STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 34-35. *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 10-11. According to this fragment, the Manichaeans adhered to some form of Docetism. The Manichaeans sharply distinguish between the body in which Jesus appeared on earth and the divine substance, which the Manichaeans refer to as Christ. The body in which Jesus appeared pertains to the prince of shadows. During the Passion, people believed they saw the suffering of Christ (*aliud ostensum*). In reality, only the body, and thus the prince of shadows, did suffer (*aliud actum*). After this citation, the author of *De fide* summarizes, in an ironic or cynical tone, some of the consequences of the Manichaean Docetism for the Passion.

sionem ipsam fecerunt. Volebant quidem tenere eum et occidere et secundum uoluntatem suam iam perfecerant scelus quod conabantur, et iam rei  
 5 erant immanissimi peccati, quia uolebant, etiamsi nihil fecissent. Tamen ille qui potestatem habuit ponendi animam suam quando uoluit, eos facere permisit, qui legionibus angelorum potuit iubere ut Iudaei perirent uel uno uerbo suo omnes interimeret.

31. Dominus ergo Christus secundum hominem quem suscepit, passus est et nullum membrum eius hodie tenetur a Iudaeis uel mortalis corporis quod susceperat, sicut supra diximus. Nam deus uester, o Manichaei, labe ac uasitate impendente pressus est, non libera uoluntate processit ad  
 5 pugnam, sed necessitate compulsus est; nec praestare aliquid uoluit, sed resistere conabatur. Qui etiam in sua substantia, non in suscepto mortali corpore deuoratus atque commixtus est; qui ex parte hodie tenetur, ex parte in globo semper tenebitur. Et tamen quis ferat tam incredibiles blasphemias quas isti de ipsa passione Domini proferre non dubitant?

32. Omnes apostoli, omnes linguae rationales Dominum Christum passum esse clamant, omnis sana fides Christum pro nobis passum confiteatur, et Manichaeus daemones omnes illas passiones asserit pertulisse. Non enim propterea dicit eos passos, quia de ipsis Dominus triumphauit et de  
 5 ipsis nos per patientiam triumphare docuit, sed quia Dominum Christum negant habuisse carnem mortalem. Quibus dicimus: « si non habebat carnem mortalem, quid erat quod tenuerunt Iudaei? quid erat quod in cruce pendeat? quid confixum erat clauis in ligno? quid est percussum lancea, unde sanguis et aqua profluxit? » Si enim uisa sunt tantum fieri et facta  
 10 non sunt, phantasmata erant, quod nefas est credere.

30, 6 potestatem – uoluit] cf. Io. 10, 17

32, 8/9 quid – profluxit] cf. Io. 19, 34

30, 3 quidem] -am *P*<sup>l</sup> tenere eum] *inu. Bo So*, -ere eam *P*<sup>l</sup>, tenere *Maur* 4 perfe-  
 cerant] -icerent *P*<sup>l</sup> et iam] a&iam *P*<sup>l</sup>, etiam *Mü* 4/5 rei erant] regerent *P*<sup>l</sup>  
 5 uolebant] -ent *Ag*<sup>l.a.c.</sup> 6 ille] -ae *P*<sup>l</sup>, -a *Mü F* 7 ut] et *P*<sup>l</sup> *P*<sup>l</sup> 8 suo] *om. Bo So*  
 interimeret] interime *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup>, -imere *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup> *Maur Zycha*

31, 2 nullum] in nullum *P*<sup>l</sup> *Mü F* mortalis] -es *Gr P*<sup>l</sup> *Mü F*<sup>a.c.</sup> 4 labe ac] lab  
 ea *P*<sup>l</sup> pressus] passus *Bo So* non] nec *Ag*<sup>3</sup> 6 Qui etiam] quia &iam uel qui  
 a&iam *P*<sup>l</sup> in<sup>2</sup>] *sup. l. Ag*<sup>l</sup>, ex *P*<sup>l</sup> 7 deuoratus] decoratus *Ag*<sup>2</sup> ex<sup>2</sup>] et ex *Ag*<sup>l</sup>  
 8 ferat] fert *Ag*<sup>2</sup> incredibiles blasphemias] -is -a *P*<sup>l</sup>

32, 1 rationales] rationes *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>, rationabiles *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> (-abiles *add. in marg. m*<sup>2</sup>) 2 esse]  
 eum *P*<sup>l</sup> 3 Manichaeus] manichaeus iniquus *P*<sup>3</sup> *Maur*, -aei *Gr* omnes illas] *inu.*  
*Ag*<sup>2</sup>, illas *Maur* asserit] -erunt *Gr* 4 enim] *om. Bg*<sup>l</sup> dicit] -unt *Gr* ipsis]  
 -os *Ag*<sup>3.a.c.</sup> 7 mortalem] immortalem *Ag*<sup>l.a.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>3.a.c.</sup> quid<sup>1</sup>] qui *P*<sup>l</sup> tenuerunt]  
 tenerunt *P*<sup>l</sup> quod<sup>2</sup>] *sup. l. P*<sup>l</sup> 8 confixum] -us *P*<sup>l</sup> est] *om. Ag*<sup>3</sup> 9 prof-  
 luxit] profulsit *P*<sup>l</sup> sunt tantum] *inu. Bo So* 10 phantasmata erant] fantasma erunt  
*δ Zycha*

the passion when they wanted to do so. They wanted indeed to hold him captive and kill him, and according to their own will they already performed the misdeed which they attempted, and they were already guilty of the most horrible sin, because they wanted to do so, even though they had achieved nothing. Nevertheless, he who has the power to lay his soul down when he wanted, permitted them to act – he who could have commanded legions of angels so that the Jews would perish, or that he would even with a single word slay everyone.

31. Thus the Lord Christ has suffered according to the human nature he took up, and none of his limbs are held captive today by the Jews, not even of the mortal body he had assumed, as we said before. For your god, O Manichaeans, is burdened by a menacing ruin and devastation. He did not proceed to battle of his own free will, but was forced by necessity, and neither did he want to undertake anything, but he attempted to resist. In addition, he was devoured and was mingled in his own substance, not in a mortal body which he took up. In part he is held captive today, in part he will be held captive in the clod forever. And still, who could bear this incredible blasphemy which they do not hesitate to profess concerning the Lord's passion?

32. All the apostles, all rational languages proclaim that Christ the Lord has suffered. Every sound faith confesses that Christ suffered for us, and yet Mani asserts that the demons underwent all these passions. He does not say that the reason why the demons suffered, is because Christ triumphed over them and taught us to triumph over them through the virtue of patience, but because the Manichaeans<sup>142</sup> deny that Christ the Lord had a mortal body. To them we say: "if he did not have a mortal body, what was it then that the Jews held captive? What was it that hung on the cross? What was nailed to the wood? What was pierced by the lance, where blood and water flowed out?" For if these things merely appeared to have happened and did not happen in fact, they were ghostly apparitions, which is sinful to believe.

<sup>142</sup> The authors shifts from the third person singular *dicit* to the third person plural *negant*.



33. Si autem uere facta sunt, non tamen in carne mortali, sed in ipsa diuina substantia facta esse dicitis, mutabilem dicitis esse diuinam substantiam et uisibilem carneis oculis et palpabilem carneis manibus et uulnerabilem ferro, quae rursus nefas est credere. Et ideo dum timet dicere Manichaeus quia ista facta non sunt, et iterum timet dicere quia in diuina substantia facta sunt, et non uult confiteri quia nec intelligere potuit quomodo Filius Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, sine aliqua mutatione, coinquinat[i]o[n]e diuinae substantiae suae hominem cum carne suscep[er]it, coactus est dicere quia non Christus, sed princeps tenebrarum cum suis sociis illa omnia passus est. Miseri ! Non timetis ne dicatur uobis in iudicio: « Ego eos liberaui pro quibus passus sum. Ite, ille uos liberet cui meas ascribitis passiones »?

34. Dicitis tamen – magno errore, sed tamen dicitis – Christum quotidie nasci, quotidie pati, quotidie mori. Numquid forte in his qui credunt et pro nomine ipsius tribulationes mortemque patiuntur? « Non », inquiunt, « sed in cucurbitis et in porris et portulaca et ceteris huiusmodi rebus ». Magna ridicula! Magna caecitas! Superius passionibus daemonum, hic passionibus olerum homines liberantur a peccatis.

35. Item cum eis dicimus: « quid factura erat Deo gens tenebrarum, si nollet cum illa pugnare? », dicunt: « nihil fieri potuit Deo incorruptibili. Non enim si quis uerbi gratia sphaeram uitream solidam unguibus lacerare uoluerit, aliquid ei umquam faciet saeuitia unguium suorum ». Sed si uel talem substantiam diuinam isti esse fingerent, ut omnis saeuitia gentis tenebrarum talis ad illam esset, quales sunt ungues lacerantis ad sphaeram uitream, non deus Manichaei hodie luctum pateretur de partis suae abscis-

33, 2 substantia] -am  $P^t$  dicitis esse] *inu. Maur* 4 dicere Manichaeus] dicere -os  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$ , -us dicere  $\beta$ , -eret -us  $P^t$  5 dicere] *om. Ag^3* 6 facta] *om. Bo* 7 coinquinat[i]o[n]e] coniquinat[i]o[n]e  $Ag^{1a.c.}$ , et coinquinat[i]o[n]e  $Ag^{1p.c.}$ , uel coinquinat[i]o[n]e  $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$  *Maur Zycha* 8 carne] -em  $P^t$  coactus] quohactus  $P^t$  9 non] non est  $P^t$  suis sociis] *inu. Bo So Gr* 9/10 illa omnia] *inu. Ag^3* 11 cui meas] cum eas  $P^t$

34, 1 tamen<sup>1</sup>] *om. Maur Zycha* 2 quotidie pati] *om. Ag^2* his] iis *Maur Zycha* 4 in<sup>2</sup>] *om. Mü F Zycha* porris] poris *Zycha* portulaca] postulaca  $Ag^{1a.c.}$ , lactuca et portulaca  $Bg^1$ , portulaca uel lactuca  $Bx$ (uel lactuca *in marg.*), in portulaca *Bo Maur Zycha* huiusmodi] huiuscemodi *Bo* 5 caecitas] castitas  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  Superius] -oribus  $P^t$  6 homines] -is  $P^t$  *Mü F^{a.c.}*

35, 1 quid] qui  $P^t$  erat Deo] *inu. Bg^1* 2 cum – pugnare] pugnare cum illa *Bo So* fieri – Deo] potuit fieri deo  $P^2$   $Bg^1$   $Bx$ , potuit deo fieri *Bo So*, fieri pothertit deo  $P^t$  incorruptibili] incorruptibili deo  $P^t$  3 uerbi] -is  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  sphaeram] speram  $Bg^1$   $Bx$  *Bo So P^1 Gr P^t Mü F^{p.c.}* 4/5 si uel] siue  $P^t$  5 uel] *sup. l. P^1* isti esse] *inu. P^1* gentis] -es  $P^t$  *Mü* 6 ad<sup>1</sup>] in *Mü*, ut  $F$  illam]  $Ag^1$   $Ag^3$  *So P^1 Gr Maur Zycha*, -a  $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $P^2$   $Bg^1$   $Bx$  *Bo P^t Mü F. Vide adnotationes.* lacerantis] -antes  $P^{1a.c.}$  ad sphaeram] ad speram  $Bg^1$  *Bo So P^1 Gr P^t Mü*, adesphoram  $F^{a.c.}$ , ad hanc speram  $F^{p.c.}$  7 non] nam  $P^t$  partis suae] *inu. Bo So* abscissione] adscissione  $P^t$



33. If, however, these things happened in fact – and you say these things happened not in a mortal body, but in his very divine substance – you say divine substance is subject to change and visible to fleshly eyes and palpable for fleshly hands and vulnerable to the spear, which again is sinful to believe. And thus, while Mani is afraid to say that those things did not happen, and again is afraid to say that these things occurred in the divine substance, and he does not want to confess that he could not understand how the Son of God, through whom everything is created, without any change or pollution to his divine substance has assumed human identity in the flesh, he is forced to say that not Christ but the prince of shadows with his allies has suffered everything. Miserable fools! Are you not afraid you will be told in the judgment: “I have liberated those for whom I have suffered. Away, let him liberate you to whom you ascribe my passion!”

34. And still you say – in a great error, but still you say so – that Christ is born each day, suffers each day, dies each day. Perhaps this happens in those people who believe, and who suffer tribulations and death in his name? “No,” they say, “but in cucumbers and in leeks and purslane and other similar vegetables and fruits”.<sup>143</sup> What ridiculousness! What blindness! Before, humans are freed from sin through the suffering of demons, here they are freed through the suffering of vegetables!

35. Likewise, when we say to them: “what would the race of shadows have done to God, if he did not want to fight with it?”, they respond: “nothing could happen to the incorruptible God. For, if someone, to give an example, would want to claw at a solid glass sphere with his nails, the savageness of his nails could not achieve any harm to it”. But, if at least they would conceive divine substance of such a quality, that every savageness of the race of shadows relates to divine substance like nails of someone who claws at a glass sphere, Mani’s god would not presently feel sorrow

<sup>143</sup> Here and in *De fide* 35, the author ridicules the Manichaean views on fruit, vegetables and meat. In Manichaean cosmogony, everything consists of a mixture of light and darkness. Manichaeans believed all light particles should be separated from the darkness with which it is intermingled. “The Manichaeans strove to consume food and drink with as high a percentage of light as possible, such as melons and cucumbers... the [human] body as a microcosm of the universe also acted as a machine of liberation of the divine, so that the righteous person could literally discard the gross elements below, and ... breathe forth angels to rise above.” See I. GARDNER, S.N.C. LIEU, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 22-23. The Manichaean elect would eat these fruits and vegetables in order to release the food’s light particles. Meat and wine, by contrast, were seen as particularly rich in dark elements and, as such, were considered forbidden for Manichaeans. The distinction between fruits and vegetables on the one hand and meat on the other hand is the subject of the author’s criticism in *De fide* 35 as well. I have taken the liberty to translate *rebus* with “vegetables and fruit”, even though this list only sums up vegetables. In *De fide* 36, the author does refer to fruits (*fructibus; in melone*).

sione uel amissione. Quam partem dicunt, cum in fructibus uel in herbis fuerit, id est in melone uel beta uel talibus rebus, et principium suum et  
 10 medietatem et finem nosse; cum autem ad carnem uenerit, omnem intelligentiam amittere, ut propterea magister hominibus missus sit, quia stulta in illis facta est pars Dei, et propterea non sit missus melonibus, quia sapientem habent animam.

36. Quis ista credat uel ab hominibus aliquando uel inter homines posse dici? Sed tamen quomodo nihil mali patitur substantia dei uestri, cum et in pomis ligatur et in carne excaecatur uel cum uolens redire deicitur ad terras a gente tenebrarum? Sed si nihil ei mali contingit uel contingit, falsa  
 5 omnia sunt quae Manichaeus dixit in *Epistula fundamenti*, quae caput est omnium uanarum fabularum, uel in *Thesauro*, qui thesaurus est omnium turpitudinum et blasphemiorum, uel in ceteris omnibus libris, in quibus tanta loquacitate nihil aliud quam infelicitatem substantiae Dei, quam commixtam dicit principibus tenebrarum et in diuinis uirtutibus tristitiam  
 10 propter illam magnam sollicitudinem ut liberetur, affirmat. Nam reuera nihil mali aut potuit aut poterit pati substantia Dei nec aliquem habet inimicum qui eius partem ingenitam corrumpat, sed homines sunt Deo, uel potius sibi inimici non obtemperando praeceptis Dei et cupiditatibus se potius corrumpendo, non Deum.

37. Duorum uero Testamentorum concordia: si simplici oculo intendere uelletis, o Manichaei, facillime uideretis. Rabide enim ferimini in id quod scriptum est: *spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam* et *uidit Deus*

37, 3 Gen. 1, 2      3/4 Gen. 1, 10

35, 8 partem] -e  $P^l$  herbis] uerbis  $P^{fp.c.}$  9 beta] beata  $Ag^{3a.c.}$ , in beta Bx Bo So  
 11 amittere] mittere  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  ut] om.  $P^l$ , et Zycha

36, 1 hominibus] omnibus  $P^l$   $P^t$  Mü 1/2 posse dici] post se dicit  $P^l$  2 mali]  
 om.  $P^t$  3 ligatur] legatur  $P^l$  redire] ridere  $Bg^l$ , reire  $P^l$  deicitur] dicitur  $Ag^{3a.c.}$   
 $Bg^{1a.c.}$  Bx, deitur  $Gr^{1a.c.}$  ad] a  $P^l$  4 Sed] om. Gr si] om.  $Ag^2$  Bx<sup>1a.c.</sup> nihil]  
 michi  $P^l$  mali] -e Bo So uel contingit] uel contigit  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $P^t$ , om. Gr falsa]  
 -o  $P^l$  4/5 falsa - sunt] om.  $\beta$  5 quae<sup>1</sup>] quem  $Bg^l$  Bx Bo So dixit] sup. l. Bx  
 6 uanarum] uenarum  $Ag^2$   $P^3$  fabularum] -arunt  $P^l$  Thesauro] thensauo  $Ag^l$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   
 $P^2$  Bx F, tesauo  $P^t$  qui] quid  $Ag^{1a.c.}$  thesaurus] thensaurus  $Ag^l$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$  Bx F, tesau-  
 rus Gr  $P^{fp.c.}$ , in tesaurus  $P^{1a.c.}$  7 turpitudinum] -em  $P^t$  blasphemiorum]  $Ag^l$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   
 $P^2$   $P^l$   $P^t$ , -arum  $Ag^3$   $Bg^l$  Bx Bo So Gr F, plasphemiorum Mü. Vide adnotationes ceteris]  
 -ibus  $P^l$  omnibus] -ium  $P^l$  8 infelicitatem] -e  $P^t$  10 magnam] magnamque  
 Gr liberetur] liberaretur  $Ag^2$  affirmat] adfirmam  $P^l$  12 inimicum] amicum  $P^l$   
 13 et] sed  $Bg^l$  Bx Bo So se] sed  $P^t$

37, 1 concordia] -am  $Ag^3$   $P^3$  Gr F Maur Zycha, -as  $Bg^l$  Bx Bo So. Vide adnotationes. si]  
 om.  $P^3$  Maur 2 uelletis] si uelletis  $P^3$  (si sup. l.) Maur, uelitis  $P^t$  Mü Zycha, uellis  $F^{1a.c.}$   
 uideretis] -eritis  $P^t$  ferimini] -emini  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $P^2$   $P^l$   $P^t$  Mü F. Vide adnotationes.  
 3 superferebatur] ferebatur  $Ag^3$   $P^l$  Maur aquam] -as  $P^l$  Gr

over the amputation or loss of that part of him. They say that this part, when it is in fruits or in vegetables, this is in a melon or a beet or similar things, knows its beginning, middle and end. However, when this part reaches flesh, it loses all its intelligence. Therefore the master was sent to humans for the following reason, namely because in them a certain part of God became unknowing. And for the following reason he was not sent to the melons, because they possess a knowing soul.

36. Who would believe such things could ever be said by or among people? Yet still, how does the substance of your god not suffer any evil, when it is bound to fruits and blinded in flesh, or when it, although it wants to return, is hurled down towards the earth by the race of shadows? If, however, no evil can or could have overcome him, everything Mani says in his *Fundamental epistle*, the origin of all their vain stories, is false. So too everything contained in his *Treasure*, which is the treasure of all their disgrace and blasphemy, is false. And surely the same is the case for all his other books. With all his talkativeness, Mani affirms nothing in these books other than the misfortune of God's substance, which he says is mingled with the princes of shadows, or other than the sadness of his divine virtues, caused by his great concern to be liberated. For in truth, the divine substance could not or will not be able to suffer any evil, nor does it have an enemy to corrupt an unbegotten part of him. On the contrary, men are hostile to God, or rather to themselves, by not obeying the precepts of God and corrupting themselves rather than God through their desires.

37. The harmony of the two testaments – if you were to consider that with an earnest eye, you would easily notice it – O Manichaeans! For you angrily get carried away against what is written: *the spirit of God swept over*

- quia bonum est et Adam, ubi es? et Deus zelans et ignis edax et gladius  
 5 meus et cetera talia, non considerantes quia si alius ita caecus sit, ut reprehendere uelit illud Domini quod in Euangelio dictum est: *non iurabis per caelum, quoniam sedis Dei est, neque per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius*, et hoc dicat quod uos mira dementia dicere soletis: «ubi erat Deus antequam esset caelum et terra?»; aut quod scriptum est: *et miratus est*  
 10 *Iesus*, cum mirari nemo soleat nisi de re quae illi erat incognita – uidere autem quia bonum est, non sit ignorantis, sed quia placuit ei quod fecit; aut illud quod scriptum est dicente Domino: *quis me tetigit?* et de Lazaro: *ubi posuistis illum?* et ego ueni non pacem mittere super terram, sed gladium et ignem ueni mittere in mundum et ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui  
 15 uident caeci fiant et *Vendite res uestras et emite uobis gladios*, et apostolus: *zelo Dei uos zelo et reuelabitur ira Dei de caelo super omnem impietatem* et cetera innumerabilia ab ipso Domino uel ab apostolis dicta uel facta, quae insanissime poterunt homines accusare non intelligentes. Nam et auari uel flagitiosi possunt aliter accipere quod Dominus ait, ut si quis dimiserit  
 20 quae habet, septuplum aut etiam centuplum in hoc saeculo accipiat, aut si aliquis uxorem, ancillam, uel etiam meretrices dimittere propter Dominum uelit, spe illius multiplicationis faciat, non amore iustitiae. Possunt etiam horrere male intelligentes quod ait: *si quis non manducauerit carnem meam et biberit sanguinem meum, non habebit in se uitam*. Nam quod ait: *qui*  
 25 *dixerit fratri suo*, «fatue», *reus erit gehennae ignis*; si dicant stulti: «ecce pro conuicio gehenna minatur quem dicitis misericordem ignorare pec-

37, 4 Gen. 3, 9      Exod. 20, 5      Deut. 4, 24      4/5 Deut. 32, 42      6/8 Mat-  
 th. 5, 34-35      9/10 Luc. 7, 9      12 Luc. 8, 45      13 Io. 11, 34      Matth. 10, 34  
 14 Luc. 12, 49      14/15 Io. 9, 39      15 Luc. 22, 36      16 II Cor. 11, 2      Rom.  
 1, 18      19/20 si – accipiat] cf. Matth. 19, 29; Marc. 10, 29-30; Luc. 17, 29-30  
 23/24 Io. 6, 53      24/25 Matth. 5, 22

37, 4 Adam] ad adam  $F^{p.c.}$       es] est  $P^1$       6 uelit] uellit  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^{2a.c.}$   $P^1$   $F^{1a.c.}$   
 7 quoniam] quia  $Bg^1$   $Bo$   $So$       sedis] -es  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$   $P^{3p.c.}$   $P^{2p.c.}$   $Bg^1$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$   $Gr$   $Mü$   $Maur$   
 Zycha      Dei est]  $inu.$   $P^3$   $Zycha$       quia] quoniam  $Maur$       est<sup>2</sup>]  $om.$   $Ag^2$       8  
 quod uos]  $om.$   $Gr$       dementia] clementia  $Bg^1$       dicere] -eret  $P^4$       9 et<sup>2</sup>]  $om.$   $So$   
 10 mirari] mira  $Bx^{a.c.}$ , mirare  $Gr^{a.c.}$   $P^4$   $Mü$   $F^{a.c.}$       nemo] neme  $P^1$       soleat] -et  $P^4$   
 11 quia<sup>1</sup>]  $om.$   $P^4$       13 illum] eum  $Ag^2$   $Ag^3$   $Bo$   $So$   $Maur$   $Zycha$       ueni non]  $inu.$   $So$ ,  
 uenio non  $P^1$ , uenti non  $P^{1a.c.}$       super terram] in mundum  $Bg^{1a.c.}$       14 ignem] -e  $P^4$   
 mundum] terram  $Mü^{a.c.}$       15 uobis]  $om.$   $F$       16 zelo<sup>2</sup>] -aui  $Gr$       17 ab<sup>2</sup>]  $om.$   $Bx$   
 18 poterunt] peterunt  $Bo$       uel] et  $P^2$   $Bg^1$   $Bo$   $So$       19 ut] aut  $P^4$   $Mü$   $F$       dimiserit]  
 demiserit  $Mü$   $F^{a.c.}$       20 quae] quod  $Bx$       accipiat] haccipiet  $P^1$       aut<sup>2</sup>] ut  $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$   
 $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$       20/21 si aliquis] si quis aliquis  $P^2$       21 meretrices] metrices  $Bx^{a.c.}$ , mere-  
 tricem  $Gr$       Dominum] deum  $Gr$       22 uelit] uellit  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^{2a.c.}$   $P^1$   $F^{a.c.}$       amore]  
 -or  $P^{2a.c.}$   $Mü$ , -oris  $P^1$       24 habebit] abebit  $P^1$   $P^4$ , habit  $F^{a.c.}$       25 si] sic  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   
 dicant] diant  $Ag^{1a.c.}$       26 conuicio] conuiuio  $Ag^2$   $P^4$   $Mü$   $F$ , hoc uitio  $Ag^3$       gehenna]  
 -am  $Ag^3$   $Bg^1$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$   $Gr$   $Maur$ , geenne  $P^1$

*the face of the water* and *God saw that it was good* and *Adam, where are you?* and *a jealous God* and *a devouring fire* and *my sword* and other similar passages. You do not consider that if someone else would be so blind that he would want to criticize what the Lord said in the Gospel: *do not swear by heaven, for it is the throne of God, or by the earth, for it is his footstool*, he would say the same thing that you – in your amazing madness – are wont to say: “where was God before heaven and earth existed?” Or he would criticize what is written: *and Jesus was amazed*, because, presumably, nobody is amazed at something, unless he is unfamiliar with it. However, seeing that something is good does not reveal that someone is ignorant, but rather that he is pleased with what he did. Or he could criticize what is written where the Lord says: *who touched me?*, and on Lazarus: *where have you laid him?*, and *I have not come to bring peace to the earth, but a sword*, and *I came to bring fire to the earth*, and *I came so that those who do not see may see, and those who do see may become blind*, and *sell your possessions and buy yourself swords*, and what the Apostle says: *I feel God’s jealousy for you* and *the wrath of God will be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness*, and numerous other instances, said or done by the Lord himself or by the apostles, which only through utter madness and ignorance could anyone reproach. For greedy and disgraceful people too can understand differently what the Lord says, that if anyone would have left what he has, he will receive a sevenfold or even a hundredfold in this age, or if anyone would want to dismiss his wife, maid-servant or even his courtesans in favour of the Lord, he would do so out of hope for this multiplication, not out of love for justice. They could also tremble when they wrongly understand what is said: *if anyone will not have eaten my flesh or have drunk my blood, he will have no life in him*. For with regard to what he said: *whoever would say to his brother, “you fool”, he will be liable to the fire of hell*: if some ignoramuses would say: “look, for an insult he is threatened with hell by him of whom you say he mercifully forgives sins”, surely they do not know where their heads are? And yet they themselves think they have something meaningful to say. And what would they say on this passage, where he handed

- cata », nonne ignorant ubi caput habeant, et tamen aliquid sibi uidentur dicere? Aut quod tam multas animas necandas daemonibus in porcis tradidit, cum tales animas dicatis esse porcorum quales sunt hominum? Aut  
 30 quod arborem in qua fructus, quia non erat tempus, non inuenit, uerbo aridam fecit, quam animam intelligentem dicitis habere?

38. Ecce quanta iniquissimi et caeci homines de diuinis eloquiis possunt dicere, sicut uos in ea quae mystice facta uel dicta sunt in ueteribus libris ignorantes ferimini, ut temere accusetis quod non intelligitis. Haec autem cum de Nouo Testamento uobis obiecta fuerint, dicitis diuina et spiritalia  
 5 significare, Veteris autem Testamenti sanctas litteras figurate posse accipi negatis, cum et ipse Dominus figurate inde quaedam dixerit et apostolus Paulus omnia illi populo in figura contigisse scribat. Nam et ipse regulam monstrans multa inde exposuit. Sed forte dicitis solita uanitate et obtuso corde contra Domini uel apostoli auctoritatem loquentes Veteris Testa-  
 10 menti dicta exponi prorsus non posse, solum autem Nouum in talibus exponi posse, et non consideratis non uos habere quod dicere, si ab aliis impiis uobis dicatur Vetus potius exponi posse, Nouum non posse. Mens autem sana utrumque Testamentum considerans, quaecumque in uno inue-  
 15 nerit, expositionem admittere sine dubio in altero declarauit. Multum apparet imperitia uestra uel potius malitia. Attendite in *Actibus* Leuci, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sint quae accipitis de Maximilla uxore

37, 28 quod – tradidit] cf. Luc. 8, 32      30/31 quod – fecit] cf. Marc. 11, 13

38, 7 omnia – contigisse] cf. I Cor. 10, 11

37, 26/27 peccata] -is *Bo So*      27 habeant] -eat *Gr*      aliquid sibi] *inu. Bo So*  
 28 quod] quomodo *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>3p.c.</sup> Maur*, quodo *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>*      necandas] negandas *P<sup>4</sup> Mü*  
*F*      porcis] portis *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*      29 dicatis] dictis *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>*, -itis *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup>*      hominum] -es *P<sup>1</sup>*  
 30 quod] quos *P<sup>1</sup>*, quomodo *Maur*      non – tempus] tempus non erat *Bo So*      uerbo]  
 -a *P<sup>4</sup>*      31 animam] *om. P<sup>4</sup>*

38, 2 uos] *om. γ*      mystice] -ae *Ag<sup>2</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Bx P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup>*      uel – sunt] sunt uel dicta *Maur*  
 3 ferimini] -emini *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F. Vide adnotationes.*      4 cum] *om. Bo So*  
 uobis] si uobis *Bo So*      obiecta] abiecta *P<sup>4</sup>*      fuerint] fuerit *P<sup>1</sup>*      5 Veteris] -i *P<sup>1</sup>*  
 figurate] figure *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, -atur *P<sup>1</sup>*      6 negatis] negatis, cum et ipse dominus figurate posse accipi negatis *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* (cum et ipse dominus figurate posse accipi negatis *del.*)      figurate] -atae *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, -atur *P<sup>1</sup>*      inde] indie *P<sup>1</sup>*      7 figura] futuram *P<sup>1</sup>*, figuram *Gr P<sup>4</sup> F*      contigisse] -isset *P<sup>1</sup>*      scribat] -et *P<sup>1</sup>*      8 dicitis] dicit *P<sup>4</sup>*      obtuso] obtunso *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>4</sup>*  
*Zycha*, obstuso *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, obstruso *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*      9 Domini] deum uel domini *Gr(abbr. dm uel dni)*, deum *Maur*, dominum *Zycha*      loquentes] -entis *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>*      Veteris] uel ueteris *Ag<sup>2</sup>*      10 exponi] -e *P<sup>1</sup>*      posse] poss *Ag<sup>2</sup>*      11 non uos] *inu. Gr*      quod] quid *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Maur Zycha*, qui *Gr<sup>4c.</sup>*      dicere] dicere possitis *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup>*      12 impiis] *om. Gr*      dicatur] -atis *Bo So P<sup>1</sup>*      14 expositionem] -e *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü*      declarauit] -abit *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Maur Zycha*      15 Leuci] leucii *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup> Gr F*, leutii *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bo So*, leuti *Mü*      quos] quod *P<sup>4</sup>*      16 qualia] qua *P<sup>1</sup>*      sint] sunt *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*  
 16/17 sint – nollet] *om. P<sup>1</sup>*



over so many souls of pigs to demons in order to be killed, when you say the souls of pigs are of the same quality as those of humans?<sup>144</sup> Or on this passage, where he withered that fig tree with a word of his, in which tree he found no fruit because it was not the appropriate season? For you say that this tree would have an intelligent soul.

38. Behold what extreme manner of things such unjust and blind people can say on divine words! They act similarly to you, who out of ignorance get carried away against what has been said or performed in the Old Testament in a mystical sense, and as a result you rashly accuse what you do not understand. However, when these passages from the New Testament are presented to you, you say they have a divine and spiritual meaning, yet you deny that the holy letters of the Old Testament can be understood figuratively, even though the Lord himself too explained some passages from it in a figurative way, and the apostle Paul writes that everything happened to the people of Israel as a figure of speech. For Paul explained many passages from the Old Testament, thereby showing the method himself. Perhaps, however, you will say in your usual vanity and blunt heart, babbling against the authority of the Lord and the Apostle, that the words of the Old Testament cannot be explained, but only the New Testament can be explained in those terms. Likewise, you do not consider that you do not have anything to say, if other unfaithful people would say to you that the Old Testament rather can be explicated, and the New Testament cannot. A healthy mind, however, which examines both Testaments, has declared that what it has found in one Testament, admits without any doubt an explanation in the other. Your inexperience, or rather your malicious intent, is openly clear. Pay attention to what is written in the *Acts*<sup>145</sup> of Leucius, which he wrote under the pseudonym of the apostles. Consider what sort of information you accept on Maximilla, the wife of Aegeates,<sup>146</sup> who, when she did not want to give his conjugal rights to him, even though the Apostle has said: *the husband should give to his wife her conjugal rights, and like-*

<sup>144</sup> See the author's exposé in *De fide* 35.

<sup>145</sup> These *Acts* are the *Acts of Andrew*. See JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 349-350; J.K. ELLIOTT, *The Apocryphal New Testament: a Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Oxford, 1993, p. 232.250.254-255; and esp. PRIEUR, *Acta Andreae*, p. 26-28. The two passages Evodius cites or recapitulates in this chapter can be situated in *AA* 17 (PRIEUR, *Acta Andreae*, p. 462-463) and after *AA* 32 (PRIEUR, p. 480-481).

<sup>146</sup> Although the Latin text reads *Egetes* instead of Aegeates and *Ifidama* instead of Iphidama, I chose to transcribe the Greek name as given in Greek sources of the *Acts of Andrew*.

- Egetis, quae cum nollet marito debitum reddere, cum apostolus dixerit: *uxori uir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor uiro*, illa supposuerit marito suo ancillam suam Eucliam nomine, exornans eam, sicut ibi scriptum est, aduersariis lenociniis et fucationibus et eam nocte pro se uicariam supponens, ut ille nesciens cum ea tamquam cum uxore concumberet. Ibi etiam scriptum est quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidama simul issent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem uult Leucius uel Deum uel certe angelum intelligi, commendauerit eas Andreae apostolo; et perrexerit ad praetorium Egetis et ingressus cubiculum earum finxerit uocem muliebrem quasi Maximillae murmurantis de doloribus sexus feminei et Iphidamae respondentis; quae colloquia cum audisset Egetes, credens eas ibi esse, discesserit. Quid ad haec dicitis, rogo uos? Quare non timuit Maximilla per turpissimum lenocinium ancillae suae ligare animas in carne? Cum autem illum puerulum tam turpiter credatis esse mentitum, quis uobis credat loquentibus, quando si mentiamini, Dominum uos dicitis imitari?

39. Sed uos temeritate pleni adhuc irruite in ueteres libros, ut quae nescitis, potius accusare quam discere laboretis. Considerate quae ibi miracula sint. Si miraculis Noui Testamenti delectamini, ibi mortui primo suscitati,

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38, 18 I Cor. 7, 3

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38, 17/21 quae – concumberet] cf. AA 17      22/28 cum – discesserit] cf. AA 32

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38, 17 Egetis] egetes  $\gamma$   $P^{2a.c.}$   $P^4$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F^{a.c.}$ , egee  $Bg^1$   $Bo$ , egetes uel egetis  $Bx$ (uel i *sup.*  $l.$ ), ege-tae  $So$ . *Vide adnotationes.* marito] mer  $P^{1a.c.}$ , mariti  $P^{1p.c.}$  dixerit] dixit  $P^1$  18 uir] *om.*  $P^1$  18/19 reddat – ancillam] *om.*  $P^1$  19 Eucliam] eudiam  $M\ddot{u}$  exornans] exorans  $P^2$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$  eam] eum  $P^1$  ibi] ubi  $Bo$  scriptum] dictum  $P^1$  20 lenociniis] lenociis  $Gr^{a.c.}$  fucationibus] fugationibus  $P^4$   $F$ , fugacioribus  $M\ddot{u}$  nocte] noctu  $Bg^1$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$  uicariam] -ium  $P^4$  21 cum ea] *sup.*  $l.$   $P^3$  22 eadem] ea de  $M\ddot{u}$   $F$  Iphidama] ifidama  $Ag^{1a.c.}$   $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$   $P^1$   $Gr$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F$ , fidama  $Ag^{1p.c.}$   $Ag^3$ , et ifidama  $Bg^1$ , hifidima  $P^4$ , Iphidamia  $Maur$   $Zycha$ . *Vide adnotationes.* issent] essent  $P^4$  23 puerulus] puerolus  $P^{2a.c.}$   $F$  Leucius] leutius  $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $So$   $Bo$   $P^4$  24 Andreae] -a  $P^1$  25 perrexerit] -rexit  $Ag^{2a.c.}$   $P^2$   $P^1$   $Gr$ , predixit  $P^4$  praetorium] preteritum  $P^4$  Egetis] egetes  $\gamma$   $P^{2a.c.}$   $Bg^1$   $Bx$   $P^4$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F^{a.c.}$ , egeatis  $Bo$ , aeg&ces  $P^1$ . *Vide adnotationes.* et<sup>2</sup>] ut  $Gr$  earum] eorum  $Maur$   $Zycha$  finxerit] fingeret  $\delta$  26 Maximillae murmurantis] -a -es  $M\ddot{u}$   $F$  de] *om.*  $Gr$  27 Iphidamae] ei fidamae  $Ag^1$   $Ag^3$ , ifidamae  $Ag^2$   $P^2$   $Bx$   $So$ , eifidame  $P^3$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F$ , ifidame  $Bg^1$   $Bo$   $Gr$ , eius fide me  $P^1$ , eifidama  $P^4$ , Iphidamiae  $Maur$   $Zycha$ . *Vide adnotationes.* respondentis] -etis  $Bo$ , -entes  $P^1$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F$  cum] quia cum  $P^4$   $M\ddot{u}$   $F^{a.c.}$  Egetes] egetis  $Bg^1$ , egeates  $Bo$  28 eas] ea  $Ag^2$   $P^3$   $P^1$  ibi] sibi  $Ag^2$   $P^1$ , ubi  $P^4$  discesserit] -esset  $F^{a.c.}$   $Zycha$  haec] hoc  $Maur$  Quare] quasi  $P^4$  29 lenocinium] lenocium  $Gr^{a.c.}$  ligare] *om.*  $Bo$   $So$  animas] -os  $Bg^1$   $Bx$   $Bo$   $So$  30 carne] carne ligare  $Bo$   $So$  puerulum] puerolum  $P^{2a.c.}$   $F^{a.c.}$  31 quis] quid  $P^{2a.c.}$  Dominum] deum  $Gr$   $P^4$  39, 1 Sed] se  $Gr^{a.c.}$  in] ut  $Gr$  libros] liberos  $F$  3 mortui] -uo  $P^1$



*wise the wife to her husband*, she gave her maid-servant named Euclia to her husband. She adorned her, as is written there, with hostile enticements and make-up, and during the night she substituted her as deputy for herself so that he, unknowingly, would sleep with her as if with his wife. There it is written too that when this same Maximilla and Iphidama together went to hear the apostle Andrew, some beautiful boy, whom Leucius wished to be understood as God or at least as an angel, commended them to the apostle Andrew. He then hastened to the palace of Aegeates and, having entered their sleeping room, he feigned a female voice as of Maximilla complaining about the pains of the female sex, and of Iphidama responding to these complaints. When Aegeates heard this conversation, he left in the conviction they were in fact present. What do you say to these stories, I ask you? Why did Maximilla not hesitate to use a most disgraceful enticement of her servant to bind souls to the flesh? And when you believe this boy has lied in such a disgraceful manner, who would believe you when you talk, when, if you lie, you say you imitate the Lord.

39. Surely, just rush in your foolhardiness to the old books so that you would level accusations at what you do not know rather than attempt to learn these things. Consider the miracles written there. If you find joy in

- ibi leprosi primo mundati et alia multa quae diligentibus et pie quaerenti-  
 5 bus ad aedificandam fidem innotescunt. Si autem bonis praeceptis delecta-  
 mini, ibi primitus scripta sunt duo illa praecepta quae sublimiter Dominus  
 laudat de diligendo Deo et proximo; ibi dimittenda domus, parentes, filii et  
 cetera propter Dominum; ibi non reddendum malum pro malo; ibi oratum  
 10 pro inimicis; ibi inimico ignoscendum; ibi tradenda maxilla ad accipiendam  
 alapam et quaecumque in Nouo Testamento praecepta sunt non solum ibi  
 mandata, sed etiam a sanctis uiris omni uigilantia completa. Numquid et  
 hoc poterit dicere malitia uestra, quaecumque bona et magnifica ibi scripta  
 sunt, falsa esse et apposita, illa uero quae non intelligentes putatis mala, ea  
 15 tantummodo uera esse? Debetis enim attendere alios similiter impios ita  
 de Nouo Testamento facere posse, ut quaecumque ibi sunt quae non intel-  
 ligentes putauerint mala, ea reprehendant et dicant ipsa ibi esse sola uera,  
 illa autem omnia quae ibi aperte magnifica sunt dicant esse falsa atque ab  
 amatoribus Domini apposita, ne omnia uiderentur fugienda, ut et uos et  
 illi tali caecitate percussi iam iudicati et damnati fugiamini. Tandem uigi-  
 20 late et blasphemiiis conquiescite atque omnium sanctarum canonicarum  
 Scripturarum, si Christiani esse cogitatis, auctoritatem recipite et quae non  
 intelligitis accusare nolite, sed potius eorum intellectum desiderate.

40. Nam quale est etiam illud quod resurrectionem carnis negatis? Pau-  
 lus apostolus clamat: *seminatur in corruptione, resurget in incorruptione;*  
*seminatur in contumelia, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget*  
*in uirtute; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale.* Et uos contra

40, 2/4 I Cor. 15, 42-44

39, 4 diligentibus] -enter Maur Zycha 5 Si] sic Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> 6 duo illa] inu. Maur  
 7 de] om. γ diligendo] -i Ag<sup>3</sup> Deo] -um Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>1</sup> proximo] -um γ P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>1</sup>  
 parentes] -is P<sup>1</sup> filii] et filii δ Zycha 8 oratum] orandum Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>4</sup> P<sup>3p.c.</sup> (a.c. obsc.) Maur  
 Zycha, oratum uel orandum So(uel orandum sup. l.) 9 inimico] -os P<sup>2</sup> tradenda  
 maxilla] Ag<sup>3</sup> Gr Maur Zycha, -am -am Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> β P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F. Vide adnotationes. ad]  
 om. P<sup>4</sup> 12 bona] -e P<sup>1</sup> 13 esse] esset P<sup>2</sup>, om. Bx<sup>a.c.</sup> ea] et P<sup>1</sup> 14 esse]  
 esset P<sup>4</sup> Debetis] debitis P<sup>1</sup> attendere] aduertere uel attendere Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx(uel attendere  
 sup. l.), aduertere Maur alios] aliquos γ Maur ita] om. Bo So 15 facere] ita  
 facere Bo So quae] in quae P<sup>1</sup> 16 ea] et P<sup>4</sup> reprehendant] -ent P<sup>1</sup> ibi] sibi  
 P<sup>2</sup> Bo So esse sola] inu. β, esset sola P<sup>4</sup> 17 magnifica] -ata Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Mü F Maur Zycha  
 sunt] scripta sunt Gr, om. P<sup>4</sup> 18 et<sup>2</sup>] sup. l. P<sup>3</sup> 19 tali] -e P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup> caecitate]  
 castitate Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> 20 blasphemiiis] a -is Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> (a add. in marg.) Bg<sup>1</sup> Bo Zycha 21 Chris-  
 tiani] christi Ag<sup>2</sup> esse] et esse P<sup>1</sup> auctoritatem] -e P<sup>4</sup> 22 eorum] earum Bg<sup>1</sup>,  
 earum uel eorum Bx(uel o sup. l.)

40, 1 quod] post P<sup>1</sup>, quo P<sup>4</sup> resurrectionem] -i P<sup>4a.c.</sup>, -e P<sup>4p.c.</sup> 2 corruptione] -em  
 Gr P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup> resurget] -it P<sup>4</sup> Mü F Zycha incorruptione] -em Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup> Gr P<sup>4</sup>  
 Mü, corruptione Bo 3 surget<sup>1</sup>] resurget β, surgit P<sup>4</sup> Mü F Zycha gloria] -am Ag<sup>1</sup>  
 Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup> surget<sup>2</sup>] resurget Bx, surgit P<sup>4</sup> Mü F Zycha 4 uirtute] -em Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup> sur-  
 get] resurget Bx, surgit P<sup>4</sup> Mü F Zycha 4/5 contra reclamatis] contra rem clamatis Ag<sup>2</sup>

the miracles of the New Testament: there<sup>147</sup> the dead were resurrected first, the lepers first cleansed and many other feats were described which become clear to those who are industrious and who piously seek to corroborate their faith. If, however, you find joy in good precepts: there for the first time were written those two commandments, which the Lord in a lofty way praises, on the love for God and the neighbour. There you can find the commandment to leave home, parents, sons and other earthly goods in favour of the Lord; there you can find the commandment not to repay evil with evil; there you can find the prayer for enemies; there you can find the commandment to forgive one's enemy; there you can find the commandment to offer your cheek to receive a slap. And everything prescribed in the New Testament, you will find not only ordered there, but also accomplished by holy men through their utmost carefulness. Surely your vileness cannot claim this too, that everything beneficial and magnificent written there is falsified and added later, but those passages which you do not understand and therefore consider evil, only those you consider authentic? You really need to pay attention and see how other people, similarly impious, can interpret the New Testament in such a way that whatever it contains which, because they do not understand it, they deem evil, they criticize and claim that only these passages are authentic;<sup>148</sup> however, they claim everything in that book that is clearly marvellous, those passages are false and added by "lovers of the Lord", who added these passages so not everything would seem necessary to avoid. Ultimately, both you and they, struck by such a blindness and already judged and condemned, need to be avoided. At last, be vigilant, cease your blasphemous teachings, and if you think you are Christians, accept the authority of all holy and canonical Books. Stop blaming what you do not understand, but rather desire the understanding of those passages.

40. For what is the reason you deny the resurrection of the body? Paul the apostle exclaims: *it is sown perishable, it will be raised imperishable. It is sown in dishonour, it will be raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it will be raised in power. It is sown a physical body, it will be raised a spiritual*

<sup>147</sup> Viz. in the old books (*ueteres libros*) just mentioned.

<sup>148</sup> The author makes use of an *argumentum ad absurdum* here. Whereas the Manichaeans reject the Old Testament, the author supposes here someone who would reject the New Testament on similar grounds. Any morally or theologically objectional passages he would find in the New Testament, he would consider authentic, as they provide solid grounds for his rejection of the New Testament as a whole.

- 5 reclamatis carnem hominis non posse resurgere et eam tenebrarum principem habere auctorem, cum eandem apostolus membra Christi et templum Spiritus sancti esse dicat. *Nescitis*, inquit, *quia corpora uestra membra sunt Christi?*, quod non utique secundum infirmitatem praesentis corruptionis, quae de peccati originalis poena descendit, sed secundum adoptionem futurae resurrectionis dicit, sicut alibi ait: *et ipsi in nobis ingemiscimus, adoptionem exspectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri*. Alibi etiam eandem carnem Ecclesiae comparauit, cum de coniugio loqueretur dicens: *nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habet, sed nutrit et fouet eam, sicut Christus Ecclesiam*. Quod ergo alio loco dicit: *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum, spiritus autem aduersus carnem*, non carnem damnat, ut eam tamquam inimicam existimemus, sed admonet potius ut subiugemus nobis eam, ut ad bona opera concupienda et parienda uelut coniux spiritui seruiat, quod dicit non posse fieri nisi gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Non enim natura carnis, sed poena eius nobis reluctatur, quia peccato meruimus esse mortales. Nam iterum dicit: *corpus uestrum templum est in uobis Spiritus sancti*. Et tamen cum ipsa caro propter praesentem infirmitatem fenum appelletur, creditis Ioannem de feno aurum fecisse, et non creditis Deum omnipotentem de corpore animali spiritale corpus facere posse? Nam propter ipsam commutationem carnis, quae futura est, quoniam de
- 25 ista carne caeleste corpus Deus factururus est, *quando erimus aequales angelis*

40, 7/8 I Cor. 6, 15      10/11 Rom. 8, 23      12/14 Eph. 5, 29      14/15 Gal. 5, 17      18 gratia – nostrum] cf. Rom. 7, 25      20/21 I Cor. 6, 19      21/22 ipsa – appelletur] cf. I Petr. 1, 24 (Is. 40, 6)      25/26 Luc. 20, 36

40, 22 creditis – fecisse] cf. AJ *loc. incert.*

40, 5 tenebrarum principem] *inu. Ag<sup>2</sup>*      6 habere auctorem] *abere principem hactorem P<sup>1</sup>*      7 esse] *om. Gr P<sup>1</sup>*      7/8 sunt Christi] *inu. Bg<sup>1</sup>*      8 quod] *que P<sup>1</sup>*      non utique] *inu. Bo So*      9 peccati] *-is Gr<sup>4.c.</sup>*      originalis] *-i P<sup>1</sup>*      adoptionem] *-is Ag<sup>1</sup>*      *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup>*      10 alibi] *et alibi δ*      adoptionem] *-is P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>*      11 exspectantes] *expectantes P<sup>1</sup>*      redemptionem] *redemcionis P<sup>1</sup>*, resurrectionem *Maur*      nostri] *-is Gr*      eandem] *eumdem P<sup>1</sup>*      12 Ecclesiae] *-a P<sup>1</sup> Mü F*      enim] *sup. l. P<sup>4</sup>*      13 habet] *-uit Ag<sup>3</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bo So*      fouet] *-it P<sup>2.a.c.</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F*      Christus] *et christus Gr(sup. l.)*      15 damnat] *-ant Gr<sup>4.c.</sup>*      inimicam] *-a P<sup>4</sup>*      16 admonet potius] *inu. Gr*      ut<sup>1</sup>] *ub P<sup>4</sup>*      ut ad] *ad Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> Maur*      17 concupienda] *concupienda Ag<sup>1.p.c.</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> Maur Zycha*, concupiscenda *Ag<sup>2</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Gr*      parienda] *-am P<sup>4</sup>*      uelut] *ut uelut Ag<sup>1.p.c.</sup>(ut sup. l.) Maur*, uelox *P<sup>4</sup>*      coniux] *coniunx P<sup>2.p.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So*      seruiat] *seruat P<sup>4</sup>*      dicit] *-ite P<sup>2.a.c.</sup>*      18 posse] *posset P<sup>1</sup>*      19 carnis] *om. Ag<sup>2</sup>*      reluctatur] *relutatur P<sup>4</sup>*      peccato] *-um P<sup>4</sup>*      20 dicit] *-itur P<sup>3.a.c.</sup>*      in uobis] *om. Ag<sup>2</sup>*      21 cum ipsa] *om. P<sup>4</sup>*      praesentem infirmitatem] *inu. Ag<sup>2</sup>*      22 fenum] *-u Ag<sup>2</sup>*      appelletur] *-atur P<sup>1</sup>*      aurum] *-o P<sup>3</sup>*      23 Deum] *om. β*      corpore] *-ora P<sup>1</sup>*      posse] *-es Gr*      24 Nam] *an P<sup>1</sup>*      commutationem] *communione Bo So*, comminacionem *P<sup>1</sup>*, communicacionem *F<sup>4.c.</sup>*      25 Deus] *dominus P<sup>1</sup>*      angelis] *-i Ag<sup>2</sup>*

*body*. Yet you on the other hand claim that human flesh cannot experience resurrection, and has the prince of shadows as its maker, even though the Apostle says that the same human flesh constitutes the members of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit. For he said, *do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?*, which he, of course, does not say in accordance with the weakness of its present corruption, which descended from the punishment of the original sin, but rather in accordance with the adoption of the future resurrection, just like he said elsewhere: *and we ourselves groan inwardly, awaiting the adoption, the redemption of our body*. Additionally, in another passage he compared the same flesh to the Church, when he said the following, in a discussion on marriage: *for no one ever hates his own flesh, but he nourishes and cherishes it like Christ cherishes the Church*. Then, with regard to what he says in another section: *for what the flesh desires is opposed to the Spirit, and what the Spirit desires is opposed to the flesh*: he does not condemn the flesh so that we would consider it as if it were an enemy, but rather he admonishes us, so that we would subject it to ourselves. Thus the flesh – like a wife – will serve the spirit in order to desire and bring forth good works. Of this he says it cannot happen except by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. For we struggle not with the nature of the flesh but with the punishment of the flesh, because through sin we deserved our mortal existence. Once again he says: *your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit in you*. And yet, when the flesh is called hay because of its present weakness, you believe John made gold from hay, but you do not believe the almighty God can make a spiritual body from a physical body?<sup>149</sup> For, precisely because of this change of the flesh which will be realised in the future, because God will create a heavenly body from the current flesh, *when we will be equal to the angels of God*, for that reason

<sup>149</sup> This anecdote could have been found in the Apocryphal *Acts of John*, which the Manichaeans accepted as an authoritative text. See ELLIOTT, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 305, and esp. E. JUNOD, J.-D. KAESTLI, *Acta Iohannis* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, 1-2), Turnhout, 1983, p. 129-136.

*Dei*, propterea uerissime dicit idem apostolus: *caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebit*.

41. Sed non mirum quod ita caeci estis, ut non posse ab omnipotente Deo ista fieri putetis, cum etiam dicitis mundum uel omnia quae facta sunt, non potuisse aliter deum facere nisi magna et miserabili necessitate et nisi esset materia quae illum ad operationem mundi adiuuaret, ut inde posset partem suam liberare. Eligite ergo nunc quid sequi uelitis: deum minus  
5 potentem et infirmum, qui necessitate partis suae in miseria constitutae a materia, quam ipse non fecerat, ut mundum faceret adiutus est, an deum omnipotentem, qui nulla necessitate, sed propria uoluntate et summa potestate dixit et facta sunt, mandauit et creata sunt; qui uocat ea quae non sunt,  
10 tamquam quae sunt?

42. Vos ergo homines qui ista impietate Manichaei estis decepti, fugite, festinate dum licet, ne damnationem aeternam ab illo iusto iudice mereamini. Poeniteat uos peccatorum uestrorum, si cupitis liberari, et nolite audire Manichaeos dicentes: «non peccamus nos, hoc est, animae lucis,  
5 sed peccat gens tenebrarum». Si enim ita est, quare nos terrent, ut eis credamus? Non enim possunt dicere quia infidelitas non est peccatum, cum scriptum sit: *qui non credit, iam iudicatus est*.

43. Si ergo infidelitas peccatum est et non peccat nisi gens tenebrarum, restat ut ab omni peccato pars lucis immunis inueniatur. Omnes ergo ad regnum redeunt, quia ipsi non peccant, et nihil timendum est alicui ani-

40, 26/27 I Cor. 15, 50

41, 9 Ps. 32(33), 9 9/10 Rom. 4, 17

42, 7 Io. 3, 18

40, 26 propterea] *om. Gr* 27 possidebit] -bunt *Ag<sup>lp.c.</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> F<sup>p.c.</sup> Maur Zycha*  
41, 1 estis] *esti P<sup>t</sup>* ut] et *P<sup>t</sup>* 2 putetis] *om. P<sup>3</sup>* cum] quam *P<sup>t</sup>* dicitis]  
-atis *Ag<sup>3</sup> Maur* mundum] nondum *P<sup>t</sup>* quae] *sup. l. P<sup>t</sup>* 3 potuisse] potius *P<sup>t</sup>*  
aliter - facere] aliter facere deum *P<sup>3</sup> Maur*, deum aliter facere *So* miserabili] -e *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*  
*Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>2</sup> F<sup>a.c.</sup>*, mirabili *Bg<sup>l</sup> Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup>*, mirabile *P<sup>t</sup>* 4 posset] -it *Gr* 5 quid] quod  
*Bx<sup>a.c.</sup>* uelitis] ueligitis *Ag<sup>l.a.c.</sup>*, uellitis *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>* 6 necessitate] -em *Ag<sup>l</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>t</sup> Mü*  
miseria] -ae *P<sup>t</sup>* a] ad *P<sup>t</sup>* 7 materia] -e *P<sup>t</sup>* ipse] -a *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* an deum] ante *P<sup>t</sup>*  
8 qui - necessitate] quin -am -em *P<sup>t</sup>* 9 qui] quia *P<sup>t</sup>* 10 quae] ea quae *Ag<sup>lp.c.</sup> P<sup>3</sup> β*  
*Mü F Maur Zycha* sunt] sint *P<sup>2a.c.</sup> Gr F*

42, 1 Vos] nos *Mü* decepti] *om. P<sup>t</sup>* 2 licet] lucet *P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup> Gr<sup>a.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup> Mü* dam-  
nationem] -is *P<sup>t</sup>* iusto] -e *P<sup>t</sup>* iudice] -em *P<sup>t</sup>* 3 peccatorum] errare peccatorum  
*F*(errare *sup. l.*) uestrorum] uestorum pondere *F*(pondere *sup. l.*) liberari] -are  
*P<sup>t</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>* 4 Manichaeos] -em *Ag<sup>2</sup>* non] nec *Bo* peccamus] -auimus *Bx P<sup>t</sup>*  
5 ita] *ista P<sup>t</sup>* 6 credamus] -emus *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, -atis *F* 7 est] *om. Bo*

43, 1 ergo] enim *P<sup>t</sup>* nisi] *sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup>* 2 ut] ait *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>*, *om. P<sup>t</sup>* 3 timendum]  
tamen dum *F<sup>a.c.</sup>* timendum est] *inu. Bo So*

the same apostle says, entirely in accordance with the truth: *flesh and blood will not inherit the kingdom of God*.

41. Yet it is not surprising you are so blind, that you think the almighty God cannot realise these things, when you also claim that God could not make the world or all that is created in any other way, if not through a great and miserable necessity, and unless there was matter which helped him to put the world in operation so he could liberate a part of him from it. Choose then, right now, what you want to follow: a less potent and a weaker god, who, forced by necessity, because a part of him was stuck in misery, was aided by matter, which he had not created himself, so he could create the world, or an almighty god, who, not out of necessity, but of his own will and through his highest power *spoke, and it came to be, he commanded, and it stood firm*; who *calls into existence*<sup>150</sup> *the things that are not*.

42. Therefore, you, people who are deceived by Mani's notorious impiety, run, hurry while you still can, in order to avoid the eternal damnation you would merit on behalf of the righteous judge. May you regret your sins, if you desire to be liberated, and do not heed the Manichaeans who say: "we do not sin – that is to say, the souls of light – but the race of shadows sins". For if that is the case, why do they terrify us so we would believe them? Ultimately, they cannot say infidelity is no sin, because it is written: *who does not believe has already been judged*.

43. If, therefore, infidelity is a sin and no one sins except the race of shadows, the result is that the part of light will be found free of any sin. Thus, everyone returns to the kingdom, because no one sinned, and no

<sup>150</sup> Lit. "like things that are" (*tamquam quae sunt*).



mae, quia nihil peccat, et falsa sunt quae Manichaeus dicit subsiciam lucis  
 5 partem, hoc est animas peccatrices, damnari ad custodiam globi, ut aliqua  
 securitas diuinis regnis in periculo constitutis tandem aliquando compara-  
 retur. Necesse est ergo ut aut pars lucis peccet aut pars tenebrarum. Sed si  
 pars lucis peccat, Deus peccat, quod nefas est dicere. Si autem pars tene-  
 brarum peccat, ipsa uocatur ad regnum per eum qui dixit: *non ueni uocare*  
 10 *iustos, sed peccatores, quia non est opus sanis medicus, sed male habentibus.*  
 Illa autem diuinitas de diuinitate et lux de lumine tenebrarum generi dege-  
 nerans in aeternum sociatur.

44. O detestandum mentis errorem talia credentium ! Vellem tamen ut  
 attenderetis et uidere uelletis eum quem naturaliter summum malum esse  
 dicitis – non posse fieri ut malus sit. Quoniam si quidquid facit, sic facit,  
 ut a natura sua recedere et aliter facere non possit: prorsus nihil peccat.  
 5 Si autem nihil peccat, nihil mali facit. Et ideo si nihil mali fecit, non est  
 utique malus. Restat itaque ut pars Dei, quae Deus intelligitur, quam ani-  
 mam dicitis, sola sit rea omnium peccatorum et omnia illa quae accusanda  
 insanissime putatis, in deum uestrum refundatis. Sed quid ueritas clamat?  
 Corpus cum exanime est, peccare non posse, sed per ipsum posse peccari;  
 10 animam uero, irrationalem quidem, peccare non posse (quia nec praecepta  
 rationis potest accipere neque ad beatitudinem peruenire), sed in suo gradu  
 seruare ordinem naturae quem accepit; rationalem autem (quia potest recte  
 factorum rationabilia praecepta percipere et recte factis ad aeternam beati-

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43, 9/10 Matth. 9, 13-12

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43, 4/5 lucis – globi] Ep. fund. 9

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43, 4 quia] qui <sup>P<sup>1a.c.</sup></sup> dicit] dixit <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> subsiciam] subciuum <sup>Ag<sup>3a.c.</sup></sup>, succiuam <sup>Bg<sup>t</sup></sup> Bx  
 Bo So, succidiuam <sup>F<sup>n</sup> marg.</sup>, succisiuam <sup>Maur Zycha</sup> 5 custodiam] <sup>Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup></sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> <sup>P<sup>2in</sup> marg.</sup> Bg<sup>t</sup>  
 Bx Bo So Gr <sup>F<sup>p.c.</sup></sup> Maur Zycha, custodiendam <sup>Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup></sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> <sup>P<sup>3</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>2</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> Mü, custodiendam <sup>F<sup>n.c.</sup></sup>.  
*Vide adnotationes.* 6 compararetur] comparetur <sup>Ag<sup>3</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>2p.c.</sup></sup> Bg<sup>t</sup> Bo So Gr <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> Maur Zycha,  
 comparantur Mü 7 aut<sup>1</sup>] *om.* <sup>P<sup>3a.c.</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> pars<sup>1</sup>] o pars <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> Sed] aut β 9 non]  
 non enim <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> ueni] -it <sup>Gr<sup>at.c.</sup></sup> 10 est opus] *inu.* Bo So 11 Illa] -ae <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> dege-  
 nerans] degerans <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup>  
 44, 1 detestandum] detestandaum <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> 2 uidere] uid&re <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> uelletis] uelitis <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup>  
 3 posse] possum <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> malus] -is <sup>P<sup>3a.c.</sup></sup> 4 a] an <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup>, *om.* <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> facere] recedere <sup>Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup></sup>  
 5 mali<sup>1</sup>] -e <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> facit] -iat Mü F Zycha si<sup>2</sup>] *sup.* l. <sup>Ag<sup>3</sup></sup> mali<sup>2</sup>] -e <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> fecit]  
 facit <sup>Ag<sup>3</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>2p.c.</sup></sup> Bg<sup>t</sup> Bx Bo So <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> Gr Maur est] *om.* Gr 7 illa] *om.* Gr quae] quaea  
 uel qua ea <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> 9 cum] enim Mü exanime] ex animae <sup>P<sup>2</sup></sup>, ex anima Mü F est]  
 esse Mü F peccare – posse<sup>1</sup>] non posse peccare Bo So peccari] *om.* <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup>  
 10 irrationalem] -abilem <sup>P<sup>3a.c.</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>4a.c.</sup></sup> 12 quem] quam Bo So accepit] -erit Maur  
 13 factorum] Gr Maur Zycha, -urum <sup>Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup></sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> <sup>P<sup>3</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>2</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>1</sup></sup> <sup>P<sup>t</sup></sup> Mü <sup>F<sup>n.c.</sup></sup>, -ura <sup>Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup></sup> Ag<sup>3</sup>, -uram  
 Bg<sup>t</sup> Bx Bo So, -arum <sup>F<sup>p.c.</sup></sup>. *Vide adnotationes.* recte] rect& uel rectae <sup>P<sup>3</sup></sup>



soul should ever be afraid, because the soul does not sin. Therefore Mani speaks false words when he says the cut-off part of light, this is, the sinning souls, are condemned to watch over the clod, so ultimately some sort of rest can ever be found for the divine kingdoms in peril. It is thus necessary that either the part of light sins, or the part of shadows. But, if the part of light sins, God sins, which is a wicked thing to say! If, then, the part of shadows sins, this part will be summoned to the kingdom by him who said: *I have come not to call the righteous but sinners, for those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick do.* Then, this divinity from divinity and light from light is joined for eternity with the kin of shadows, thus suffering degeneration.

44. Ah, what a mental mistake of people who believe such things! I would still want you to pay attention and to agree to see that he whom you say is the naturally highest evil – that it is impossible he is evil. For, if he does anything, he does so that he cannot escape his natural inclination, and cannot act otherwise. So he does not sin at all. And then, if he does not sin, he achieves no evil deed. And if he did not achieve an evil deed, he certainly is not evil. The result is, therefore, that the part of God, by which God himself is understood, which you call the soul, that it alone is guilty of all sins, and everything which you think, in your exuberant insanity, that should be blemished, you attribute it to your god. Yet, what does the truth say? A body, when it is without a soul, cannot sin, but it is possible that sin is committed through the body; likewise, a soul, at least the irrational soul, cannot sin (because it cannot perceive the precepts of reason, neither can it reach beatitude), but preserves, situated in its position, the order it received from nature; finally, the rational soul (because it can perceive the reasonable precepts of correct conduct and can through correct conduct reach eternal beatitude), if it refuses by sinning, it will deservedly

tudinem peruenire), si hoc peccando noluerit, iuste ad inferiora damnari,  
15 quia inter ipsa et Deum non separat nisi uoluntas praua.

45. Legite, Manichaei, et omni uigilantia ista discutite et magis magisque  
legite atque discutite, sed animo aequo, non animo inimico. Legite illud  
attendentes, quia erit uobis in futuro iudicio ista Scriptura testis, si agnos-  
centes uera esse quae dicta sunt, ad sinum matris Ecclesiae catholicae, quae  
5 sola ueritatem docet, omni cursu non festinaueritis.

46. Iudicate tandem aut eligite, Manichaei, quem sequi uultis: Patrem  
ingenitum, Filium unigenitum, Spiritum sanctum in Patris et Filii uni-  
tate communem, unum Deum omnipotentem, incorruptibilem, inadibilem,  
incommutabilem, uerum, bonum, sanctum, clementem, iustum; qui non  
5 habet partes, quia unus est; neque eius particula separari ab eo potest, quia  
inseparabilis est; neque aliquid eius immutari potest, quia totus incommu-  
tabilis est; neque uel leuiter quod uellet eius substantiae corrumpi potest,  
quia totus incorruptibilis est; qui uoluit et facta sunt omnia quaecumque  
sunt quaecumque uiuunt quaecumque intelligunt; ipse enim summa subs-  
10 tantia, summa uita, summa ueritas est; qui praecepit et ordinata sunt omnia  
suis locis et temporibus bona; qui rationalem creaturam omni ceterae crea-  
turae praeficere dignatus est; qui ei per superbiam a suis legibus uoluntate  
lapsae et uisibilia sequenti misericorditer per suos ministros ac per se ipsum  
signis quibusdam uisibiliter et exemplis et praeceptis demonstratis, quibus  
15 consurgere ualeret atque ad aeternam uitam renouaretur, loqui dignatus est;  
quem praedicat catholica fides.

47. An illum deum qui falso dicitur incorruptus, quia postea inuenitur  
malo necessitatis oppressus; timidum, quia imminente labe ac uastitate  
compulsus ad bellum est; ignorantiae plenum, si suae parti quid contingere

44, 14 peccando] -um *P*<sup>l</sup> iuste] -ae *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup> 15 ipsa] -am *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *Bg*<sup>l</sup> *Bx* *Bo* *So* *Gr* *F*  
*Maur* *Zycha*. Vide adnotationes praua] -am *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup>, parua *P*<sup>4a.c.</sup>

45, 1 Legite] legite ista *Bo* *So* 2 atque] et *β* aequo] inequo *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> inimico]  
iniquo *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *Gr* 3 quia erit] querit *P*<sup>l</sup> ista – testis] testis<sup>b</sup> ista<sup>a</sup> scriptura<sup>c</sup> *Bx*, ista  
scriptura testes *P*<sup>l</sup> agnoscentes] cognoscentes *Ag*<sup>l</sup> 5 docet] decet *P*<sup>4</sup>

46, 1 aut] atque *F* *Zycha* eligite] legite *γ* *F* elegite *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup> *P*<sup>l</sup> *P*<sup>4</sup> 2 Spiritum sanc-  
tum] *inu*. *P*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>l</sup> *Gr* *P*<sup>4</sup> 4 qui] quia *P*<sup>l</sup> 5 quia<sup>1</sup>] *sup*. *l.* *Gr* separari – eo] ab  
eo separari *Bo* *So* 6 immutari] -are *P*<sup>l</sup> incommutabilis] inmutabilis *Ag*<sup>2a.c.</sup>  
7 quod uellet] quod libet *Ag*<sup>lp.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>2in marg.</sup> *Maur*, quod uelit *Bg*<sup>l</sup> *Bx* *Bo* *So* substantiae]  
-a *Bg*<sup>l</sup> *Bx* *Bo* *So* 8 incorruptibilis] -e *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup> qui] quia *Bg*<sup>l</sup> 9 ipse] ibsae *P*<sup>l</sup>, ipsa *F*  
12 praeficere] praeferre *γ*, praeficere *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup> ei] et *P*<sup>l</sup>, ei que *F*(que *sup*. *l.*) uoluntate]  
uoluptate *P*<sup>l</sup> 13 lapsae] -a est *Ag*<sup>l</sup> *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup> *F*, -a *P*<sup>2p.c.</sup> *Mü*, -us *P*<sup>l</sup> ac] et *Mü*  
15 consurgere] surgere *Gr* ualeret] -et *P*<sup>3a.c.</sup>, -ere *P*<sup>4</sup> atque] *om.* *Ag*<sup>3</sup> 16 praedi-  
cat] -abat *P*<sup>3a.c.</sup>

47, 1 deum] *om.* *P*<sup>l</sup> falso] -a *P*<sup>4</sup> postea] *om.* *Gr* 2 malo] -a *P*<sup>l</sup> *P*<sup>4</sup> op-  
pressus] -os *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup> timidum] tumidum *P*<sup>l</sup> labe] lab& *Ag*<sup>l.a.c.</sup> ac] hac *P*<sup>l</sup>, *om.* *Gr*  
3 ignorantiae] -a *P*<sup>4</sup> plenum] -e *Gr*<sup>a.c.</sup> contingere] contingere *P*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>l</sup>

be condemned to hell. After all, the only separation between hell and God is a crooked choice of will.

45. Read, Manichaeans, and discuss these things with all due vigilance, and read and discuss more and more, but with a fair intention, not with a hostile intention. Read this carefully, because this Scripture itself will be your judge in the future judgement, if you, although you realise it is true what is said, do not hurry with all your haste to the lap of the mother, which is the Catholic Church. She alone teaches the truth.

46. Judge then, at last, and choose, Manichaeans, whom you intend to follow: the unbegotten Father, his only-begotten Son, the Holy Spirit, conjoined in the unity of Father and Son, the one almighty God, incorruptible, inapproachable, immutable, true, good, holy, clement, righteous; he has no parts, because he is one; no particles can be separated from him because he is inseparable; nor can anything of him be subject to change, because he is wholly immutable; not in the slightest could any part<sup>151</sup> of his substance be corrupted, because he is wholly incorruptible; he willed and everything is created, what exists, what lives, what understands; for he is the highest nature, the highest life, the highest truth; he commanded and all that is good was fixed in its appropriate place and time; he deemed it worthy to place the rational creature at the head of all creatures; he deemed it worthy to speak to this rational creature (who, because of elation and on behalf of his own will, fell from his divine laws, and pursued visible things), mercifully speaking through his ministers and through himself, by means of some fulfilled visible signs, examples and commandments, by which the creature is able to take rise and become renewed for eternal life; whom the Catholic faith proclaims?

47. Or do you prefer the other god, who is falsely called uncorrupted, for later he was revealed to be forced by the evil of necessity; a timid god, for he was driven to war by an imminent ruin and devastation; full of igno-

<sup>151</sup> Lit. "not even lightly" (*neque uel leuiter*) and "whatever he would want" (*quod uellet*). The expression *quod uellet* seems to have a meaning similar to *quilibet* (*quodlibet*).

- posset, uidere non potuit; crudelem, si praeuidit miseriam futuram partis  
 5 suae, et qui cum ea securus posset quiescere, tamen eam misit ad misera-  
 bilem pugnam; malum, si cum sibi fieri a mali natura nihil posset, tamen  
 conatus est eam ipse delere; temerarium, qui ausus est congregari cum ea, a  
 qua eius pars et captiua teneretur et in sempiternum macularetur; commu-  
 10 corruptibilem, quia iam ex parte mutatus est; corruptibilem, quia iam ex parte  
 corruptus est; ex parte meretricantem, ex parte mentientem, ex parte blas-  
 phemantem, scelera omnia ex parte facientem, quia his omnibus ex parte  
 commixtus est; lugentem, uelo luctuoso tectum; subiacentem daemoniis ut  
 lutum figulo et usque ad turpem personam necessitate perductum, ut in  
 pueros et uirgines transfiguratus daemonum libidinem accenderet; quem  
 15 praedicat Manichaeus? Aut certe, si potest, neget conscientia uestra. Teste  
 uobis uero Deo aeterno, qui omnes iudicaturus est, unum istorum uobis  
 ipsis negare.

48. Si autem uera sunt quae dicimus, tandem respicite, tandem uidete  
 in qua estis morte constituti. Humiles estote, si optatis liberari, et nolite  
 superbe et impie dicere uos ipsos esse Deum omnipotentem. Hoc enim  
 dicitis, cum animas uestras partes eius esse asseueratis. Non enim Deus in  
 5 parte maior, in parte minor est. Sed potius dicite uobis: «Deus incommu-  
 tabilis est, nos commutabiles sumus; Deus incorruptibilis est, nos cupidita-  
 tibus nostris corrumpimur; Deus incoinquinabilis est, nos peccatis nostris  
 coinquinamur; Deus ipsa sapientia est, nos stulti ad sapientiam peruenire  
 conamur; Deus ipsa aeterna et beata uita est, nos peccatis nostris miseri  
 10 sumus et optamus fieri beati; non ergo sumus pars substantiae eius». Si

47, 4 posset] possit *So*, posse *Gr<sup>at.c.</sup>* praeuidit] -et *P<sup>l</sup>*, -ens *Maur* 5 miserabilem]  
 mirabilem *Gr<sup>at.c.</sup>* 6 si] se *P<sup>t</sup>* 7 est<sup>1</sup>] *om. P<sup>l</sup>* ipse] -ae *P<sup>l</sup>* qui ausus] quia usus  
*P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, quia ausus *Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Gr*, quiausus *P<sup>l</sup>* est<sup>2</sup>] *om. Bo So* congregari - ea]  
 cum ea ingredi *Ag<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, cum ea congregari *Ag<sup>2p.c.</sup>*, congregari cum ea est *Bo So*, congregari cum eam  
*P<sup>l</sup> Mü* 8 teneretur] tenetur *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* commutabilem] contumabilem *P<sup>l</sup>* 9 quia<sup>1</sup>]  
 qui *Ag<sup>3</sup>* corruptibilem - iam<sup>2</sup>] *om. Gr* quia<sup>2</sup>] qui *γ P<sup>2a.c.</sup> Mü* 10 corruptus]  
 correptus *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup>* corruptus - parte<sup>1</sup>] *om. P<sup>3</sup> Gr Maur* ex<sup>1</sup>] et ex *Bo* ex<sup>2</sup>] et  
 ex *Bo* mentientem] blasphemantem *Bo So* ex<sup>3</sup>] et ex *Bo* blasphemantem] men-  
 tientem *Bo So*, blasphemantem *Gr<sup>at.c.</sup>* 11 ex<sup>2</sup>] quia ex *Bg<sup>l</sup>* 12 uelo] uolo *Bo* luc-  
 tuoso] -ose *P<sup>t</sup>* subiacentem] subiectum *Bo So* daemoniis] demonis *Ag<sup>2</sup>* ut]  
 uelut *P<sup>l</sup>* 13 lutum] luctum *P<sup>t</sup>* et usque] eiusque *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* ad] *om. P<sup>l</sup>* 14 uir-  
 gines] in -es *P<sup>t</sup>* libidinem] *Ag<sup>l</sup> Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2p.c.</sup> Bg<sup>l</sup> Bx Bo So Gr Maur Zycha*, -ae *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, -e *Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>l</sup> P<sup>t</sup> Mü F. Vide adnotationes* accenderet] accederet *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* quem] que *P<sup>3</sup>*  
 15 neget] -at *P<sup>t</sup>* 16 uobis<sup>1</sup>] *sup. l. Ag<sup>3</sup>* uobis<sup>1</sup> - Deo] uobis deo uero *Ag<sup>2</sup>*, uero deo  
*Ag<sup>3a.c.</sup>*, uero uobis deo *P<sup>l</sup>* 17 ipsis] -e *P<sup>l</sup>*

48, 1 respicite] recipite *P<sup>l</sup>*, respiscite *Gr* 2 estote] testote *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* 3 superbe] -ae *Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*P<sup>2a.c.</sup>* dicere] dicare *P<sup>l</sup>* uos ipsos] *inu. P<sup>l</sup>* 4 esse] *om. Bo So* asseueratis]  
 asseratis *Bo So* 5 parte<sup>1</sup>] -em *P<sup>t</sup>* 7 corrumpimur] -imus *P<sup>t</sup>* incoinquinabilis]  
 incoinquinabilis *P<sup>2a.c.</sup> P<sup>t</sup>*, coinquinabilis *Mü<sup>at.c.</sup>* 8 ipsa] -e *P<sup>l</sup>* sapientiam] -a *P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>t</sup>*  
 9 peccatis - miseri] miseri peccatis nostris *Bo So* 10 non] nos *P<sup>2a.c.</sup> Bx So Gr P<sup>t</sup>*

rance, if he was not able to see what could happen to a part of him; cruel, if he foresaw the coming misery of his part, and although he was able to live in peace with this part, still sent that part to the miserable battle; evil, if, although the nature of evil could do nothing to him, he still attempted to delete that nature himself; heedless, he who dared to clash with that nature, through which a part of him is held captive and will be defiled for eternity; changeable, because he is already partly changed; corruptible, because he is already partly corrupted; he is partly prostituting himself, partly lying, partly blaspheming, partly fulfilling every kind of misdeed, because he is partly mixed with all these misdeeds; he is mourning, covered by a mournful veil; he is subject to demons like clay before a potter, and led by necessity to such a disgraceful role, in order to, transformed into boys and girls, arouse lust in the demons; whom Mani proclaims? But certainly, if it is possible, may your conscience oppose to this. With the true eternal God as your witness, he who will judge all, deny one of both options for yourselves.

48. If, however, the things we say are true, look back then, at last, see the kind of death you have become entangled in. Be humble, if you wish to be liberated, and stop proudly and impiously saying you yourselves are the almighty god. For this is what you say, when you make the claim you are parts of him. For God is not greater in one part, yet smaller in another. Rather, tell yourselves: "God is unchangeable, we are subject to change; God is incorruptible, we are corrupted by our desires; God is unpollutable, we are polluted through our sins; God is wisdom itself, we, who are stupid, attempt to reach wisdom; God is eternal and blessed life itself, we are unhappy on behalf of our sins and wish to become blessed; thus, we are not part of his substance". For, if you are parts of him and you suffer such things, the result is that he in part already suffers everything you suffer

enim eius partes estis et haec tanta patimini, restat ut et ipse iam ex parte haec omnia patiat et amplius pati potuerit quod eius contigit parti, nisi per uestram miseriam sibi prouideret. Videte uos ergo quid estis: si partes estis eius, Deus estis; si geniti ab illo estis, similiter Deus estis. Quid tanta  
 15 peccatorum corruptione turbamini? Si autem facti ab illo estis, hoc confitemini et non iam eritis Manichaei.

49. Manichaeus enim duas dicit esse naturas, unam bonam et alteram malam, bonam quae fecit mundum, malam de qua factus est mundus. Si autem uos deus fecit, non inuenit Manichaeus unde uos deus fecerit. Si enim de se ipso uos fecit, hoc estis quod ipse. Non ergo debebatis tanta  
 5 peccatorum corruptione turpari, sicut iam dictum est. Si autem de alieno uos fecit, non ad illum pertinetis, quia sic uos fecit quomodo mundum. Si autem nec de se ipso nec de alieno uos fecit, sed tantum omnipotentia sua uoluit et facti estis, hoc dicite Manichaeo et renuntiate eius errori. Sic enim decet omnipotentem facere quae uoluerit, sicut catholica dicit: *ipse*  
 10 *dixit et facta sunt; ipse mandauit et creata sunt*. Dicite uobis: « non sumus partes eius, sed sumus opera eius ». Dicite uobis: « si Deus necessitate passus est et euadere aliter non potuit, nisi partis suae pateretur detrimentum, quis aliquando poterit de talibus necessitatibus liberari? Aut quis erit qui  
 †protegit deum non ualentem† se ipsum protegere? Aut quando me de hac  
 15 necessitate captiuitatis poterit liberare qui me in integris regnis custodire non potuit? Non enim peccantem me inde dimisit, sed ad peccata ipse me misit. Aut quando mihi in alienis miserabiliter constituto prodesse pote-

49, 9/10 Ps. 32(33), 9

48, 11 eius partes] *inu. γ Maur*, partes *P<sup>1a.c.</sup>* 12 quod] quam *Bo* eius] *om. Ag<sup>1</sup>*  
 contigit] contingit *P<sup>1</sup> Maur* parti] pati *Gr<sup>a.c.</sup>* 13 si] et *Mü* partes] -is *Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*P<sup>3</sup>*, pars *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 14 estis eius] eius *γ Maur, inu. Bo So* estis<sup>2</sup>] est *P<sup>1</sup>* si geniti]  
 seieniti *P<sup>1</sup>* si - estis<sup>4</sup>] *om. Gr* 15 turbamini] turpamini *Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4p.c.</sup> Mü F Maur*  
*Zycha* hoc] haec *β* 16 non iam] *inu. Gr*

49, 1 enim] autem *Bo So P<sup>1</sup>* 3 uos<sup>1</sup>] nos *P<sup>1</sup>* deus<sup>1</sup>] omnes *Gr* deus<sup>2</sup>] *om.*  
*Gr Mü* 3/4 Si enim] sicnim *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* 4 de] uos de *Ag<sup>3</sup>* se] *om. Gr* uos]  
*om. Ag<sup>3</sup>* debebatis] -eatis *Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F Zycha*, -uistis *Maur* 5 turpari] turbari *Ag<sup>2</sup>*  
*Bo So Gr P<sup>4a.c.</sup>*, turbari uel turpari *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx* (uel pa sup. l.) 6 sic] si *P<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>2a.c.</sup> Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo*  
*So P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup>* 7 se] *om. Ag<sup>3a.c.</sup> P<sup>3a.c.</sup>* 9 enim decet] *inu. Maur* catholica] -a  
 scriptura *Ag<sup>3</sup>* (scriptura sup. l.), -e *P<sup>3a.c.</sup>*, -a fides *Gr*, fides -a *Mü* (fides in marg.) 11 neces-  
 sitate] -em *Ag<sup>3</sup> Gr* 12 euadere] & euadere *Ag<sup>3</sup>* non] sup. l. *P<sup>3</sup>* 13 poterit] sup.  
 l. *Ag<sup>3</sup>* 14 protegat] -atur a *Bg<sup>1</sup> Bx Bo So Maur* deum] *F<sup>p.c.</sup> Zycha*, -o *γ β P<sup>1</sup> Gr P<sup>4</sup>*  
*Mü F<sup>a.c.</sup> Maur* ualentem] *Ag<sup>1p.c.</sup> Zycha*, uolentem *Ag<sup>1a.c.</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> Mü F*, ualente *Ag<sup>3</sup>*  
*Bg<sup>1</sup> Maur*, uolentes *P<sup>2a.c.</sup>*, uolente *Bx Bo So Gr. Vide adnotationes.* pro-  
 tegere] -eret *P<sup>1</sup>* 14/17 Aut - misit] *om. P<sup>1</sup>* 14 hac] ac *P<sup>4</sup>* 15 captiuitatis]  
 -e *P<sup>3</sup>* poterit liberare] *inu. Bo So* in] sup. l. *F* 16 me<sup>1</sup>] sup. l. *P<sup>4</sup>* ad] a *P<sup>4</sup>*  
*Mü, & F<sup>a.c.</sup>* ipse] -a *Maur Zycha*

and could have suffered even more from what happened to his part, if he did not look after himself by means of your misery. Now consider what you are: if you are parts of God, you are God; if you come forth from God, you – similarly – are God. Why are you troubled by such a corruption of sins? If, however, you were made by him, confess this, and you will be Manichaeans no more.

49. For Mani says there are two natures, one good and the other evil. The good nature, he says, made the world, the bad nature is what the world is made of. If, then, God made you, Mani cannot find out of what substance he made you. For if God made you of himself, you are what he is. Then you did not need to disgrace yourself by such a corruption of sins, as was said before. If, however, he made you from foreign matter, you do not belong to him, because he created you just as he created the world. If, however, he did not make you from himself nor from foreign matter, but merely in his omnipotence willed it and you were created, say this to Mani and renounce his error. For this was a fitting way for the almighty to make what he wanted, as the Catholic teaching proclaims: *he spoke, and it came to be, he commanded, and it stood firm*. Say to yourselves: “we are not parts of him, but we are his works.” Say to yourselves: “if God suffered under necessity and could not evade it in any other way, except if he suffered the loss of a part of him, who can then be liberated from such necessity? Or who could possibly protect God, who is unable to protect himself?<sup>152</sup> Or when could he release me from the captivity of necessity, who could not keep me in his untouched kingdoms? For, not because I sinned did he send me from his kingdoms, but he himself sent me to sins. Or when could he be of benefit to me, who am situated in the misery of a foreign territory, if he, so he could benefit himself, sent me to such destruction? If only he would not have fought! If God himself is incorruptible, what would the nature of evil have done to him, if he did not want to fight with it, so I would not be tortured like I am now? Or what injustice is it, that I am condemned to the clod, when, in order that he could for only a short while be secure, I suffer these things here? Certainly, because I am what he is, because I am a part of him, and considering that in his splendid kingdoms there is no one who is poor or in a lower rank, let us suffer this misery in

<sup>152</sup> For this sentence and textual variants of this passages, see the following section (Notes). The (supposedly corrupted) archetype text would read, in translation: “Or who could possibly protect, for God’s sake, someone unwilling to protect himself?”; the Maurists’ version reads “Or who could possibly be protected by God, who is unable to protect himself?”.



- rit qui ut sibi prodesset, me ad tantam perniciem dedit? Non pugnaret! Si incorruptibilis est ipse Deus, quid ei factura erat illa mali natura, si nollet  
 20 cum illa pugnare, ne nunc sic ego cruciarer? Aut quae ista iniustitia ut ad globum damner, cum ille ut modo aliquantulum securus sit, ego hic tanta sustineam? Certe quoniam et ego hoc sum quod ipse, quoniam pars eius sum, nullo in regnis eius insignibus indigenti aut infimo constituto, uicibus istam miseriam patiamur, ut et ego aliquantulum requiescam et regna illa  
 25 sine periculo possint esse pacata, quamquam timendum sit ne ista natura mali nec in globo ipso inclusa custodiri possit ». Si enim incorrupta regna corrumpit et inuiolatam Dei substantiam uiolauit, quomodo pars illa lucis, hoc est animae peccatrices, quae uitatae globo custodiendo infiguntur infirmas ac debiles, quomodo non absorbentur ab ea, ut iterum regna illa  
 30 diuina nullo iam ualente obsistere tota conturbet? Quis enim iam audeat procedere ad bellum, quando cum illa parte quae processerat tam inique actum est, ut teius requie <non>nulli sui ciues† ad sempiternam globi custodiam damnarentur? Aut si non potest perrumpere globum, ut ad lucidum illum tectorium damnatarum animarum perueniat, quid opus est eam  
 35 contegi diuinorum damnatione membrorum? Si autem potest perrumpere globum, quis ei resistit et saucius, quae integros sauciauit? Absit tam grauis et tam abominanda blasphemia. Nolite istam iniquitatem ad aures uestras admittere. Nolite tali negotio mortifero uos implicare. Fugite Manichaeum et ad ueritatis catholicae ubera toto desiderio conuolate.

49, 18 Non] ne *Ag*<sup>1p.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *Maur* *Zycha* pugnaret] pugaret *F* 19 ei] *sup. l. et del.*  
*Ag*<sup>1</sup> illa] -i *P*<sup>2</sup>, illa uel illi *Bx*(uel i *sup. l.*) mali] -a *P*<sup>1</sup> 20 ne] nec *Gr* *P*<sup>4a.c.</sup>  
 sic ego] *inu. Maur* ego] *om. Bo So* quae] quae est *Bg*<sup>1</sup> iniustitia] in iustitia  
*Ag*<sup>2</sup>, iusticia *Gr* 21 ut] *sup. l. F* hic] haec *Maur* 22 Certe] -em *P*<sup>2</sup> et] *sup.*  
*l. P*<sup>4</sup> hoc] *sup. l. Bx, om. Maur* 23 indigenti] -e *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *So Maur* infimo] infirmo  
*Ag*<sup>1a.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *Maur*, in infimo *P*<sup>4a.c.</sup> uicibus] *sup. l. P*<sup>4</sup> 25 pacata] peccata *Ag*<sup>1a.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>3</sup>  
*Bo P*<sup>1</sup> *Gr*<sup>4a.c.</sup>, paccata *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>4</sup> quamquam] quantum *Ag*<sup>3a.c.</sup> 25/26 natura mali] *inu. P*<sup>1</sup>  
 26 ipso] isto ipso *Mü* possit] -et *Mü* regna] *sup. l. P*<sup>3</sup> 27 inuiolatam] -a *P*<sup>4</sup>  
 substantiam] -a *P*<sup>1</sup> 27/39 quomodo - conuolate] *om. δ* 28 custodiendo] custo-  
 diendo uel custodiendae *Bx*(uel ae *sup. l.*) 29 absorbentur] -antur *P*<sup>2p.c.</sup>, obsorbentur  
*P*<sup>1</sup> 30 nullo] -a *Ag*<sup>2</sup> obsistere] existere *Ag*<sup>2</sup> conturbet] -ent *Bg*<sup>1</sup> *Bx*, -entur *Bo*  
*So* iam<sup>2</sup>] *sup. l. Ag*<sup>3</sup> 32 actum] hauctum *P*<sup>1</sup> eius] pro eius *Maur* nonnulli]  
*conieci*, nulli *γ P*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup>, nulla *Bg*<sup>1</sup> *Bx Bo So Zycha, om. Maur* sui ciues] *Ag*<sup>1p.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>2p.c.</sup> *Maur*  
*Zycha*, sui -is *Ag*<sup>1a.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>3</sup> *P*<sup>2a.c.</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup>, succiui *Bg*<sup>1</sup> *Bx Bo So. Vide adnotationes.* sempiter-  
 nam] -i *Ag*<sup>3</sup> 34 illum] illud *Ag*<sup>3</sup> *Maur Zycha* damnatarum] -urum *P*<sup>1</sup> est] *om.*  
*Ag*<sup>1a.c.</sup> *Ag*<sup>2</sup> *Ag*<sup>3a.c.</sup> *P*<sup>3</sup> est eam] *inu. Maur* 35 contegi] contigi *P*<sup>1</sup> autem] enim  
*P*<sup>1</sup> 36 resistit] -et *Maur Zycha* et] *om. Bg*<sup>1</sup> *Bx Bo So Maur Zycha* saucius]  
 sauctus *Ag*<sup>1a.c.</sup> saucius quae] sauciusque *Bo So*, saucius qui *Maur Zycha* 38 Nolite  
 tali] nolit&ali *P*<sup>2</sup>



turn. In this way, I can also find repose for a little while and those kingdoms would be at peace, without any danger. Nevertheless, we should fear the possibility that the nature of evil itself cannot be held captive, even when it is contained in the clod.” For, if it corrupted his uncorrupted kingdoms, and violated God’s unviolated substance, what to think then of this part of light, that is, the sinning souls, which – infirm, weak, and vitiated as they are – are stuck to the clod in order to guard it? How are these souls not overcome by this evil nature? Again, when there is no one left anymore with the power to resist this evil, would it not again completely disturb those divine kingdoms? For who would yet dare to proceed to war, when that part which previously proceeded was so unjustly treated, so that, while he rests, some of his citizens would be condemned to the eternal guarding duty of the clod?<sup>153</sup> Or, if it cannot breach the clod, so it could reach that shining cover of condemned souls, why is there a need to contain it at the cost of the condemnation of these divine members? If, however, it could breach the clod, who would, already wounded, pose resistance to that, which inflicted wounds to those who were untouched? Let go of such grave and horrible blasphemy. Do not let such iniquity reach your ears any longer. Stop getting involved in such a deadly occupation. Flee from Mani, and aim your total desire to the safe teachings<sup>154</sup> of the Catholic truth.

<sup>153</sup> This sentence is quite difficult to properly understand. The author seems to refer with he (*eius*) to the Manichaean god. In this concluding section the author posits that the Manichaean cosmogony with its two natures cannot promise eternal rest at the end of times. Because the evil nature of darkness continues to exist, a new cosmic conflict between light and darkness could occur once more. Such a renewed conflict would surely be a disaster. I have proposed a correction to the archetype text (see the concerning Notes). This archetype text would read, in translation, as follows: “so that he could rest and none of his citizens would be condemned...”. In this version of the text, the *illa parte* (“that part”) cannot be identified with the *sui ciues* (“his citizens”). The “part” of him are those souls that are condemned, while his citizens are those souls that will be exempt from this punishment. The subordinate clause then expresses a purpose: the reported misuse of “that part” served to free the other citizens from the eternal damnation. The Manichaean god had sectioned off a part of himself so that he himself, and the “civilians” (*ciues*) who would remain with him would enjoy eternal rest and be saved from eternal damnation. Zycha’s text reads: “so that, even though he will not establish any rest for himself, his citizens would be condemned...”; The Maurists’ version reads: “so that, to achieve his rest his citizens would be condemned...”.

<sup>154</sup> Lit. “breasts” (*ubera*). The metaphor refers to the motherly nourishment and care of the Church, which the author had previously described as Christ’s wife (*De fide* 40; see also *De fide* 45). In addition, the term *ubera* probably alludes to Paul’s metaphor of milk in 1 Cor. 3,2: “I fed you with milk, not solid food, for you were not ready for solid food” [NRSV]. This allusion would explain the author’s use of *ueritatis* (“truth”) instead of *ecclesiae* (“church”) here. Opting for the term *ueritatis*, the author emphasises that his appeal to conversion concerns the Catholic teachings first and foremost.

## Notes

5,27 *eaedem*] The reading *eadem* is found in a significant number of manuscripts, often as a reading *ante correctionem*. In addition, it could be considered the *lectio difficilior*. Both the readings *eadem* (“in the same way”, “similarly”) and *eaedem* (“the same”) are grammatically correct in this sentence. However, the specific meaning of *eadem* is not anticipated nor made entirely clear in the context, whereas *eaedem* simply further emphasizes *animae*.

I have decided in favour of the variant *eaedem* for several reasons. As indicated in the discussion on archetype errors, sometimes the letters *a* and *ae* (and *e*) are used interchangeably. The reading *eadem* could thus simply be the result of this variation in spelling. In Augustine’s citations of this fragment of the *Epistula fundamenti*, the form *eaedem* is always found.<sup>155</sup>

6,1-2 *dubitatis adhuc Manichaeum adactum esse confiteri non esse peccatum propriae uoluntatis*] In chapter 5, the author illustrated how Manichaean authoritative texts contain a notion of a free will responsible for sin. It is therefore unexpected to find here the expression *adactum esse confiteri non esse peccatum propriae uoluntatis* (“urged to admit there is *no* sin of the free will”; emphasis mine). However, the reading *non esse* is clearly archetypical. In *Pa*, *non* was deleted *post correctionem*. Only *Pa*<sup>p.c.</sup> and the manuscripts derived from *Pa* contain this error. This reading (omission of *non*) was used in all previous editions of *De fide*. If the negation *non* would be retained, the verb *confiteri* should not be interpreted as “to admit”, but rather as “to profess”. I have put *non* between brackets. The reading is archetypical, but its meaning appears in conflict with content of this passage.

A second important variant in this section is the participle *adactum*. This form only occurs in  $\lambda$  (*Bg*<sup>l</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So*). The archetype reading seems to be *edactum*. A third variant, *coactum* (*Ag*<sup>l p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Gr*), seems derived from *edactum*. However, this archetype reading thus would either be a *hapax legomenon* or simply a faulty reading, for which *adactum* could be a reasonable conjecture. The meaning of *adactum* makes sense in this context, and, with regard to orthography, only differs minimally from *edactum* (sometimes the letters *a*, *ae* or *e* were used interchangeably). If *edactum* would be considered a real word, despite it not being attested elsewhere, its meaning would not be entirely clear. The prefix *e-* does imply some notion of an outwards movement, in this particular instance a public statement (cf. *edico*).

<sup>155</sup> See STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 38. However, it should be noted Evodius’ citations of Manichaean texts sometimes differ from Augustine’s citations. See, for example, STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 82-84.

11,1-2 *dicat idem Manichaeus deum omnibus bonis abundantem, nullo in regnis eius insignibus indigente aut infimo constituto*] Most manuscripts read *indigentem*. Only *Ag*<sup>2p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>3p.c.</sup>, *P*<sup>2p.c.</sup> and *Gr* provide the reading *indigente*. Nevertheless, the reading *indigente* seems preferable here. There are three arguments against the accusative *indigentem*. First, if *indigentem* (“to miss, to lack”) would be read here, both *nullo* and *infimo constituto* would be object of this participle. The two objects *nullo* and *infimo constituto*, however, seem to contradict each other (“he misses no one or someone in a lower rank”). Second, parallel citations in Augustine unambiguously contain the reading *indigente*.<sup>156</sup> Third, the reading *indigentem* could have been introduced during the earliest stages of the transmission. The accusative *indigentem*, congruent with *deum*, could then have been formed in analogy to the preceding participle *abundantem*.

The manuscript evidence is quite divided on the form *infimo*, although in general in favour of this reading over *infirmo* (no manuscript of  $\beta$  has *infirmo*;  $\delta$  only contains *infirmo* as a reading *post correctionem* or in *margin*; the more independent manuscript *P*<sup>1</sup> reads *infimo* too). In addition, a parallel later in *De fide* (49,23) very convincingly reads *infimo*. Perhaps here Evodius’ citation differs from Augustine’s,<sup>157</sup> and the variants *infimo* versus *infirmo* in the Manichaean text already existed in the fifth century.

14,3-4 [*pater*] *pro insita sibi clementia fert opem, qua exuitur et liberatur*] The reading *quae* is well-attested in the manuscript transmission. However, the reading *qua* is more logical within this sentence. The relative pronoun’s antecedent is *opem* (“help”). The nominative *quae* would imply that it is the divine help itself which needs to undergo the process of liberation. Semantically speaking, it makes more sense if the divine help is the means through which liberation is achieved. A parallel citation in Augustine reads *qua* too.<sup>158</sup> Again, this variant could be due to the interchangeable spelling *a/ae*.

<sup>156</sup> See STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 20-27; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, ed. by J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1891 (CSEL, 25/1-2), p. 209, l. 25; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra Secundinum* 3, ed. by J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1892 (CSEL, 25/1-2), p. 909, l. 20.

<sup>157</sup> STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 2, p. 20-27, and esp. p. 82-84: “Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Varianten *infirmo* und *infimo* schon zu Augustins und Euodius’ Zeit vorhanden waren. Augustinus nämlich hat in seinem Exemplar der ep. fund. *infirmo* gelesen... Euodius dagegen hat in deinem Exemplar der ep. fund. die Lesart *infimo* vorgefunden und für richtig gehalten”; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra epistulam fundamenti* 13, ed. by J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1891 (CSEL, 25/1-2), p. 209, 25-26; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra Secundinum* 3, ed. by J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1892 (CSEL, 25/1-2), p. 909, 21.

<sup>158</sup> See also STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 4, p. 38-39; Augustinus Hipponensis, *De natura boni* 42, ed. by J. ZYCHA, Vienna, 1892 (CSEL, 25/1-2), p. 881, 26.

15,4 *eaedem*] See the discussion on *eaedem* in 5,27.<sup>159</sup>

17,6 *diuersorias*] The author repeats the phrase *beatus ille pater, qui lucidas naues habet diuersoria* (14,3), albeit with minor modifications: *beatus pater, qui naues lucidas habet diuersorias*. The manuscripts which contain *diuersoria* can in general be categorized as “innovative” (*Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So* and *Gr*). Both *diuersoria* and *diuersorias* are correct forms. The first is the expected term, also cited previously in 14,3. The second is an adjective form, analogous to *naues lucidas*.<sup>160</sup> If prefer the reading *diuersorias* here, as it is a more rare reading, it is attested in the generally more “conservative” manuscripts, and it could be seen as an expression of irony on the author’s behalf (“those ‘lodging-shining-ships’”).

17,9-10 *confudit*] Of the 14 manuscripts consulted for the edition of *De fide*, only *Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup> and *Ag*<sup>3</sup> read *confundit*. An alternative reading, *confusae*, was first introduced by Erasmus. This reading is typical for the hyparchetype  $\tau$ , and is clearly a secondary reading. The Maurists would have found this reading confirmed in their *codex Vaticanus* (*Vt*<sup>1</sup>), and Zycha chose to follow the Maurists’ decision to retain *confusae*. The archetype reading is clearly *confudit*, though possibly corrupt.

As I understood (and translated) it, *confudit* is the predicate of the subordinate clause beginning with *ut*. Its subject is *uirtus altissima*. The subordinate clause expresses a comparison. Just like the highest virtue of the Manichaean souls had (perfect tense) given the bad example (inciting lust in the princes of shadows), the minor virtues (*uirtutes suas*) in turn (*inuicem*) follow this example. The author mocks the contrast between the so-called pure nature of these virtues (*intemeratas*) and their immoral behaviour.

25,2 *ei nuntiata esset*] The manuscript convincingly attest this reading, with the only exceptions being *P*<sup>3</sup> (*enunciasset*) and *F* (*ei nuntiaturum esset*) and the manuscripts derived from *P*<sup>3</sup> and *F*. Syntactically, *nuntiata* is a personal passive, congruent with *matrem suam* (“she was reported to...”). Normally, a *Nominatiuus cum Infinitiuo* would be the expected complement cause. Instead, the author uses a substantive clause, introduced by *quod*, to express the subject of *nuntiata* (the content of what was reported to Jesus: *quod eum uellet uidere*). Although this results in an inelegant Latin expression, the manuscript evidence is certainly in favour of this reading, and the meaning of the phrase remains clear.

<sup>159</sup> See also STEIN, *Manichaica latina* 4, p. 40.

<sup>160</sup> See the definition of the term in “deuersorius”, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. V, Leipzig, 1905, c. 852: *ad deuertendum idoneus*.

35,6 *ad illam*] Manuscripts *Ag*<sup>1</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *So*, *P*<sup>1</sup> and *Gr* read *ad illam*, while *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü* and *F* read *ad illa*. Although the distribution of readings would suggest *ad illa* as the archetype reading, the feminine singular *illam* makes more sense within the immediate context, as it would refer to *substantiam diuinam*. In contrast, there are no nouns in neuter plural in this section, to which *illa* would correspond.

36,7 *blasphemiorum*] A significant number of “conservative” manuscripts (namely *Ag*<sup>1</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup> and *Mü*) have the unusual reading *blasphemiorum* (neut.) instead of the expected form *blasphemiarum* (fem.).<sup>161</sup>

37,1 *Duorum uero Testamentorum concordia*] The manuscript evidence reads *concordia*, *concordiam* or *concordias*. The nominative *concordia* is attested in all branches of the transmission (*Ag*<sup>1</sup> and *Ag*<sup>2</sup> for  $\gamma$ , *P*<sup>2</sup> for  $\beta$  and *P*<sup>4</sup> and *Mü* for  $\delta$ ) and in the more independent manuscript *P*<sup>1</sup>. The nominative would function as a *nominatiuus pendens*, which the author would use to announce a new topic. This nominative is not the subject of a verb, as expected of a nominative, but functions to, on the level of the discourse, provide emphasis to the new subject matter. The term would function implicitly as the object of the verb *intendere* later on. The accusative singular *concordiam* is attested in two branches of the transmission (namely *Ag*<sup>3</sup> and *P*<sup>3</sup> for  $\gamma$  and *Gr* and *F* for  $\delta$ ). In this case, the noun *concordiam* functions, as expected, as the object of *intendere*. For the sake of syntactical clarity, this variant merits consideration as well. The third variant, *concordias*, only occurs in the  $\lambda$  branch of the  $\beta$  family. Because of the general quality of the manuscripts containing *concordia*, because of its nature as a *lectio difficilior*, and because of the literary-stylistic function of the *nominatiuus pendens*, I prefer the reading *concordia*. The punctuation in the text has been adjusted accordingly. Admittedly, the variant *concordiam* should not be overlooked: it improves the clarity of the text, and the variants *-a/-am* could simply constitute variations in spelling (in other circumstances less significant), or could be due to a scribe’s misreading of an abbreviation (*-ā*).

37,2 and 38,3 *ferimini*] In two instances in *De fide*, the author uses the expression *ferimini in* (or *feremini*). The form *ferimini* is in all probability derived from *fero* (“to carry”) instead of from *ferio* (“to strike”). The use

<sup>161</sup> The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1900-1906, does mention that manuscripts sometimes read *blasphemium* (neuter). See “blasphemia”, cc. 2043-2045; “blasphemium”, c. 2045, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. II.

of a passive voice in combination with a prepositional object is unusual.<sup>162</sup> The meaning of the phrase is probably “to get carried away (in a negative sentiment) towards” (cf. 39,1: *irruite in*).<sup>163</sup> In both instances where this phrase occurs, a number of reliable manuscripts (*Ag*<sup>1 a.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü* and *F*) read the future simple tense *feremini* instead of the present simple tense *ferimini*. In the first instance (37,2), the future tense makes sense: “when you will read these fragments, you will get carried away in your anger (*rabide*)”. However, in the following instance (38,3), the future simple *feremini* feels somewhat strange in conjunction with the present tense *possunt dicere* (38,1-2).

The variation *feremini/ferimini* is somewhat reminiscent of other spelling variants, such as *intellegere/intelligere*, which have no consequences for the meaning of the verb. Perhaps the variant *ferimini/feremini* is due to a similar trend in spelling, where *e* is used in instances in which modern readers could expect an *i*, although in this case the variable spelling distinguishes two different tenses. While the variant *feremini* was probably the archetype reading, I chose for the spelling *ferimini*, because the present tense seems more fitting in the context of 38,3.

38,17 and 38,27 *Egetis*] A significant amount of manuscripts reads *Egetes* ( $\gamma$ , *P*<sup>2 a.c.</sup>, *Bx*<sup>a.c.</sup>, *Mü* and *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> in 38,17;  $\gamma$ , *P*<sup>2 a.c.</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü* and *F*<sup>a.c.</sup> in 38,27). The character referred to is Aegeates (Αἰγεάτης), proconsul of Achaia and the main antagonist in the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew*.<sup>164</sup> The Latinised spelling of the name in the manuscripts is *Egetes*. In the two instances mentioned above, I chose for the spelling *Egetis* to clarify the genitive case of the name.

38,22 *Iphidama* and 38,27 *Iphidamae*] For this name, although the Latin manuscripts read *Ifidama* (with minor variations in *Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup> and *P*<sup>4</sup>), I have chosen to use the more “Greek” spelling *Iphidama* (Ἰφιδάμα).

39,9 *tradenda maxilla*] Although the archetype reading, well attested in the extant manuscripts, is probably *tradendam maxillam*, the latter reading is syntactically incorrect. Therefore, I have chosen for the syntactically correct form *tradenda maxilla* (cf. *dimittenda domus* 39,9). The faulty accusa-

<sup>162</sup> See “fero”, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. VI<sup>1-2</sup>, Leipzig, 1912-1926, cc. 527-565, and esp. c. 562, l. 54-72.

<sup>163</sup> See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De moribus ecclesiae catholica*, ed. by J. B. BAUER, Viena, 1982 (CSEL, 90), p. 3, l. 2-3: *quibus in legem quod uetus testamentum uocatur, imperite atque impie feruntur*: “by which they ignorantly and wickedly attack the law, which is called the Old Testament”; trans. TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate*, p. 31.

<sup>164</sup> Ed. PRIEUR, *Acta Andreae*.



tive case could have occurred either through analogy with preceding gerundives with suffix *-um*, mistakenly understood as an accusative.

43,5 *ad custodiam globi*] The manuscripts read either *custodiendam* (*Ag*<sup>1 a.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü* and *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>[*costudiandam*]) or *custodiam* (*Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So*, *Gr* and *Fpc*). The first alternative appears to be the archetype reading, yet either corrupted or erroneous. The gerundive *custodiendam* would require a feminine singular subject in the accusative case, which would then be further qualified by the genitive *globi*. Perhaps the reading *custodiendam* is simply a mistake, in which an original gerund *custodiendum* was adjusted in order to correspond to its semantic subject, *ea pars*, into *custodiendam* (feminine singular). The genitive *globi* would then function as a genitive objective.

Ultimately, I have chosen for the reading *custodiam*, because the phrase *ad custodiam globi* is grammatically correct (as opposed to *ad custodiendam globi*), and is repeated later in 49,32-33 (*ad sempiternam globi custodiam damnarentur*). The author does make use of the phrase *globo custodiendo* in 49,28. However, a similar phrase (*ad custodiendum globum*) is not attested in the textual witnesses of *De fide* here.

44,12-13 *recte factorum*] Although the manuscript evidence suggests *facturum* as the archetype reading here, this reading seems erroneous. I have decided for the variant *factorum*, because the difference with *facturum* is minimal (the letters o and u could have been confused in the earliest phases of transmission), and because of the parallel *recte factorum* – *recte factis* (44,13).

44,15 *ipsa*] The reading *ipsa*, attested in *Ag*<sup>1</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup> and *Mü*, refers to *inferiora*, whereas *ipsam*, found in *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So*, *Gr*, *F*, and the editions *Maur* and *Zycha*, refers to *animam rationalem*. The Maurists first introduced the reading *ipsam* (Amerbach, Erasmus and the Leuven edition reads *ipsa*), and found this reading in *Vt*<sup>1</sup>. Zycha, who follows the Maurists' decision here, had found *ipsam* in *F*. I prefer the reading *ipsa* because it is better attested in the (more conservative) manuscripts, and is, to an extent, the *lectio difficilior*. In terms of content, the reading *ipsa* would stress the capabilities of the free will: it has the choice between hell (*inferiora*; *ipsa*) and heaven (*aeternam beatitudinem*; *Deum*). Here too it should be admitted that the difference between *ipsa* and *ipsam*, in form, only concerns a minor variation in spelling (see the note on 37,1).

47,14 *libidinem*] The archetype reading, attested by a large number of manuscripts, was perhaps *libidine*. Nevertheless, I have chosen for the read-



ing *libidinem* here. The difference between *-e* and *-em* could result from a variant in spelling or from a misread abbreviation (*-ē*). The accusative case of *libidinem* functions as the object of *accenderet*, whereas if the text would read *libidine*, this object would have been implied but not expressed.

49,5 *tanta peccatorum corruptione turpari*] The author repeats a phrasing found in the immediately preceding chapter. In that section, the verb *turbo* is used instead of *turpo* (48,14-15: *quid tanta peccatorum corruptione turbamini*). One could expect that the author would make use of the same verb in both passages. Four different textual variants can be found for the verbs in 48,15 and 49,5. Some manuscripts read the same verb in these two sections, be it either *turbo* (*Ag<sup>2</sup> Bo So Gr P<sup>4a.c.</sup>*) or *turpo* (*Ag<sup>3</sup> P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4p.c.</sup> Mü F*). Three manuscripts (*Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> P<sup>2</sup>*) have the verb *turbo* in 48,15, and *turpo* in 49,5. A fourth reading can be found in *Bg<sup>1</sup>* and *Bx*. There, the variant *turbamini* is found in 48,15, while in 49,5, the manuscripts offer both alternatives: *turbari uel turpari*.

The choices in my edition seem to best correspond to the distribution of readings in the manuscripts. For 48,15, *turbamini* is found in all three families of manuscripts (*Ag<sup>1</sup> Ag<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup>* for  $\gamma$ ; the entire family  $\beta$ ; *Gr* and *P<sup>4a.c.</sup>* for  $\delta$ ), whereas *turbamini* is almost exclusively found in manuscripts of  $\delta$  (*P<sup>4p.c.</sup> Mü F*, in addition to *Ag<sup>3</sup>* and *P<sup>1</sup>*). For the choice of verb in 49,5, the distribution is quite different. It would make sense for the copyists to use the same verb in the two passages. Therefore, the reading of three important early witnesses, viz. *Ag<sup>1</sup>*, *P<sup>3</sup>* and *P<sup>2</sup>*, who read *turpari* here instead of *turbari*, seems a significant *lectio difficilior*. The readings of *Bg<sup>1</sup>* and *Bx* seem to further confirm that two different verbs were used in the two passages. In 48,15, all manuscripts of  $\beta$  read *turbamini*. For 49,5, the two manuscripts *Bg<sup>1</sup>* and *Bx* (cf. hyparchetype  $\mu$ ) list two possible variants: *turbari* or (*uel*) *turpari*. This could suggest that, originally, this passage would have read *turpari*, and that *turbari* would have been added. An alternative explanation, namely that *turpari* was added afterwards, and that the passage would have originally read *turbari*, seems less likely. For the copyists there would have been no reason to consider *turbari* a suspect reading (as they found *turbamini* a few sentences earlier), and there would be no clear indication why *turpari* could be a reasonable alternative in this passage. The use of two different verbs could be a stylistic element of the author of *De fide*, thus creating some sort of *crescendo* effect (“why are you troubled?” - “you did not need to disgrace yourself”).

49,14 *protegat deum non ualentem*] The archetype seems corrupt here. The archetype text is probably *protegat Deo non ualentem* (“Or who could possibly protect, for God’s sake, someone unwilling to protect himself”). This

phrase is found in *Ag*<sup>1 a.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>4</sup>, *Mü*, *F*<sup>a.c.</sup>. Manuscript *P*<sup>2 a.c.</sup> contains an erroneous variation of this phrase, having the plural *uolentes* instead of the singular *uolentem*. This text is quite problematic. With regard to the syntax, it is unclear what function *Deo* would have (I translated it as a dative of benefit), and the object of *protegat* is left unspecified. In terms of content, it is strange to read that the author would speak of protecting “someone” (the unspecified object of *protegat*), when the preceding and following sentence concern the relation between the speaker and God, and God’s impotence in protecting the speaker. It is also unclear why someone would be unwilling (*non uolentem*) to protect himself. The remaining manuscripts contain several innovative readings, which could “solve” the difficulties in this sentence.

- (1) Manuscripts *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bx*, *Bo*, *So* alter the voice of the verb *protegat*. The active form *protegat* becomes the passive construction *protegetur a*. The form *uolente* (*ualente Bg*<sup>1</sup>) is an adjustment, which conforms the participle to the ablative *Deo*.
- (2) Manuscript *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> had changed the ablative/dative *Deo* into *Deum*. *Deum* then becomes the object of *protegat*. Otherwise, the sentence remains unaltered.
- (3) *Ag*<sup>3</sup> and *Gr* have an ablative form of the participle instead of the accusative. *Deo non uolente* (*ualente Ag*<sup>3</sup>) thus becomes an ablative absolute. The object of *protegat* remains unexpressed, but is implied to be God.
- (4) *Ag*<sup>1 p.c.</sup>, *Ag*<sup>3</sup>, *P*<sup>2 p.c.</sup>, *Bg*<sup>1</sup> contain the verb *ualeo* instead of *uolo*. This would better correspond to the context of this sentence, which discusses the impotence of God (and not his bad intent).

The Maurists have *protegetur a deo non ualente* in their edition. This reading is only attested in the extant manuscripts *Bg*<sup>1</sup>, *Bg*<sup>2</sup> and *Pm*. In all probability, they had followed the text of the Leuven edition, since none of the six identified manuscripts of the Maurists (*Di*, *La*, *P*<sup>1</sup>, *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup> and *Vt*<sup>1</sup>) contain it. The Leuven editors had probably found this reading in their *codex chartusiensis* (which also read *in carne uenisse* in 22,12, a reading unique to *Bo*, *Bg*<sup>2</sup>, *Pm* and *So*).

Zycha had adapted the text he had found in *F*<sup>p.c.</sup>. He attained the syntax of *F*<sup>p.c.</sup> (accusative *Deum*), but changed the verb *uolentem* into *ualentem*. This conjecture seems most elegant to me, since it requires the least amount of adjustments to the archetype text of *De fide*. A confusion between *o* and *a* could have occurred in the earliest stages of the textual transmission (*ualentem* versus *uolentem*). The text proposed by the Maurists is a reasonable alternative as well, and one better attested in the manuscript

transmission. Presumably an early copyist would have misread or omitted a tilde, which would signify the suffix *-tur* (instead of *-t*). Nevertheless, this explanation does not account for the addition of *a* in order to make *Deo* the agent of *protegatur*.

49,32 *eius requie* <non>*nulli sui ciues*] Here too the archetype appears corrupt. The most convincing archetype readings are *eius requie nulli sui ciuis* ( $Ag^{1a.c.}$ ,  $Ag^2$ ,  $P^3$ ,  $P^{2a.c.}$ ,  $P^1$ ) and *eius requie nulli sui ciues* ( $Ag^{1p.c.}$ ,  $Ag^3$  and  $P^{2p.c.}$ ).<sup>165</sup> Both the Maurists and Zycha prefer the reading *ciues* over *ciuis*, and this for a good reason. A confusion between *i* and *e* could occur in earlier manuscripts (cf. the discussion on *ferimini*). The nominative plural *ciues* seems to better correspond to the surrounding context (congruent with *sui*, *nulli*, and the verb *damnarentur*) than the genitive singular *ciuis* (this form could also be an accusative plural, but that case seems even more at odds within this sentence). The reading *succiui*, found in  $Bg^1$ ,  $Bx$ ,  $Bo$ ,  $So$  does not convince. The term *succiu-* is typical for this branch of the transmission, and can found in those passages where other branches of the transmission read *subsiciu-* (7,1; 43,4).

The reading *nulli* is more problematic. Manuscript evidence favours this reading, which seems odd within the context of the sentence. One would expect the author to accuse the Manichaean god of sending his citizens to eternal condemnation. The term *nulli* would signify exactly the opposite, unless one should make a distinction between the condemned souls (*illa parte* mentioned just before in *De fide*) and the citizens of which none will be condemned (*nulli sui ciues*). The text does not read as such, and a reader would spontaneously identify the *ciues* with *illa parte*.

The reading *nulla*, found in  $Bg^1$ ,  $Bx$ ,  $Bo$  and  $So$  could solve this problem. The term would qualify *requie* and form an ablative absolute. The author would then use this phrase to mock the Manichaean views on their god: he will not even realise rest for himself. This is the reading favoured by Zycha, who had found *nulla* in *Pm*. In any case, the reading *nulla* does seem a secondary reading, only found in one branch of the transmission.

The Maurists provide an alternative solution. They had followed the texts of the preceding editions (Amerbach, Erasmus, Leuven) which all read *pro eius requie sui ciues*, omitting *nulli*. In fact Amerbach found this reading in *Tr* (or a now-lost relative), the only manuscript which contained these variants. Manuscripts closely related to *Tr*, namely *Av*, *La*, *Vl* and *Vt*<sup>2</sup> read *pro eius requie nonnulli sui ciues*.

I would carefully suggest another alternative for *nulli*, namely the just mentioned reading *nonnulli*. This suggestion would fit within the content of *De*

<sup>165</sup> Note that  $\delta$  does not contain this final segment of *De fide*.

*fide*'s argumentation (the evil Manichaean god condemns some of his own citizens). It also – in some way – would leave the term *nulli*, which would be the convincing archetype reading otherwise, unaltered. The variant *nulla* is clearly of secondary origin. And perhaps the double negation *non nulli* could have been changed into a single negation in the earliest stage of the transmission. See also the concerning footnote in the English translation.

### *Summary*

This contribution offers a new critical edition of the treatise *De fide contra Manichaeos*, a Latin anti-Manichaean tractate attributed to Evodius of Uzalis. The edition is the result of the study of all extant manuscripts of *De fide*, 30 in total. The introduction offers a thorough discussion of the textual transmission of *De fide*, in which I attempt to assess the relations between all manuscripts. *De fide* has been transmitted in three major branches, with one manuscript not pertaining to one particular branch of the transmission. The archetype of *De fide* appears to have contained a collection of seven African anti-heretical texts. In the introduction I also discuss previous editions of *De fide*, including the edition of the Maurists and the most recent edition of Zycha in the CSEL series. The main section of the contribution consists of the new critical edition, with three apparatuses: a biblical apparatus, an apparatus of Manichaean and apocryphal source texts, and a (negative) critical apparatus. The critical apparatus contains the textual variants of all manuscripts with the exception of the *codices descripti*. A facing translation in English, with additional footnotes, complements the Latin text. In a final section, I discuss several textual-critical choices in greater detail.

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# « Je suis venu jeter du feu sur la terre » : l'édition critique de l'original grec et de la version arménienne d'une homélie du Pseudo- Chrysostome cappadocien (CPG 4669)\*

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L'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni*, CPG 4669 n'a jamais été publiée dans sa forme intégrale, ni en grec ni en arménien. Les manuscrits grecs et arméniens qui conservent cette homélie présentent des recensions particulières où son texte est cousu ensemble avec des fragments d'autres sermons ou est incomplet. C'est bien dans un état contaminé que l'original grec a été publié en 1612 par Henri Savile<sup>1</sup>; c'est aussi dans un état à la fois contaminé et découpé que sa version arménienne a paru en 1853 à Moscou<sup>2</sup>. J'avais entrepris une étude de ce texte dans les deux langues anciennes dans ma thèse de doctorat<sup>3</sup> en l'accompagnant d'une édition provisoire du texte complet; je présente ici les résultats d'une révision cardinale de l'étude précédente.

\* Je tiens à exprimer ici les remerciements aux personnes qui ont contribué à la réalisation de cette recherche: le prof. Henning Lehmann (Danemark) pour les reproductions des deux manuscrits arméniens de Jérusalem et pour ses matériaux en danois; le prof. Bernard Outtier (CNRS, France) pour son aide en matière de bibliographie et pour une relecture attentive; le prof. Peter Van Deun (Louvain, Belgique) pour ses remarques sur le texte grec en tant que le rapporteur de la thèse de doctorat; le prof. Sever Voicu (Rome) pour sa transcription du codex V et pour les photocopies du cod. Q, ainsi bien que pour ses remarques stimulantes lors de différentes étapes de la préparation de cette étude; les membres de la Section grecque pour avoir mis à ma disposition les microfilms des manuscrits grecs et les catalogues des fonds de manuscrits grecs utilisés pour la présente édition.

<sup>1</sup> Henri SAVILE, *Toῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν ἐδριζομένων...* Vol. VII. Eton, 1612, p. 478-481 (= PG 62, 739-741).

<sup>2</sup> Mser Mseriants, *Տեառն Յովհաննու Քահանայի Վանանդացոց Ճառ ներբողական ի սուրբ Խաչն Քրիստոսի, եւ պատմագրական առասացութիւն ի սուրբ նշանն Վարազայ*, Moscou, 1853, p. 101-118.

<sup>3</sup> Sergey KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala dans les littératures arménienne et géorgienne*. [Thèse pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne / Docteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris]. Paris, 2014, p. 375-408.

Ce sermon et son auteur, conventionnellement désigné comme le « Pseudo-Chrysostome cappadocien », ont été étudiés par le prof. Sever Voicu dans une série de recherches<sup>4</sup>. Nous avons touché à cette homélie dans une note<sup>5</sup> consacrée aux fragments arméniens du sermon *De remissione peccatorum*, CPG 4629, puisqu'une portion de ce dernier est attachée au début de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* dans deux manuscrits vénitiens.

## Manuscrits arméniens

### *J* Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien 1a, a. 1417, p. 46b-49b

Papier; 560 × 430 [510 × 170] mm.; 48 lin.; 2 col.; 462 pages.

Le codex constitue la première partie d'un gros homélaire en plusieurs tomes. La pagination est mise dans l'angle droit supérieur dans une encre noire; il existe aussi des traces d'une foliotation ancienne en lettres arméniennes dans la marge supérieure. Les cahiers sont signés en lettres arméniennes dans l'angle gauche de la marge inférieure du premier recto. Écriture *bolorgir* soignée, très régulière; encre noire.

Le codex a été copié en 1417 (ՊԿԶ) à Jérusalem pour le compte de Paul (Պողոս) archevêque de Jérusalem, qui est ensuite devenu Katholikos des arméniens (il est mentionné dans la majorité des colophons). Les deux copistes – Manuel Abelay (Մանուէլ Աբէղայ), p. 1-331, et Hohannes Abelay

<sup>4</sup> Cf. par exemple: Sever J. VOICU, « 'Giovanni di Gerusalemme' e Pseudo-Crisostomo: Saggio di critica di stile », dans: *Euntes Docete* 24 (1971), p. 66-111, ici 91-101; « Trentatré omelie pseudocrisostomiche e il loro autore », dans: *Lexicum philosophicum* 2 (1986), p. 73-141; « Uno Pseudocrisostomo (cappadoce?), lettore di Origene alla fine del sec. IV », dans: *Augustinianum* 26 (1986), p. 281-293; « Ancora due omelie pseudocrisostomiche di matrice cappadoce (CPG 4669 e 4966) », dans: *Augustinianum* 33 (1993), p. 467-497; « L'omelia *Quod filii debeant honorare parentes* (CPG 5092) di uno pseudocrisostomo cappadoce », dans: *Studi in onore del Cardinale Raffaele Farina. (Studi e testi 477-478)*. Città del Vaticano, 2013, p. 1197-1221.

<sup>5</sup> S. KIM. « Les fragments arméniens de l'homélie *De remissione peccatorum*, CPG 4629 », dans: Francesca P. BARONE, Caroline MACÉ, Pablo A. UBIERNA (ed.). *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu. [Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 73.]* Brepols: Turnhout, 2017, p. 929-950. Sur le sermon *De remissione peccatorum*, CPG 4629, on verra mon étude récente: S. KIM (avec la participation de Pierre AUGUSTIN). « Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum* (CPG 4629) dans son original grec et une ancienne version copte bohaïrique », dans: *Journal of Coptic Studies* 20 (2018), p. 81-149. À cette occasion on corrigera deux fautes fâcheuses que nous avons commises dans l'introduction à l'édition du sermon *De remissione peccatorum*, CPG 4629 (KIM – AUGUSTIN, « Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum* » [cité n. 6], p. 81): au lieu de « actif entre les conciles de Constantinople II (381) et Chalcédoine (431) » il faut lire « ... entre ... Constantinople I (381) et Ephèse (431) ».



(Հռհաննէս Աբէղայ), p. 333-462 – ont laissé plusieurs colophons (p. 7, 23, 52, 185, 331, 340, 349, 358, 462a). Sont mentionnés aussi Patriarche Cyrille (Կիրիլ, p. 358) et un certain Mathéos (Մաթէոս, p. 358).

La version arménienne de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* est présentée dans ce manuscrit dans sa forme complète, identique à celle conservée dans les manuscrits grecs **SPCI**.

Cf.: A. SIWRMEIAN, *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Երուսաղէմի*, t. 1, Jérusalem, 1948, p. 3-50; N. POGHARIAN, *Մայր ցուցակ ձեռագրաց սրբոց Յակոբեանց*, t. 1, Jérusalem, 1966, p. 1-11; Henning J. LEHMANN, « Severian of Gabala: New Identifications of Texts in Armenian Translation », dans: T. J. SAMUELIAN (éd.), *Classical Armenian Culture: Influences and Creativity*, University of Pennsylvania, 1982 (*Armenian Texts and Studies* 4), p. 114-116 [réimprimé dans: H. J. LEHMANN, *Students of the Bible on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Century Syria. Seats of Learning, Sidelights and Syriacisms*, Aarhus, 2008, p. 67-76, ici 68-72]; KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 73; KIM, « Les fragments arméniens » (cité n. 6), p. 929-950, ici 933.

**j** Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien 154a, a. 1737, p. ՃԿԴԲ-ՃԿԸԲ [164b-168b]

Papier; 310 × 220 [270 × 78] mm.; 44 lin.; 2 col.; 25 + 642 pages.

Le codex constitue la première partie d'un homélaire en deux tomes (la deuxième partie porte la côte *Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien 154b*). Pagination en chiffres arabes (1-25) et ensuite arméniennes (Ա-ՈԽԲ [1-642]), dans l'angle droit supérieur dans une encre noire. Le cadre de l'écriture est tracé dans une encre noire – deux traits verticaux à gauche, un à droite de chaque colonne. Écriture *notragir*; encre noire; titres en rouge sont accompagnés de décorations végétales. Pour certaines pièces de l'homélaire, les dates liturgiques de lecture sont données en bas de page.

Le manuscrit a été écrit en 1737 (l'année étant marquée en lettres arméniennes selon le calendrier occidental, « ՌՃՁԶ ») dans le monastère de Saint Jacques à Jérusalem (p. 24-25) pendant le patriarcat de Grigor (Գրիգոր) et Jovannes (Յովաննէս), p. 24-25. Le copiste du volume, le *vardapet* Élie Abélay, fils de Jovsep' (Եղիա Աբէղայ որդի Յովսէփի), a laissé plusieurs colophons: p. 24-25, ՃԺԷ-ՃԺԸ [117-118], ՃԿԵ [165], ՃՁԹ-ՃՂ [189-190], ՆՀԴ-ՆՀԵ [474-475]. Une annotation, qui n'est pas d'ailleurs relevée dans le catalogue, est posée à la fin de notre homélie, p. ՃԿԸ [168b]: Քրիստոսս որ լուսաւորեցի՛ր զբնութիւնս, մի՛ թողուր ՚ի խաւարի զմեղաւոր Եղիայ Աբէղայի ոգի, այլ շնորհիւ զերծա նա՝ եւ զծնողա ցն մեր եւ բնակչաց սրբոյ զերեզմանի, եւ որք ՚ի սէր քո զա՛ն զնան եւ որ ասեն. Ամէն: « Ô Christ, toi qui as illuminé ma nature, n'abandonne pas dans les ténèbres l'âme du pécheur Elia Abélay, mais sauve-le par (ta) grâce, aussi bien que nos parents et les habitants du (monastère) du Saint-Sépulcre et ceux qui y viennent et en partent dans ton amour et qui disent 'amen' ».

Notre homélie est présentée dans ce codex dans la même forme que dans le *J*. Il n'est pas exclu que le copiste de *j* a consulté le texte de *J* pour notre homélie, toutefois il est plus prudent de ne pas affirmer une dépendance directe, car on verra plus bas que *j* présente bien de leçons individuelles et quelques leçons qui sont meilleures par rapport à *J*.

Cf.: POGHARIAN, *Մայր ցուցակ*, p. 429-441; LEHMANN, « Severian of Gabala: New Identifications », p. 114-116 [réimprimé dans: LEHMANN, *Students of the Bible*, p. 67-76, ici 68-72]; S. KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 73-74; KIM, « Les fragments arméniens », p. 929-950, ici 933.

- A** Venise, Saint Lazare 1075 (Sargisean 302), a. 1841, f. 143r-149v (p. 279-292) (recension  $\zeta$ )

Papier; 188 × 115 [131 × 80] mm.; 19-22 lin.; 1 col.; 185 folios.

Recueil factice constitué de plusieurs copies de textes patristiques. La foliotation continue affectant la totalité du recueil a été appliquée à l'aide du tampon à compteur dans l'angle droit supérieur; parfois la pagination individuelle pour une pièce est placée au centre de la marge inférieure. L'écriture cursive moderne dans une encre noire.

D'après l'annotation au f. 149v, le texte de l'homélie a été copié d'après un manuscrit arménien de Hîncești en Roumanie en 1841 pour le Mkhitariste père Minas Bžškean (1777-1851): « Արիինակեցաւ ի Հնչեշտ, յամի 1841 ի մարտի 31. ի Մսերայ դպրի Գրիգորեան: ընծայ առ Աստուածաշնորհ Սոաջնորդ Հ. Մինաս Վ. Բժշկեան » (« Copié à Hnčest, l'an 1841, le 31 mars, par l'enseignant Mser Grigorean, en hommage au père Minas V. Bžškean, revêtu de la grâce de Dieu »).

Cf.: Barsel SARGISEAN, *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց մատենադարանին Մխիթարեանց ի Վենետիկ*, t. 1, Venise, 1914, p. 1123-1128 (n° 302); J. MUYLDERMANS, « Répertoire des pièces patristiques d'après le catalogue Arménien de Venise », dans: *Le Muséon* 34 (1934), p. 290; LEHMANN, « Severian of Gabala: New Identifications », p. 113-124, ici 114-116 [réimprimé dans: LEHMANN, *Students of the Bible*, p. 67-76, ici 68-72]; KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 74-75; S. KIM, « Les fragments arméniens », p. 929-950, ici 931-932.

- B** Venise, Saint Lazare 680 (Sargisean 294), a. 1830, f. 111r-115v (recension  $\zeta$ )

Papier; 235 × 173 [190 × 130] mm.; 24-26 lin.; 1 col.; 116 folios.

Recueil factice constitué de plusieurs copies de textes patristiques; la foliotation a été effectuée à l'aide du tampon à compteur dans l'angle droit supérieur des rectos.

Pour l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* et le fragment du sermon *De remissione peccatorum* qui lui est attaché, ce manuscrit vénitien est étroitement

lié avec le modèle de l'édition de Mseriants (cf. plus bas), un manuscrit inconnu du monastère du Saint-Sauveur dans la ville d'Akn (auj. Kemaliye) en Anatolie orientale en Turquie. En effet, l'apparat critique montre bien que le cod. **B** présente un nombre important de leçons communes avec l'imprimé de Mseriants (cf. aussi plus bas).

Cf.: SARGISEAN, *Մայր ցուցակ*, p. 1057-1068 (n° 294); MUyLDERMANS, « Répertoire des pièces patristiques », p. 290; LEHMANN, « Severian of Gabala: New Identifications », p. 113-124, ici 114-116 [réimprimé dans: LEHMANN, *Students of the Bible*, p. 67-76, ici 68-72]; S. KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 75; S. KIM, « Les fragments arméniens », p. 929-950, ici 931-932.

## Manuscrits grecs

### S Moscou, Synod. gr. 128 (Vlad. 159), s. IX (1/3), f. 351v-354v

Parchemin; 429/430 × 290/320 [espace écrit 285/295 × 190/195] mm.; 39 lin.; 2 col.; (1 pap.) + 1-2 (parch.) + 3-4 (pap.) + 5-6 (parch.) + 7 (pap.) + 8-143, 143 bis-445 + (2 pap.) folios. Numéro *diktyon* 43753<sup>6</sup>.

Le manuscrit a été acquis au monastère Stavronikita sur le Mont Athos par le moine russe Arsène Sukhanov en 1654; il est daté du premier tiers du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle par Boris Fonkič. Ayant appartenu au patriarche Jérémie I de Constantinople (1522-1546), qui l'a offert au monastère de Stavronikita, le codex provient probablement de Constantinople. En 1784, quelques 43 folios du manuscrit avaient été détachés du codex par Christian Friedrich von Matthäi pour être vendus au Kurfürst de Dresde en 1788; en 1947 ils ont été retournés à Moscou et portent aujourd'hui la côte RGADA (РГАДА), F. 1607, op. 1, n° 24.

L'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* n'a pas souffert de ce détachement.

Cf. Christianus Fridericus de MATTHAEI, *Accurata codicum graecorum mss. bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi notitia et recensio*. T. 1, Lipsiae, 1805, p. 71 (n° CXXIX); Archimandrite SAVVA (Тихомиров), *Указатель для обозрения Московской Патриаршей (ныне Синодальной) ризницы и библиотеки*. <sup>3</sup>Moscou, 1853, p. 86 (n° 128); Archimandrite VLADIMIR (Филантропов), *Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*. Vol. 1. Moscou, 1894, p. 162-167 (n° 159); B. FONKIČ, *Греческо-русские культурные связи*, Moscou, 1961, p. 100 (sur les manuscrits que Sukhanov a achetés à Stavronikita); B. FONKIČ – F. POLIAKOV, *Греческие рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки. Палеографические, кодико-*

<sup>6</sup> Le numéro *diktyon* renvoie aux numéros uniques assignés à tous les manuscrits grecs recensés dans la base *Pinakes* (pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr); la possibilité de recherches rapides à l'aide des numéros *diktyon* est désormais intégrée au site de la base.

логические и библиографические дополнения к каталогу архимандрита Владимира (Филантропова). Moscou, 1993, p. 63-64; Michel AUBINEAU, *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala*: In Centurionem et contra Manichæos et Apollinaristas. *Exploitation par Sévère d'Antioche (519) et le Synode du Latran (649)* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 5). Genève, 1983, p. 25-28; Elina N. DOBRYNINA, *Сводный каталог греческих иллюминированных рукописей в российских хранилищах I, Рукописи IX-X вв. в Государственном Историческом музее. Часть I*, Moscou 2013, p. 106-119 (n° 11a) et p. 120-124 (n° 11b, pour la cote RGADA, F. 1607, op. 1, n° 24); KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala* (cité n. 4), p. 375-408, ici 380 (sigle S); KIM – AUGUSTIN, «Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum*» (cité n. 6), p. 81-149, ici 83 (sigle M).

**S<sub>1</sub>** Moscou, Synod. gr. 124 (Vlad. 162), s. X med., f. 64v-67v (recension **δ**) Parchemin; 394/396 × 270/274 [308 × 190] mm.; 36 lin.; 2 col.; 288 folios. Numéro *diktyon* 43749.

Ce manuscrit, parmi au moins 30 autres codex, a été acheté au monastère Dionysiou sur le Mont Athos par Arsène Sukhanov en 1654; il porte le numéro slavon «кг» qui lui a été assigné lors de l'acquisition, il était donc le 23<sup>e</sup> de la série. Le premier des deux copistes (I: f. 1-179, 193-288; II: f. 180-192) est daté de la moitié du X<sup>e</sup> siècle par Boris Fonkič, le manuscrit entier est daté de la fin du X<sup>e</sup>-début du XI<sup>e</sup> par Elina Dobrynina. Le codex appartient au groupe des manuscrits décorés dont le style est désigné «stile blu»<sup>7</sup>. C'est à partir de ce manuscrit qu'en 1610 Samuel Slade<sup>8</sup> a copié notre texte pour Henri Savile, tant que le codex se trouvait encore au monastère de Dionysiou. Sa copie manuscrite constitue aujourd'hui les f. 267v-271v du manuscrit *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.3.15 (Misc.51.15)* (= **Q**), pour lequel cf. plus bas.

L'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* présente une recension contaminée, où sa fin naturelle est remplacée par la fin du sermon *De Lazaro et diuine*, CPG 4590. La contamination a dû exister déjà dans le modèle du **S<sub>1</sub>**, car le point de couture des deux textes ne présente aucune trace d'accident matériel dans l'état actuel du manuscrit.

Cf. МАТТНАЕИ, *Accurata codicum graecorum*, p. 70 (n° CXXV); САВВА (ТИХОМИРОВ), *Указатель*, p. 86 (n° 124); ВЛАДИМИР (ФИЛАНТРОПОВ), *Систематическое описание рукописей*, p. 171-175 (n° 162); ФОНКИЧ, *Греческо-русские культурные связи*, p. 97-98 (sur les manuscrits que Sukhanov a achetés à Dionysiou); ФОНКИЧ-ПОЛИАКОВ, *Грече-*

<sup>7</sup> Sur ce groupe cf. Lidia PERRIA, «Manoscritti miniati in 'stile blu' nei secoli X-XI», dans: *RSBN* 24 (1987), p. 85-124.

<sup>8</sup> Sur les rapports entre Samuel Slade et Henri Savile cf., par exemple: Jean-Louis QUANTIN, «Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européenne (1588-1613)», dans: Martin WALLRAFF, Rudolf BRÄNDLE (éd.), *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren. Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 105)*. Berlin, 2008, p. 267-346, ici 311-325.

ckue pykonucu, p. 64; Elina DOBRYNINA, « Unknown 'Stile Blu' Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in Russian Collections », dans: Basile ATSALOS (éd.), *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Drama, 21-27 septembre 2003)*. Tome II. (Βιβλιοαμφιάστης – Παράστημα Ι) Athènes, 2008, p. 481-488, ici 486 et 488; KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, 375-408, ici 380 (sigle S<sub>1</sub>).

**C** Cambridge, Trinity College, B.8.8 (James 192), s. X, f. 274v-277v

Parchemin; 290 × 220 [215 × 150] mm.; 28-36 lin.; 1 col.; 321 folios. Numéro *diktyon* 11922.

On notera la présence au f. 5r d'une annotation en écriture tardive: *μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε εν τ(ῇ) βασιλ(εία) σου την ψυχ(ήν) τοῦ δουλ(ου) σου ιακώβου ιερομονάχου. αμ(ήν)*<sup>9</sup>. C'est ce hiéromoine Jacques qui semble avoir laissé une série d'essais de calame et de notes de lecture, parsemés dans le codex (f. 12r marg. inf., 80v marg. ext., 92r marg. ext., 93v marg. inf., 100v marg. ext., etc.)

Cf. Montague R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue*. Vol. I. Cambridge, 1900, p. 250-252 (n° 192); Michel AUBINEAU, *Codices chrysostomici graeci. I: Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes XIII)*, Paris, 1968, p. 24-27 (n° 29 et App. 2); M. AUBINEAU, « Une homélie ps. chrysostomienne inédite *In Apostolum Paulum* (BHG 1462s) dans le cod. *Cantabr. Trinity Coll.*, B.8.8. », dans: *Orientalia Christiana periodica* 40 (1974), p. 416-420; KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 375-408, ici 380 (sigle C).

**V** Vatican, BAV, gr. 2646, fragm. VIII-IX, s. XI, f. 15r-v (inc. et des. mut.)

Parchemin; 416 × 340 [305/307 × 97] mm.; 31 lin.; 2 col.; fragments de 3 folios (foliotation continue f. 13-15). Numéro *diktyon* 69277.

L'écriture et l'ornementation des fragments amènent Salvatore Lilla à proposer l'origine sud-italienne. Nous n'avons pas vu ce fragment; dans l'édition nous nous basons sur la transcription effectuée par le prof. Sever Voicu. Le fragment contient la portion § 7,1 – § 16,1.

Cf. Salvatore LILLA, « Codices Vaticani Graeci 2644-2647; Pars II: Codices Vaticani Graeci 2646-2647 », dans: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* II (*Studi e Testi* 331), Città del Vaticano, p. 103-104; S. LILLA, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 2644-2663 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Città del Vaticano, 1996, p. 51-52; S. J. VOICU, *Codices chrysostomici graeci. VI: Codicum Ciuitatis Vaticanae pars prior (Documents, études, répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 11.6)*, Paris, 1999, p. 269 (n° 351).

<sup>9</sup> Transcription diplomatique; traduction: « Souviens-toi, Seigneur, dans ton royaume de l'âme de ton serviteur Jacob l'hiéromoine, amen ».

**P** Paris, BnF, gr. 761, s. XII, p. 510-524

Parchemin; 275/285 × 193/203 [215/222 × 68/75] mm.; 28 l.; 2 col.; 544 pages. Numéro *diktyon* 50344.

Le manuscrit, daté du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, venait d'entrer à la *Bibliotheca Regia* au moment de la rédaction de son catalogue en 1740, en arrivant depuis Constantinople (« Constantinopoli nuper in Bibliothecam regiam illatus »).

Le manuscrit a été folioté plusieurs fois : la foliotation de l'angle est probablement due à la même main qui a suppléé la fin d'un texte au p. 203-204; la foliotation du centre semble proche à la main qui a noté les signatures des cahiers en marge inférieure des versos à la fin de cahier et des rectos au début de cahier, et qui a aussi rédigé la note sur le manque d'un folio, p. 432 marg. inf. : ἐνταῦθα ἀγαπητὲ. λύπ(ει). φύλλ(ον) ἐν. καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθημε(ν) εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν. καὶ σύγνωθι<sup>10</sup>. Un folio (p. 497-498) provient d'un autre manuscrit en deux colonnes, 28 lignes par colonnes (on notera que ce folio ne porte aucune foliotation en caractères grecs). Une annotation de possession a été laissée par une main plus ancienne et bien hésitante, p. 29 marg. inf. : + της οδιγήτριας χορίω βενεράτο. D'après Nikolopoulos, il s'agit du monastère de la Mère de Dieu près du village Βενεράτο en Crète.

Cf. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*. T. II, Paris, 1740, p. 139-140; H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*. 1. *Ancien fonds grec. Théologie*, Paris, 1886, p. 130; François HALKIN, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* (SH 44), Bruxelles, 1968, p. 62; P. G. NIKOLOPOULOS, *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί* (Αθηνᾶ 9), Athènes, 1973 (sigle Υ'); KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 375-408, ici 380 (sigle P). Une nouvelle description du manuscrit est préparée par Pierre Augustin et Jacques-Hubert Sautel<sup>11</sup> pour le répertoire *Codices chrysostomici graeci*.

**I** Istanbul, Hagias Triados 129 (Tsakopoulos 121), s. XIV (2/4), f. 123r-125r (lac.)

Papier; 280 × 200 [205 × 140] mm.; 28-33 lin.; 1 col.; (2) + 334 folios. Numéro *diktyon* 33627.

Le manuscrit est écrit par la même main que le codex *Vatican, BAV, gr. 800*.

Le texte de notre homélie présente une lacune importante, due à la perte matérielle de deux folios entre les f. 123 et 124 (il manque la portion § 5,2 – § 17,8).

<sup>10</sup> Transcription diplomatique; traduction : « Ici, bien-aimé, il manque un folio que nous n'avons pas pu retrouver; excuse-nous-en ! ».

<sup>11</sup> Je remercie les MM. Augustin et Sautel (Section grecque, IRHT, CNRS) pour avoir mis à ma disposition leur description provisoire du cod. **P**.



Cf. Archimandrite Aimilianos TSAKOPOULOS. *Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Β'. Τμήμα χειρογράφων Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἀγ. Τριάδος Χάλκης*. Istanboul, 1956, p. 140-146 (n° 121); Pierre AUGUSTIN, « Pour une histoire du texte de l'homélie chrysostomienne In Kalendas (CPG 4328). Réflexions en marge d'une nouvelle édition », dans: *Giovanni Crisostomo: Oriente e Occidente tra IV e V secolo. Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, XXXIII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana, Roma, 6-8 maggio 2004 (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 93)*, Rome, 2005, p. 231-277, ici 267 (sigle I); KIM, Séverien de Gabala, p. 375-408, ici 380 (sigle K, daté par erreur du XV<sup>e</sup> s.); KIM – AUGUSTIN, « Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum* » (cité n. 6), p. 81-149, ici 85-88 (sigle I); Francesca P. BARONE, Sever J. VOICU, *Codices chrysostomici graeci. VIII: 1. Codices Ancyrae et Constantinopolis. 2. Addenda et Corrigenda ad volumina I-IV (Documents, études, répertoires 88)*, Paris, 2017, p. 38-41 (n° 49); André BINGGELI, Matthieu CASSIN, Marie CRONIER, Matoula KOUROUPOU, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Sainte-Trinité de Chalki*, Turnhout (à paraître).

**Q** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.3.15 (Misc.51.15), a. 1610, f. 267v-271v (recension **δ**)

Papier; 310 × 190 [255 × 130] mm.; 28-30 lin.; 1 col.; (6) + 309 folios. Numéro *diktyon* 47032.

Le contenu du volume a été analysé par François Leroy dans le répertoire de Juan Antonio Aldama et décrit en détail par Michel Aubineau. Il s'agit du « Liber Q » de Savile qui a servi de brouillon pour son édition.

Le texte de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* a été copié par Samuel Slade pour Henri Savile sur le manuscrit *Moscou, Synod. gr. 124 (Vlad. 162)* (= **S<sub>I</sub>**), lorsqu'il se trouvait encore au monastère de Dionysiou sur le Mont Athos. D'après la note autographe de Slade, la copie doit avoir été effectuée le 7 juin 1610: « Ibidem ex eod[em] cod[ice] / Jun[iu] 27<sup>o</sup>. 1610. in nullo / reperio ha[n]c catalogo meo » (f. 267v marg. ext.). Cette note a été ensuite rayée et remplacée par l'indication erronée qui laissait entendre que le modèle de **Q** était un manuscrit de Chalki: il a été ajouté que le texte fut copié sur un original se trouvant à Chalki, l'île de Chalcédoine (« Ex Ms. ἐν Χάλκῃ νήσω τῆς Χαλκηδόνος »). Cette correction fâcheuse est passée aussi dans l'édition de Savile<sup>12</sup>. Il n'est pas donc à rechercher à Chalki un autre original du **Q** que le manuscrit de Moscou, **S<sub>I</sub>**<sup>13</sup>.

L'apographe **Q** partage presque toutes les leçons de son modèle **S<sub>I</sub>** et présente la même recension du sermon contaminée qui est contenue dans le **S<sub>I</sub>**.

<sup>12</sup> H. SAVILE, *Toῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὐρισκομένων...* Vol. VII. Eton, 1612, p. 478, cf. note dans la marge extérieure.

<sup>13</sup> On notera entre parenthèses que le témoin tardif **I**, qui est en vérité originaire de Chalki, ne présente pas la recension particulière de **S<sub>I</sub>** et **Q**.



Cf. Henry O. COXE, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima...* Oxford, 1853, p. 649; Falconer MADAN, H. H. E. CRASTER, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford...* Vol. II. Part 1. Oxford, 1922, p. 536-537 (n° 2783<sup>f</sup>); Juan Antonio DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudo-chrysostomicum (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 10)*, Paris, 1965, p. 228-238; AUBINEAU, *Codices chrysostomici graeci. I*, p. 141-144 (n° 150); KIM, *Sévérien de Gabala*, p. 375-408, ici 380 (sigle O).

## Recensions

### Recension intégrale

L'état complet de l'homélie est attesté par les témoins **S C P I** et par les manuscrits arméniens **J j**. Vu que les variantes du témoin **V** sont très proches à celles de **C** pour la partie du texte qu'il contient, il est fort probable – sans une preuve définitive – que **V** aussi contenait la forme intégrale du sermon. On notera également que la phrase du § 17,16/18 cité par la chaîne grecque sur l'évangile de Luc (cf. **Cram.** plus bas) se trouve dans la partie qui est omise dans la recension contaminée **δ**, ce qui suggère que le modèle de la chaîne était un témoin de la recension intégrale du sermon.

### Recension **δ**

Deux manuscrits grecs, **S<sub>1</sub>** et son apographe **Q**, présentent une recension contaminée que nous désignons « recension **δ** » d'après le sigle du *stemma*. Après § 14,5 (à partir de αὐτῇν) les témoins **S<sub>1</sub>** et **Q** font suivre une portion du sermon *De Pharisaeo*, CPG 4589 (= PG 59, 591, lin. 38-592).

### Recension **ζ**

L'état du texte que nous désignons comme « recension **ζ** » n'existe qu'en arménien et se caractérise par deux traits particuliers :

- l'ajout initial d'un fragment du sermon *De remissione peccatorum*<sup>14</sup>, CPG 4629 (PG 60, 759, l. 17-36 = KIM – AUGUSTIN, « Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum* », p. 98-100, § 1,1-§ 2,1),
- et la coupure finale après § 19,4 de la version arménienne (= § 19,4 du texte grec), en finissant par ապսկանեցաւ (= φθειρομένης). Cette recension est représentée par **A B** et l'édition de Mseriants (cf. **Mser.** plus bas)

<sup>14</sup> Sur cet ajout cf. aussi : KIM. « Les fragments arméniens » (cité n. 6) ; pour la nouvelle édition du texte grec cf. KIM – AUGUSTIN, « Le sermon ps.-chrysostomien *De remissione peccatorum* » (cité n. 6).

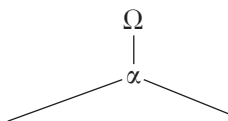
## Analyse des variantes

La collation de tous les manuscrits complets et fragmentaires de la tradition directe de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* permet d'établir que les meilleures leçons sont fournies par le témoin moscovite **S** contre tous les autres témoins grecs et arméniens.

Les meilleures leçons de **S**: § 4,3 ἡπειλήτο **S**: ἀπειλή **P**, ἀπίλεια **C**, ἀπειλήτο **I**, ἡπειλήται **Q**, սպառնայ (il menace) **arm.**; § 8,1 ἀμαρτία ἡμῶν κατηγωνίσαστο **S** < **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q arm.**; § 8,2/3 ἐπιβλύζων **S**: ἐπικλύζων **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q**; § 9,7/8 ἐπὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτῶ **S**: ἐπὶ τὸ (τῶ **P C**) σῶσαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q** (փրկել զազգ ւարդիւն) **arm.**; § 12,6 τί **S** < **P C V I Q arm.**; § 13,2 μέσω **S**: μέση **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q**; § 13,2 τῆς καρδίας **S**: τὴν καρδίαν **P**, τῇ καρδίᾳ **C V S<sub>I</sub> Q**; § 13,2 διαπύρως **S**: διαπύρῳ **P C**, διάπυρον **V**, διὰ πυρὸς **S<sub>I</sub> Q**; § 13,6 καλλιφεγγῇ (ἔξαψιν) **S**: καλλιφεγγές **P V**, καλλιφθεγγές **C**, καλλιφερές **S<sub>I</sub> Q**; § 18,1 ἐκλαβέσθαι **S**: ἐκλαβεῖν **C**, ἐκβάλεσθαι **P** (-λλ-) **I**; § 21,1 ἐκαθάρθη **S**: ἐκαθαρίσθη **P C**, ἐκαθερίσθη **I**; § 21,14 (χερουβεῖμ) τὸ αἶρον **S**: τὸ αἶροντα **P**, τὸν αἶροντα **C I**; § 21,15 (χερουβεῖμ) μεταδιδού **S**: μεταδίδοντα **P**, μεταδιδόντας **C**, μεταδιδόντα **I**; § 22,12 ἀνάψυξιν **S**: ἀναψιν **P I**, τὰς λαμπάδας ἀνάψη **C**, վառեցի (= ἀνάψη) **arm.**

Il y a néanmoins quelques *erreurs individuelles* de **S** qui ne sont pas partagées par les autres codex :

§ 1,1 ἡλικίαν *codd.*: ἡλικίας **S**; § 4,4 ἡμῶν < **S**; § 4,4 ἀρωγὸν *codd.*: ὁρῶντες (*sic* !) **S**, βοηθὸν **I**; § 18,3/4 διὰ τὸν λόγον *codd.*: διὰ τῶν λόγων **S**



Les groupes  $\gamma$  (**P C V I**) et  $\delta$  (**S<sub>I</sub> Q**).

Parmi les autres témoins il est possible de séparer deux groupes:  $\gamma$  (**P C V I**) et  $\delta$  (**S<sub>I</sub> Q**). Ces deux groupes présentent un nombre important de leçons communes contre le témoin **S**, comme il a été déjà montré plus haut, mais **S<sub>I</sub> Q** se distinguent tout d'abord par l'état contaminé du texte et aussi par certaines erreurs individuelles.

1) *Le groupe  $\gamma$* . Malgré l'état fragmentaire de **V** et de **I** il est possible de voir que les témoins du groupe  $\gamma$  présentent bien d'accords (cf. plus bas). En même temps **P C I** témoignent aussi d'une certaine indépendance vis-à-vis l'un de l'autre, en faisant montre d'un nombre de leçons individuelles, ce qui exclut leur relation de dépendance mutuelle directe.

**Groupe  $\gamma$**  – Omissions: § 17,12 οἷς **S** < **P C I**; § 17,15 ὡς **S** < **P C I** – Erreurs individuelles: § 12,1 ἀνακαίνισιν *codd.*: ἀνακαίνωσιν **P C I**; § 18,12 βοῶ **S**: ἐβόα **P C I**;

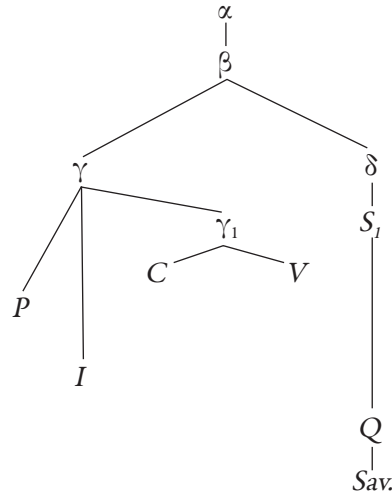
§ 19,2 καταφλεγόμενην *S*: κατακαίωμένην *P C I*. – Transpositions: § 18,14 ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος *trsp. P C I*. – Ajouts: § 2,2 δυσδιάκριτα *codd.* + αὐτοῖς *P C I*; § 7,6 ἐλθὼν *S* + εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς *P C V (I lac.)*; § 10,2 υἱοὶ *codd.*: αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ *P C V (I lac.)*; § 18,5 μετὰ *S* + δὲ *P C I*; § 20,2 σώματος *S* + αὐτοῦ *P C I*.

On notera que parmi les quatre témoins de ce groupe, *C* et *V* sont les plus proches, ce qui suggère l'existence d'un sous-groupe distinct ( $\gamma_1$ ).

**Groupe  $\gamma_1$**  – Erreurs individuelles: § 8,1 ἐπαγγελία *codd.*: παραγγελία *C V*; εἰς *codd.*: πρὸς *C V*; § 9,5 οὗτοι *codd.*: αὐτοὶ *C V*; § 13,2 ἔχρεσθαι *codd.*: ἐκθέσθαι *C V*. – Transpositions: § 7,3 παρὰ σοῦ αἰτούμενος *codd.*: αἰτούμενος παρὰ σοῦ *C V*. – Ajouts: § 12,1 ναί *codd.* + φησιν *C V*.

2) Plus bas on verra un choix de variantes représentatives du groupe  $\delta$ .

**Groupe  $\delta$**  – Omissions: § 1,7 ἐν μέσῳ *codd.* < *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 2,7 αὐτοῖς *codd.* < *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 5,2 τρόπαιον σφραγίδος οὐκ εἶχομεν *codd.* < *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 12,5 καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀνακαίνισιν < *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 13,5/6 ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαις < *S<sub>I</sub> Q*. – Erreurs individuelles: § 2,2 προβάλλουσιν *codd.*: προσβάλλουσιν *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 2,4 πνεύματι *codd.*: νεύματι *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 2,4 παραινῶσιν *codd.*: παρακαλοῦσιν *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 3,5 τῶν νηπίων *codd.*: τοῦ κυρίου *S<sub>I</sub> Q*; § 5,3 ἀποδύσας *codd.*: ἐκδύσας *S<sub>I</sub> Q*. – Transpositions: § 2,13 ἀπολαβεῖν συγχωρεῖ *codd.*: *trsp. S<sub>I</sub> Q*. – Ajouts: § 4,7 μάχαιραν *codd.* + τρόπαιον παρ' ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε πίστεως *S<sub>I</sub> Q*.



Tradition indirecte (**Cram.**)

La chaîne exégétique grecque à l'évangile de Luc<sup>15</sup> reprend un passage de l'homélie correspondant aux lignes § 12,1/9 et une phrase du texte tiré de

<sup>15</sup> J. A. CRAMER, *Catenae graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*. Vol. II. Oxford, 1841, p. 105, lin. 13-22.

§ 17,16/18 de notre édition. Les variantes textuelles sont prises en compte dans l'apparat de l'édition. Les leçons de **Cram.** sont caractérisés par une certaine indépendance vis-à-vis des témoins de la tradition directe.

Omissions: § 12,3 *ἐν codd.* < **Cram.**; § 12,5/6 *πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἀνάλωσιν καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀνακαίνισιν διὰ τοῦτο πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν codd.* < **Cram.** – Ajouts: § 12,6 *δεῖ codd.* + γάρ **Cram.** – Erreurs individuelles: § 12,4 *βαλεῖν codd.*: ἐπιβαλεῖν **Cram.**; § 12,8 *καθαροῖ codd.*: καθαροῶ **Cram.**; § 12,9 *ἐν ῥάνω codd.*: ἐν οὐρανῶ **Cram.**

Les accords de **Cram.** avec les témoins de la tradition directe et à la fois l'indépendance à leur égard invitent à placer le modèle auquel puisait le compilateur de la chaîne assez haut dans le *stemma*.

Relations de **Cram.** avec les témoins de la tradition directe. – **I Cram.**: § 17,16/17 *ἀλλ' μέσον ὕμῶν codd.* < **I Cram.** – **P V Cram.**: § 12,1 *οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν P V Cram.*: οὐ **C**, < **S S<sub>1</sub> – S Cram.**: § 12,5 *ἀνακαίνισιν S V Cram.*: ἀνακαίνωσιν **P C I**, < **S<sub>1</sub> Q**; § 12,6 *τί S Cram.* < **P C V I Q arm.** – **S ≠ Cram.**: § 12,2 *πεπατημένην S P*: πατουμένην **C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Cram.**

## La version arménienne

Les témoins arméniens se divisent clairement en deux groupes: **ε (J j)** et **ζ (A B)**.

1) *Le groupe ε (J j)* est très stable et très proche à l'original grec; c'est son texte que nous adoptons dans l'édition à quelques exceptions près, là où une émendation doit être opérée sur la base des témoins **A B**:

Mauvaises leçons de **ε**. – Omissions: § 2,12 *բանին A B* < **J j**. – Erreurs individuelles: § 10,1 *երանես A B*: ատես **J j**.

Pour la plupart des cas c'est le manuscrit **J** qui est plus fiable, tandis que **j** témoigne d'un nombre d'erreurs individuelles.

Leçons individuelles de **j**. – Omissions: § 2,3/4 *նցա զինաստս առաջի արկանէն, այլ զարկէն մարց զսոինս codd.* < **j**; § 10,1 *ատելով codd.* < **j**; § 17,16 *է codd.* < **j**. – Erreurs individuelles: § 1,3 *զկերակուր codd.*: վեցերորդ աւուր Յայտնութիւնն **j**; § 2,3 *դժուարիմանալիս codd.*: դժուար **j**.

Toutefois, dans les situations suivantes c'est bien la leçon de **j** qui est à préférer:

§ 6,1/2 *խաղաղաութեան լեալ առ քեզ j* < **J A B**; § 12,8 *յերկիր j* < **J A B Mser.**

2) *Le groupe ζ* représente une recension contaminée (cf. plus haut), mais contient aussi un nombre de leçons particulières.

**Groupe ζ** (un choix de leçons). – Omissions: § 1,1 առ < *A B*; § 2,4 մտաց *J j* < *A B*; § 2,5 առ *J j* < *A B*; § 3,5 զՏեանն միտք ի տղայսն հասանիցեն *J j* < *A B*. – Erreurs individuelles: § 1,3 զնսա *J j*: նոսա *A B*; § 1,4 մինչ զի *J j*: մինչեւ *A B*; § 1,5 ճաշակել *J j*: ծաւքել *A B*; § 1,5 կերակրոց *J j*: հացին *A B*; § 1,6 փշրելով *J j*: մանրելով *A B*; § 1,7 պատրաստեն *J j*: պատրաստեալ *A B*; § 2,1 են *J j*: իցեն *A B*; § 2,6 իմաստիցն *J j*: բանից *A B*; § 2,14 թուլացուցանէ *J j*: թողացուցանէ *A B*; § 3,4 զայն *J j*: զնոյն *A B*. – Transpositions: § 2,14 մեզ վայելել *trsp. A B*; § 10,2 ուսուցանես ալլոց *trsp. A B*; § 17,15 խաղաղութիւն արկանել *trsp. A B*. – Ajouts: § 2,9 կերակուր *J j* + հաստատուն *A B*; § 17,4 իւր *J j* + սուրբ *A B*.

Il y a un nombre non négligeable de désaccords entre *A* et *B*; dans tous les cas le *B* est soutenu par l'édition de Mseriants (*Mser.*, cf. plus bas). Cela nous oblige d'introduire un sous-rameau, ζ<sub>1</sub>.

**Groupe ζ<sub>1</sub>** (un choix de leçons). – Omissions: § 3,4 բայց *codd.* < *B Mser.*; § 4,1/2 Հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր»: Հուր եկիր արկանել յերկիր եւ ոչ եկիր արկանել խաղաղութիւն, ալլ սուր *codd.* < *B Mser.* – Erreurs individuelles: § 1,1 զարաւոր *codd.*: յանգար *B Mser.*; § 1,3 կարկանդակ *codd.*: կարկանդակ *B Mser.*; § 1,3 ողորեն *codd.*: փութան *B Mser.*; § 2,5 եւ *codd.*: զի *B Mser.* – Ajouts: § 1,5 այնուհետեւ *codd.* + զարկել *B Mser.*

## Rapports de l'arménien avec le grec

La traduction arménienne suit l'original grec généralement d'une manière assez fidèle. On notera quelques cas où le traducteur a changé le sens du passage qu'il ne saisissait pas. Par exemple, la phrase § 3,5/6 նա τοῦ κυρίου νοήματα<sup>16</sup> (*P I*, ῥήματα *S*) τοῖς νηπίοις διαπορθμεύσωμεν « pour que nous puissions transmettre les pensées du Seigneur aux enfants » devient: <զի><sup>17</sup> զՏեանն միտք ի տղայսն հասանիցեն « pour que les pensées du Seigneurs puissent joindre les enfants ». Le sujet de la phrase a changé de « nous » aux « pensées », probablement à cause de la difficulté du traducteur devant le rare verbe grec διαπορθμεύω « transmettre *qch*, faire suivre *qch* » (transitif) qu'il rend de manière intransitive « joindre ».

Certaines variantes arméniennes sont dues à une erreur de lecture de l'original grec, ainsi: § 3,2 ἀλλ' οἱ: ալլք (= ἄλλοι) *arm.*

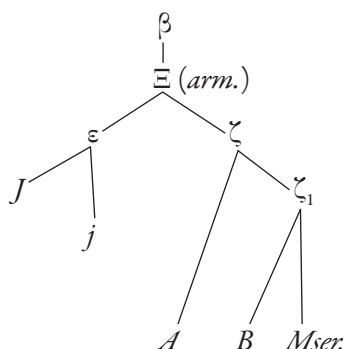
On notera également que le mot grec διάβολος est toujours rendu comme Սատանայ « le Satan » (cf. § 5,3, § 12,7, § 14,1, § 14,3, § 17,10, § 17,15), sauf un seul cas où il est traduit d'après son sens étymologique: § 13,4 բանսարկուն « le calomnieur ».

<sup>16</sup> L'arménien soutient ici la variante de *P I* que nous ne retenons pas dans le texte édité.

<sup>17</sup> La conjonction զի a dû tomber par attraction devant le q- du composite suivant: զՏեանն; nous l'avons suppléé dans l'édition.

La version arménienne présente un nombre d'accords avec les familles grecs  $\gamma$   $\delta$  contre le témoin **S** (comme nous avons vu aussi plus haut), ce qui place les familles arméniennes au même niveau avec eux (à l'intérieur de la famille  $\beta$ ).

Accords de l'arménien avec la famille  $\beta$  (un choix). – Omissions: § 8,1 Ἀμαρτία – κατηγωνίσατο **S** < **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q arm.**; § 9,7 σου **S** < **P C V S<sub>I</sub> arm.**; § 12,6 τί **S** < **P C V I Q arm.** – Ajouts: § 10,3 λέγεις **S** + περι σεαυτοῦ **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q** (յաղապս) **arm.** – Leçons différentes: § 3,6 ῥήματα **S**: νοήματα **P I** (միտք) **arm.**; § 4,5 κηρυττόμενον **S**: ἀκούοντες **P C I S<sub>I</sub> Q** (լսելով) **arm.**; § 9,7/8 ἐπὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὸν **S**: ἐπὶ τὸ (τῷ **P C**) σῶσαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων **P C V S<sub>I</sub> Q** (փրկել զագգ մարդկան) **arm.**



### Les éditions précédentes

**Sav.** Le texte grec courant de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* est tributaire de l'édition d'Henri Savile<sup>18</sup> qui se basait sur la transcription du texte par Samuel Slade (**Q**) à partir du codex **S<sub>I</sub>** quand il se trouvait encore à Dionysiou sur le Mont Athos. Les éditions de Montfaucon<sup>19</sup>, des frères Gaumes<sup>20</sup> et de l'abbé Migne<sup>21</sup> reproduisent le texte de Savile.

**Mser.** Une édition méconnue du texte arménien de l'homélie *In illud: Ignem ueni* se trouve dans le volume que le père Mser Mseriants a publié en 1853 à Moscou<sup>22</sup>. La page de titre du volume ne mentionne pas l'Annexe

<sup>18</sup> Henri SAVILE, *Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν ἐδρισκομένου*... Vol. VII. Eton, 1612, p. 478-481.

<sup>19</sup> Bernard de MONTEFAUCON, *Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia quae extant, vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur*... Vol. XI. Paris, 1734, p. 812E-815C.

<sup>20</sup> B. de MONTEFAUCON, *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi, Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, opera omnia quae extant, vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur*... Editio parisina altera, emendata et aucta. Vol. XI. Paris: apud Gaume fratres, bibliopolas 1838, p. 893-896.

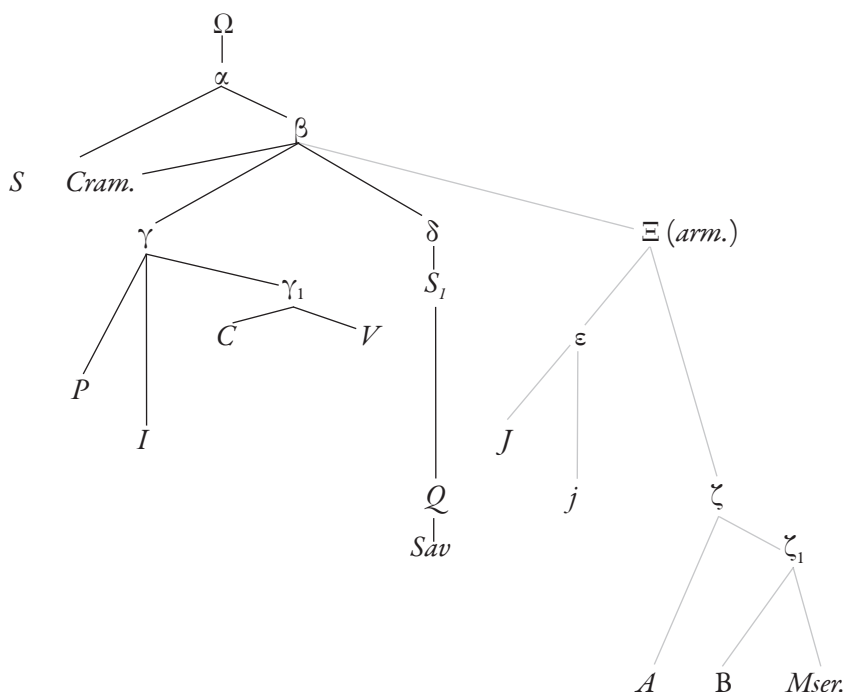
<sup>21</sup> PG 62, 739-741 (Paris, 1862).

<sup>22</sup> Mser MSERIANTS, *Տեառն Յովհաննու Քահանայի Վանանդացոց Ճառ ներքողական ի սուրբ Խաչն Քրիստոսի, և պատմագրական առասպելքին ի սուրբ նշանն Վարդգայ, Moscou, 1853, p. 101-118.*

(p. 101-108) où l'édition de l'homélie est donnée. C'est sur la base de cette édition qu'une traduction russe de la recension  $\zeta$  du sermon a été effectuée par Nikolai Emin<sup>23</sup> en 1878, la seule qui existait jusqu'ici dans les langues modernes.

### Stemma

L'analyse des variantes permet d'établir un *stemma* suivant (la ramification en gris désigne la tradition arménienne).



### Plan de l'homélie

L'homélie est constituée de trois blocs thématiques; un exorde et une conclusion la revêtent sur le plan formel.

<sup>23</sup> Nikolai ÉMIN, « Слово Севериана Гавальского, IV века », dans: *Православное обозрение* 2 (1878), p. 639-644.



exorde	1. Exorde sur différents degrés de compréhension de l'Évangile – § 1-3; 2. le dialogue figuratif entre des chrétiens et le Christ sur les images du feu et de l'épée de Luc 12, 49 et Matth. 10, 34;
<i>bloc I</i>	a. la question des chrétiens – § 4-11;
<i>bloc II</i>	b. la réponse du Christ - § 12-17;
<i>bloc III</i>	3. autres façons de comprendre ces images: c. le feu et l'épée comme le message évangélique qui sépare les nouveaux convertis de leur vie précédente – § 18; d. le feu de Luc 12, 49 comme le feu du buisson ardent de Ex. 3, 2 – § 19; e. le feu de Luc 12, 49 comme la force spirituelle - § 19-20; f. le feu de Luc 12, 49 comme l'Eucharistie – § 21; g. le feu de Luc 12, 49 comme les langues de feu de la Pentecôte - § 22;
<i>conclusion</i>	4. une brève conclusion sur la nécessité pour le chrétien d'avoir ce feu et cette épée - § 22.

## Thèmes

Le sermon se présente comme une exégèse imagée de deux phrases évangéliques d'un esprit commun, Luc 12, 49 et Matth. 10, 34: le Christ est venu dans le monde pour jeter un feu et pour apporter l'épée. Le message militant de ces deux passages est senti par le prédicateur comme « l'aliment solide » du christianisme, d'après l'image paulinienne (1 Cor. 3, 2). Les lectures évangéliques des jours précédents (qui malheureusement ne sont pas citées) sont désignées comme « le lait », d'après la même métaphore; les chrétiens doivent surpasser les idées naïves pour atteindre un enseignement plus profond. C'est ainsi que l'image d'un chrétien-nourrisson vient structurer l'exorde de l'homélie<sup>24</sup>.

C'est aussi dans la bouche des nourrissons spirituels que l'orateur met la série de questions perplexes adressées au Christ; ce bloc constitue à peu près un tiers du sermon. La mise en scène veut que les chrétiens débutants se scandalisent de ces mots de l'Évangile et citent quantité de passages de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament où le Christ est annoncé comme le secours (ἀρωγόν, § 4,4), le médiateur (μεσίτου, § 11,3; μεσιτεῦσαι, § 11,4), la douce paix (εἰρήνην γλυκεῖαν, § 11,3).

Un autre tiers est occupé par la réponse du Christ; dans ce bloc le prédicateur se soucie d'introduire les fidèles à la compréhension de la réalité cruelle qui caractérise le combat des chrétiens contre le diable et soi-même.

Le langage militaire imprègne ces deux blocs: le prédicateur parle de la menace (ὑπείλητο, § 4,3) de l'attaque (παρὰτάξει, § 5,1), des actes de guerre que l'adversaire perpètre contre le fidèle (κατηγγωνίσατο § 4,3;

<sup>24</sup> On notera les parallèles avec les exordes des sermons *In illud: Pater si possibile est* (CPG 4654) et *In illud: Collegerunt Iudaei* (CPG 4579), cf. VOICU, « 'Giovanni di Gerusalemme' » (cit. n. 5), p. 91-93.

§ 4,4; § 8,1). Les démons sont organisés en régiments (στρατόπεδον § 4,4; § 7,1) et sont bien munis d'armes (ὄπλον § 5,1), tandis que les fidèles de Dieu manquent d'épées (ρόμφαλα § 7,2) et de cuirasses (θώρακα § 5,2). Ainsi, malgré leur résistance, ils sont vaincus et fuient (ἡττηθέντες νώτα δεδώκασιν § 9,5/6). Le Christ vient apporter l'épée au monde (Matth. 10, 34); il donne un étendard (λάβωρον § 16,12) à ses soldats et généraux (στρατιώταις καὶ στρατοπεδάρχαις § 16,12). Il entreprend enfin une incursion (καταδραμεῖν § 16,11; § 16,13) jusqu'à l'enfer, tel un siège de l'ennemi, pour libérer les captifs.

Le troisième bloc présente un kaléidoscope d'images bibliques unies par la thématique du feu et de l'épée (Luc 12, 49 et Matth. 10, 34). Ces rapprochements ne sont pas toujours très bien élaborés et souvent les intuitions sont abandonnées inachevées; on verra par exemple le court paragraphe § 20 qui où l'orateur se limite juste à suggérer un jeu de mot sur la couleur des cheveux de David (1 Reg. 17, 40), sans le développer. Le kaléidoscope commence au § 18 avec sainte Thècle qui a utilisé l'épée apportée par le Christ pour se retrancher de sa vie préchrétienne; ce passage résume bien, même si à grands traits, les Actes de Paul et Thècle<sup>25</sup>.

L'un des parallèles bibliques que notre orateur amène pour Luc 12, 49 porte sur la Mère de Dieu (§ 19); le feu que le Christ jette sur la terre (Luc 12, 49) est rapproché avec l'image du buisson ardent (Ex. 3, 2). C'est bien ce feu évangélique que Moïse avait vu sur la montagne; sa vision s'est accomplie dans la « sainte Marie » qui a enfanté et n'a pas subi de corruption: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ βάρτος ἐκαίετο καὶ οὐ κατεκαίετο, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Μαρία ἔτικτε καὶ οὐκ ἐφθείρετο (§ 19,4/5). Le manuscrit *S*, qui donne ailleurs de très bonnes leçons, ajoute ici le terme θεοτόκος (...ἡ ἀγία θεοτόκος Μαρία ἔτικτε...), absent du reste de la tradition textuelle grecque et arménienne; il n'est pas retenu dans le texte. Il est aussi intéressant de noter que dans son exégèse mariale de Ex. 3, 2 le prédicateur se positionne du côté des « pères qui nous ont précédés » (ὥς μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πατέρες διηγῆσαντο, § 19,2/3).

Pour les parallèles stylistiques et littéraires avec les autres homélies du « Pseudochrysostome cappadocien » nous renvoyons à l'étude de Sever Voicu<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *BHG* 1710-1713; l'importance de cette citation pour la reconstitution du corpus de notre prédicateur « pseudo-chrysostomien cappadocien » a été relevée par S. Voicu: cf. Voicu, « Ancora due omelie » (cité n. 5), p. 489. On notera également que la figure de sainte Thècle est évoquée dans un contexte assez proche par Sévérien de Gabala dans son homélie authentique que nous avons éditée récemment, *In illud: Secundum imaginem et similitudinem* (*CPG* 4234), § 44, lin. 325-327 (cf. S. Kim, « Севериан Гавальский. На слова: По образу и по подобию (Быт. 1, 26), *CPG* 4234. Введение, *editio princeps*, русский перевод », dans: *Богословский вестник* 24-25 (2017), p. 468-527, ici 520.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Voicu, « Ancora due omelie ».

## Édition et traduction

Dans notre édition nous tenons compte de tous les témoins manuscrits de la tradition directe connus en grec (**S S<sub>1</sub> P C V I Q**) et en arménien (**J j A B**), et aussi de la tradition indirecte, c'est-à-dire d'un passage transmis dans la chaîne exégétique sur Luc. Nous avons divisé le texte en paragraphes et donné des titres aux sections thématiques dans la traduction française. Cette dernière correspond au texte grec établi sans donner le détail de variantes non retenues ; certains ajouts (placés entre parenthèses) nous ont paru nécessaires à l'intérieur de la traduction française.

## Conspectus siglorum

- S** Moscou, Synod. gr. 128 (Vlad. 159), s. IX (1/3), f. 351v-354v ;  
**S<sub>1</sub>** Moscou, Synod. gr. 124 (Vlad. 162), s. X med., f. 64v-67v (recension **δ**) ;  
**C** Cambridge, Trinity College, B.8.8 (James 192), s. X, f. 274v-277v ;  
**V** Vatican, BAV, gr. 2646, fragm. VIII-IX, s. XI, f. 15r-v (inc. et des. mut.) ;  
**P** Paris, BnF, gr. 761, s. XII, p. 510-524 ;  
**I** Istanbul, Hagias Triados 129 (Tsakopoulos 121), s. XIV (2/4), f. 123r-125r (lac.) ;  
**Q** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.3.15 (Misc.51.15), a. 1610, f. 267v-271v (recension **δ**) ;  
**J** Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien 1a, a. 1417, p. 46b-49b ;  
**j** Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien 154a, a. 1737, p. ԶԿԴբ-ԶԿԸբ [164b-168b] ;  
**A** Venise, Saint Lazare 1075 (Sargisean 302), a. 1841, f. 143r-149v (p. 279-292) (recension **ζ**) ;  
**B** Venise, Saint Lazare 680 (Sargisean 294), a. 1830, f. 111r-115v (recension **ζ**) ;  
**Cram.** J. A. CRAMER, *Catena graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*. Vol. II. Oxford, 1841, p. 105, lin. 13-22 ;  
**Sav.** Henri SAVILE, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν ἐνδοξομένων...* Vol. VII. Eton, 1612, p. 478-481 ;  
**Mser.** Mser Mseriants, *Տեառն Յովհաննու Քահանայի Վանանդացոց ճառ ներբողական ի սուրբ Խաչն Քրիստոսի, եւ պատմագրական առասացութիւն ի սուրբ նշանն Վարդապ, Moscou, 1853, p. 101-118.*

Εἰς τό· «Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν», καί· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν».

1 Αἱ τῶν νηπίων φιλότεκνοι μητέρες μέχρις ἂν πρὸς μείζονα ἡλικίαν  
καὶ δυνατωτέραν οἱ νήπιοι αὐξηθῶσι, τὰς γαλακτοτρόφους πηγὰς τῶν  
μαζῶν προΐσχειν τοῖς φιλότατοις, τὴν ἀνάγκαν τῆς τροφῆς τοῦ γάλακτος  
ὑφέλκειν αὐτοὺς κολακεύουσιν. Ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ πρὸς μείζονα ἡλικίαν καὶ  
5 αἰσθῇσιν ἔλθωσιν, ὥς καὶ ὁδοῦσι λοιπὸν τὰ τρυφερά τῶν βρωμάτων λε-  
αίνειν, τότε δὴ πρότερον αἱ μητέρες τὸ σκληρὸν τοῦ ἄρτου συντρίψασαι,  
ἀπαλὴν καὶ τρυφεράν δίκην μυελοῦ τὴν τροφήν ἐτοιμάσασαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ  
στόματι αὐτῶν ἐνοιχίζουσιν.

2 Τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλοι· τοῖς γὰρ ἔτι τὴν ἕξιν τῆς  
φρονήσεως νηπιάζουσιν οὐ δυσνόητα καὶ δυσδιάκριτα νοήματα προβάλλου-  
σιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον μητέρων τὴν θηλὴν τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῖς χαλάσαντες  
τὸ ἄδολον τοῦ λόγου γάλα πραέῳ πνεύματι ὑφέλκειν αὐτοὺς παραινοῦσιν.  
5 Εἰθ' ὁπόταν πρὸς μερίζονα νοημάτων κατὰλήψιν τὴν φρόνησιν αὐξηθῶσιν,  
μειζόνων αὐτοῖς μυστηρίων ἀποκαλύπτειν εἰώθασι νοήματα. Τοῦτο καὶ  
Παῦλος ἐποίει· νηπίοις γὰρ τισιν ἔτι τυγχάνουσι γράφων αὐτοῖς ἔλε-

**Tit., 1** Luc. 12, 49      **1/2** Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: *S P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*

**Tit.** τοῦ αὐτοῦ *prae*m. *S C S<sub>1</sub> Q*, τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου *prae*m. *P*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ περιήλθεν βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῇν γῆν. εὐλόγησον *I*, Ὑπερβασιλεῦ ἐρηβνι (*du prêtre Sévérien*) *prae*m. *arm.* **Tit., 1** Εἰς τό] *saawagwa* Ἰουλιανὸν *waite*ναυβήρη *uflit*ναυβήρη *np* *wał* [sur] la parole de l'évangile de Luc *qui* dit) *arm.*, < *Sav.* ἤλθον βαλεῖν<sup>2</sup> < *arm.* 2 εἰρήνην & εἰς τῇν γῆν *C*

1, 1 Αἱ τῶν ἀγίων *I* μέχρις *μέχρι Q* δ' ἂν *P C S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* ἡλικίας *S*  
2 αὐξηνῶσιν *I* 3 προῖσχοῦσαι *P*, προσισχοῦσαι *C*, προτείνουσαι *I* 4 αὐτοῖς *P*  
5 ἔλθουσιν *S<sub>i</sub>* τρυφρώτερα *C* λειαίνειν *P* 6 τότε δὴ *< S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* πρότε-  
ρον *< arm.* τὸν *I* συνθροῦσσαι *C I* 7 τρυφερὰν] τρυφερήν *I* τροφήν]  
τρυφήν *I* ἐν μέσῳ] ἐμμέσῳ *P, < S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* 7/8 τοῦ στόματος *I* 8 ἐνοικίξωσιν  
*P C*

2, 1 Τοιοῦτοί] τοιοῦτοι *P* εἰσιν + καὶ *I arm.* τοῖς] τοὺς *I* ἔτι] ἐπὶ *I S<sub>i</sub> Sav.*  
2 δυσνόητα + αὐτοῖς *S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* δυσδιάκριτα] + αὐτοῖς *P C I arm.* προσβάλλουσιν  
*S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* 3 χαλάσαντες] προσχαλάσαντες *I S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* 4 πρᾶεως *C*, πρᾶεῖ *Q<sup>a</sup>. corr.*  
*Sav.*, πρᾶῶ *Q<sup>b</sup>. corr.* πνεύματι] νείματι *S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* αὐτοῖς *P I* παραινῶσιν]  
παρκαλοῦσιν *S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* 5 εἴτα ὁπόταν *S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* ὁπόταν] ὁπότα *C* κατὰ λημ-  
ψιν *C* τὴν + αὐξήθῶσιν] τὴν φρόνησιν αὐξήσωσιν *I*, οἱ νήπιοι αὐξήθῶσι τῇ φρονήσει  
*S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.* 6 ἀποκαλύπτειν] ἄπτειν *P* 7 νήπιοι *C* γάρ – ἔτι] γάρ τισιν *P*, γάρ  
φῶσιν ἔτι *C*, γὰρ ἔτι *I*, γὰρ φῶσι *S<sub>i</sub> Q<sup>a</sup>. corr.*, γὰρ *Q<sup>b</sup>. corr.* *Sav.* ἐντυγχάνουσι *P* γρά-  
φῶν *I* αὐτοῖς < *S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.*

**Սեւերիանոսի երիցու ասացեալ Ղուկասու աւետարանին մեկնութենէն  
որ ասէ. «Հոր եկի արկանել յերկիր» եւ «Ոչ խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:**

1 Տղայոցն մանկասէր մարքն ցորքան առ ի մեծագոյն հասակն եւ զաւրաւոր  
մանկունքն աճեն, զկաթնասնոյց աղբիւր ստեանցն զաւրացուցանելով  
զառանց աշխատութեան զկերակուր կաթինն կարկառելով զնոսա ողորքն:  
Իսկ յորժամ ի մեծագոյնն հասակն եւ ի զգայականն եկեացեն, մինչ զի  
5 ատամամբ այնուհետեւ զփափուկսն ի կերակրոցն ճաշակել, յայնժամ  
մարքն զխստութիւնն կերակրոց փշրելով, կակուղ եւ փափուկ զաւրէն  
ուղղոց զկերակուրսն պատրաստեն ի ներքուստ ի բերանոյն իւրեանց  
ընտանեցուցանեն:

2 Այսպիսիք ոմանք են եւ եկեղեցւոյ վարդապետք, քանզի որոց տակ-  
աւին զբնութիւն մտացն տղայականս ունիցին, ոչ դժուարիմանալիս եւ  
դժուարորոշելիս նոցա զիմաստս առաջի արկանեն, այլ զաւրէն մարց  
զստինս մտաց ի նոսա խոնարհեցուցանեն, զանխարդախ բանին կաթն  
5 հեզ հոգւովն ձգել նոցա պատուիրեն: Եւ ապա յորժամ առ ի մեծագոյն  
իմաստիցն ըմբռնումն հանճարով աճեացեն, զմեծամեծաց խորհրդոցն  
նոցա յայտ առնել սովորեցին զիմաստսն: Այսպէս եւ Պաւղոս առնէր, զի

**Tit., 2** Luc. 12, 49      Matth. 10, 34

**Trad. text.:** *J j A B Mser.*

**Tit.** Սեւերիանոսի ի վերայ բանին, թէ «հոր եկի արկանել յերկիր» եւ այլն: *A*, Սեւերիանոսի  
(Մերերիանոսի *B*) Գաբաղացոց եպիսկոպոսի ճառ ի վերայ բանին, թէ «Հոր եկի արկանել  
յերկիր» եւ այլն *B Mser.*

1, **1** Տղայոցն տողոցն *J j* մանգասէր *J j* առ *< A B Mser.* մեծագոյն  
մատաղագոյն *B Mser.* զաւրաւոր յանգաւոր *B Mser.* **2** մանգունքն *J j*  
**3** զկերակուր վեցերորդ աւուր Յայտնութիւնն *j* կարկառելով կարկառել *B Mser.*  
նոսա *A B Mser.* ողորքն փութան *B Mser.* **4** հասակ *A B Mser.* մինչ զի մինչեւ  
*A B Mser.* **5** ատամամբ *A B Mser.* այնուհետեւ + զաւրել *B Mser.* զփափուկս  
*A B Mser.* ճաշակել ծաքել *A B Mser.* **6** զխստութիւն *A B Mser.* կերակրոց  
հացին *A B Mser.* փշրելով մանրելով *A B Mser.* **7** ուղղոցն *j* զկերակուրսն  
զկերակուրն *A B Mser.* պատրաստեն պատրաստեալ *A B Mser.* բերանոյ *j*  
**8** ընտանեցուցանեն *scripsi:* ընդանեցուցանեն *J j*, ընծայեցուցանեն *A B Mser.*

2, **1** են իցեն *A B Mser.*, + են *J* եւ – վարդապետք արդապետք եկեղեցւոյ *A*, եւ  
վարդապետք եկեղեցւոյ *B Mser.* **2/1** տակաւին սակաւիկ *A B Mser.* **2** տղայական  
տողցական *J* դժուարիմանալիս դժուար *j* **3/4** նոցա – զստինս *< j* **4** մտաց  
*< A B Mser.* զանխարդախ *A B Mser.* կաթն զկաթն *A B Mser.*  
**5** հոգւովն *J* Եւ զի *B Mser.* առ *< A B Mser.* **6** իմաստիցն բանից *A B Mser.*  
աճեացեն աճիցեն *A B Mser.* խորհրդոց *A B Mser.* **7** նոցա – սովորեցին նոցա  
յայտնել սովորեցին *A*, յայտնել սովորեցին նոցա *B Mser.* զիմաստս *A B Mser.*

γεν· «Γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρώματα». Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ποιεῖ· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἑξέως τῶν ἀκουόντων  
 10 τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν νοημάτων γραφὴν συσταθμισάμενος, ἐν ταῖς προ-  
 λαβούσαις ἡμέραις καθάπερ νηπίοις ἀπαλὴν καὶ εὐλυτον τὴν τροφήν τοῦ  
 λόγου ἡμῖν παρέσχετο, νυνὶ δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῆς φρονήσεώς τινων αὐξηθέντα  
 σκοπήσας μειζόνων ἡμᾶς ἀπολαύειν συγχωρεῖ διδαγμάτων.

3 Τί γὰρ φησίν; «Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν», καί· «Οὐκ ἦλθον  
 βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν». Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν νήπιοι ταῖς φρεσὶν οἴονται  
 ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ τὰ πάντα ἀναλῶσαι καὶ μαχαίρα τοὺς  
 πάντας κατασφάζει. Ἀλλὰ δεῦρο καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς νηπίοις νομίσαν-  
 5 τες τὰ τῶν νηπίων ῥήματα πρὸς τὸν κύριον διαλεχθῶμεν, ἵνα τοῦ κυρί-  
 ου ῥήματα τοῖς νηπίοις διαπορθμεύσωμεν.

4 «Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν». Πῦρ ἦλθες βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,  
 κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθες βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν; Ἀμαρτία ἡμῶν  
 κατηγωνίσαστο, θάνατος ἡμῶν ἐκυρίευσεν, γέννα πυρὸς ἡμῖν ἠπείλητο,  
 τὸ τῶν ἐναγῶν δαιμόνων στρατόπεδον κατηγωνίσαστο ἡμῶν καὶ σὲ ἄρω-  
 5 γὸν παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυττόμενον ἐξεδεχόμεθα, καὶ ἐλθὼν λέγεις·  
 «Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν», καί· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ  
 μάχαιραν»;

2, 8 1 Cor. 3, 2

3, 1 Luc. 12, 49 1/2 Matth. 10, 34

4, 1 Luc. 12, 49 Luc. 12, 49 2 Matth. 10, 34 6 Luc. 12, 49 6/7 Matth. 10, 34

**Trad. text.:** *S P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*

2, 8 καὶ οὐ *P arm.* βρῶμα *P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.* καὶ < *C S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.* 9 ἡμῶν + Ἰησοῦς  
 Χριστὸς *I* 10 γραφὴν] συγγραφὴν *I*, γραφῶν *S<sub>1</sub>*, γραφὴν *Q<sup>a. corr.</sup>* συνσταθμισάμενος  
*I* 12 παρέσχετο] προ *praem. Q<sup>can</sup>* νῦν *C* τινων] ἡμῶν *P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. arm.*  
 αὐξηθέντα *I* 13 ἀπολαύειν συγχωρεῖ *trsp. S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*  
 3, 1 γὰρ < *C* βαλλεῖν *I* 2 ἀλλ' οἱ] *Uhp (= ἄλλοι) arm.* 3 ἐληλυθέναι *P*  
 τῷ] τὸ *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.* μαχαίρη *P*, μαχαίρει *C* 4 τὰ αὐτὰ] τὸ αὐτὸ *I (quib) arm.*  
 νοήσαντες *S<sub>1</sub><sup>a. corr.</sup> Q<sup>a. corr.</sup> Sav.* 5 τῶν νηπίων] τοῦ κυρίου *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.* ἵνα < *arm.*  
 τοῦ] τὰ τοῦ *C* 6 ῥήματα] νοήματα *PI (Uhp) arm.* διαπορθμεύσωμεν] *huuuuuhgku*  
 ([pour que les pensées du Seigneurs] puissent joindre [les enfants]) *arm.*

4, 1 βαλλεῖν *I* βαλλεῖν *I* 2 κύριε < *arm.* βαλλεῖν *I* 3 γέννα *C*  
 ἠπείλητο] ἀπειλῇ *P*, ἀπίλκεται *C*, ἀπείλητο *I*, ἠπείληται *Q Sav.*, *uqunhuq (il menace)*  
*arm.* 4 τὸ < *I Q Sav.* ἡμῶν < *S* καὶ < *arm.* ἄρωντες] ὀρώντες *S*, ἄραγὸν  
*Q<sup>a. corr.</sup>*, βοηθὸν *I* 5 κηρυττόμενον] ἀκούοντες *P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.* (*uqunhu*) *arm.*  
 6 βαλλεῖν *I* βαλλεῖν *I* 7 μάχαιραν + τρόπαιον παρ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε πίστεως *S<sub>1</sub>*  
*Q Sav.*

գոր տակաւին տղայքն էին գրելով նոցա ասէր. «Կաթն ջամբեցի ձեզ եւ ոչ կերակուր»: Նոյն արինակ եւ Տէր մեր մինչեւ ցայժմ եւս առնէ, քանզի ըստ չափոյ բնութեան լսողացն զաւետարանական իմաստիցն զգիրս զուգակշռելով, ի յառաջագոյն ի ժամանեալ աւուրն իբր տղայոցն կակուղ եւ դիրալուծանելի զկերակուր բանին մեզ ընձեռէ, իսկ այժմ զհանճար իմաստութեան մերոյ աճեցեալ ետես, ի մեծամեծ աւանդութիւնսն թուլացուցանէ մեզ վայելել:

3 Եւ զի<sup>2</sup> նչ ասէ. «Հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր» եւ «ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»: Այլք ոմանք տղայք մտաւք կարծեցեալք եկեալ Տէրն յաղագս հրով զամենեսին ծախեալ եւ սրով զբոլորեսեան սատակել: Բայց եկայք եւ մեք զայն իբրեւ տղայք զմտաւածելով զտղայոցն բանս առ

5 Տէրն խաւսեցուք, <զի> զՏեառն միտք ի տղայսն հասանիցեն:  
4 «Հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր»: Հու<sup>3</sup> ր եկիր արկանել յերկիր եւ ո<sup>4</sup> չ եկիր արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր: Մեղք մեզ հակառակ նահատակեցան, մահ մեզ տիրեաց, գեհեան հրոյ մեզ սպառնայ, պիղծ դիւացն հոյլք յաղթահարեն զմեզ, զքեզ աւգնական ի մարգարէիցն լսելով վստահանայաք,  
5 եւ եկեալ ասես. «Հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր» եւ «ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:

2, 8/9 1 Cor. 3, 2

3, 1 Luc. 12, 49 1/2 Matth. 10, 34

4, 1 Luc. 12, 49 Luc. 12, 49 1/2 Matth. 10, 34 5 Luc. 12, 49 5/6 Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

2, 8 գոր] որք *A B Mser.* 9 կերակուր + հաստատուն *A B Mser.* եւ<sup>2</sup> < *A B Mser.*

11 ի – ժամանեալ] յառաջ քան զժամանել *A B Mser.* աւուրսն *j* իբր] իբրեւ *A B Mser.* տղայոց *j* 12 բանին < *J j* ընձեռէր *A B Mser.* այժմ + իբրեւ *A*, + զի *B Mser.* 13 իմաստութեանս *A B Mser.* մերոյ] մերոյ *J* աւանդութիւնս *A B Mser.*

14 թուլացուցանել] թողացուցանել *A B Mser.* մեզ վայելել *trsp. A B Mser.*

3, 2 Այլք] իսկ *A*, < *B Mser.* տղայք] տղայական *A B Mser.* կարծեցեալք] կարծեցին *A B Mser.* 2/3 եկեալ – սատակել] թէ եկեալ իցէ Տէրն հրով ծախել զամենեսին, եւ սրով սատակել զարարածս *A B Mser.* 3 զամենայն *j* 4 Բայց < *B Mser.* զայն] զնոյն *A B Mser.* զմտաւածելով – բանս] այնպիսի բանիւք *A B Mser.* 5 զի *suppleui* < *codd.* զՏեառն – հասանիցեն < *A B Mser.*

4, 1/2 Հուր – սուր] Հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր. եւ ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր *A*, < *B Mser.* 2 մեզ – նահատակեցան] հակառակ մեզ հաստատեցան *A B Mser.*

3 մեզ տիրեաց] զմեզ գրաւեաց *A B Mser.* գեհեան] գեհեանն *j*, գեհեն *A*, գեհենն *B Mser.* հրոյ] հրոյ *J j*, եւ հուր *A*, եւ հուրն *B Mser.* մեզ<sup>2</sup>] միշտ մեզ *A*, մեզ միշտ *B Mser.*

4 մեզ յաղթահարեն *A*, զմեզ յաղթահարեն *B Mser.* յաղթահարեն] յաղթահարեցին *j*

եւ զքեզ *A* ի – վստահանայաք] լինել (ունել *B Mser.*) ակն ունեաք, գալ եւ կեցուցանել ըստ կանխասաց բանից մարգարէիցն *A B Mser.* 5 եւ<sup>1</sup>] Իսկ դու բարերարդ *A B Mser.*



5 Τῇ τοῦ διαβόλου παρατάξει οὐκ ἰσχύομεν, ὅπλον γὰρ ἡμῖν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε πίστεως· τρόπαιον σφραγίδος οὐκ εἶχομεν, τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν ἔτι ὄντα τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἀποδύσας ὁ διάβολος ἐγύμνωσεν. Διὸ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν γυμνὸς βοηθείας ὑπάρχων πρὸς σέ ἐβόα λέγων·

5 «Δίκασον, κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς με, πολέμησον τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς με· ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου· ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων με· εἰπὸν τῇ ψυχῇ μου· “Σωτηρία σου ἐγὼ εἰμι”». Καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς βοήθειαν ἡμῶν λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν».

6 Καὶ ποῦ ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἰκεσία ἡ περὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς σέ γεγενημένη; «Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν, πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας ἡμῖν». Εἰρήνην ἰκετεύσαμεν, γαλήνης ἐδεήθημεν, πόλεμον οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν, μάχαιραν ἀπειπάμεθα, καὶ ἐλθὼν λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην,

5 ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»;

7 Δεινὸν αὐτῶν τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν στρατόπεδον τῶν ἐναγῶν δαιμόνων ἐξώπλισε, πάντας ἡμᾶς τῇ διστόμῳ ῥομφαίᾳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατασφάζας εἰς Ἄδην κατηκόντισεν. Διὰ τοῦτο οἶκτον παρὰ σοῦ αἰτούμενος πᾶς ἁγίων χορὸς πρὸς σέ ἀνεφθέγγετο λέγων· «Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ πρόσχες,

5 ὁ ὁδηγὼν ὥσει πρόβατον τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐμφάνηθι, ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς», καὶ ἐλθὼν λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»;

5, 1 cf. Rom. 6, 13 ; Rom.13, 12 ; 2 Cor. 6, 7      2 cf. Rom. 4, 11 ; 2 Cor.1, 22 ;  
2 Tim. 2, 19      Eph. 6, 14      3 cf. Gen. 3, 7, 10-11      5/8 Ps. 34, 1-3  
9 Matth. 10, 34  
6, 2 Is. 26, 12      4/5 Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: S P C I S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.

5, 2 a τρόπαιον des. I  
7, 1 a τὸ inc. V

5, 1 ἰσχύομεν P (qawruḡawp) arm.      2 τρόπαιον – εἶχομεν < S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      3 τῷ παραδείσῳ C S<sub>1</sub> Sav.      ἀποδύσας] ἐκδύσας S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav., ἀποδύσας C<sup>a</sup> corr.      διάβολος] uawuḡawuḡh (du Satan) arm.      4 πρὸς – ἐβόα] βοᾷ πρὸς σέ C, πρὸς σέ βοᾷ S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      ἐβόα] qnḡḡawp (nous avons crié) arm.      7 εἶπον P, εἶπον S<sub>1</sub>      8 ἡμῶν < arm.  
6, 1 πρὸς – γεγενημένη] προσεγγενομένη P      γεγενημένη + φησὶν γὰρ C, + τὸ S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      3 γαλήνης – ἠθελήσαμεν] μεγάλην ἥς ἐδεήθημεν S      γαλήνην P      οὐχ P  
7, 1 αὐτοῦ P C S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      2 πάντας ἡμᾶς trsp. V      2/3 εἰς – κατηκόντισεν < P  
3 αἰτούμενος παρὰ σοῦ C V, παρὰ σοῦ ἐλετοῦμεν S<sub>1</sub>, παρὰ σοῦ αἰτούμεν Q Sav.      ὁ πᾶς S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      4 ἀνεφθέγγετο P C; ἀπεφθέγγετο V      5 ὁδηγὸν C      Ἰωσήφ + ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβείμ S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.      6 καὶ ἐλθὼν + εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς P C V, lḡḡḡawuḡḡḡ (pour vivifier) arm., < S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.

5 «Առ սատանայի պատերազմ ոչ զաւրացաք, վասն զի զէն հաւատոյ ոչ գոյր մեզ, եւ զյաղթանակ կնքոցն ոչ ունէաք *զվահանն արդարութեան* մերոյ, մինչ դեռ ի գրախտին էր զԱդամ կողոպտեալ սատանայի մերկացոյց: Յաղագս որոյ իւրաքանչիւր ի մէնջ մերկ յաւգնականութենէն լեալ առ քեզ  
5 գոչեցաք ասելով. «Դատեա՛, Տէր, զրկողս իմ, եւ մարտիր ընդ պատերազմողս իմ, առ զէն եւ զվահան եւ արի աւգնեա՛ ինձ, հան զսուր յանդիման նեղաց, եւ արգել զնոսա, ասա դու ցանձն իմ. “Փրկութիւն քո ես եմ”»: Եւ եկեալ յաւգնութիւն ասէն. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:

6 Եւ ո՞ւր են սրբոցն աղաչանք յաղագս խաղաղութեան լեալ առ քեզ. «Տէր Աստուած մեր, խաղաղութիւն տուր մեզ, վասն զի՞ զամենայն հատուցեր մեզ»: Յաղագս խաղաղութեան պաղատիմք, վասն հանդարտութեան մաղթեմք, զպատերազմ ոչ կամիմք, ի սրոյ հրաժարիմք, եւ  
5 եկեալ ասէս. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:

7 Եւ դժնդակ զիւր զաւրսն հակառակ մեզ զպիղծ դէսն զինեաց, զամենայն զմեզ երկսայրի սրով մեղացն խողողեալ ի դժոխս էարկ: Վասն այնորիկ գթութիւն ի քէն խնդրելով ամենայն պար սրբոցն առ քեզ աղաղակէին ասելով. «Ո հովեստ Բարայէղի նայեաց, որ առաջնորդես որպէս խաշին  
5 Յովսէփու, երեսեաց զարթոն զգարութիւն քո եւ եկ կեցուցանել զմեզ», եւ եկեալ կեցուցանել ասէն. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:

5, 2 Eph. 6, 14      5/7 Ps. 34, 1-3      8 Matth. 10, 34  
6, 2/3 Is. 26, 12      5 Matth. 10, 34  
7, 4/5 Ps. 79, 2-3      6 Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: J j A B Mser.

5, 1 սատանայի J պատերազմն A B Mser. զաւրեցաք A B Mser. հաւատոյ J, հաւատոց j 2 մեզ] մեր A B Mser. կնքոյն A B Mser. 3 մերոյ] մերոյ J j, < B Mser. Ադամ B Mser. կողոպտեալ] կողոպտեաց A, + զնա B Mser. սատանայի] սատանայ եւ A B Mser. մերկացոյց + յանմահական լուսոյն A B Mser. 4 իւրաքանչիւր – մէնջ] ամենեքեան մեք A B Mser. լիեալ J j 5 Դատեա Տէր] Դատ արա ինձ Տէր առ (ընդ B Mser.) A B Mser. զրկողս իմ] զզրկողս իմ j, զրկողսն A, զրկողսն B Mser. 5/6 եւ – իմ² < A B Mser. 6 զզէն A B Mser. 7 նեղացն A B Mser. 7/8 Եւ² – ասէն] արդ եկեալ ասես A, այլ դու եկեալ ասես B Mser.

6, 1/3 յաղագս – մեզ < A B Mser. 1 լիեալ J j 2 խաղաղութիւն – մեզ < J A B 3 Յաղագս] որք յաղագս B Mser. պաղատիմք] պաղատին B Mser. 4 մաղթեմք] աղերսեմք A, աղերսեն B Mser. կամիմք] կամին B Mser. սրո j հրաժարիմք] հրաժարին B Mser.

7, 1 Եւ – զինեաց] թշնամին արդարութեան զգարսն իւր հակառակ մեզ զինեաց զդէսն A B Mser. դժնդակ J j զամենայն] զամենեսին A B Mser. 2 մեղացն < J խողողեալ – էարկ] խոցոտեաց. մեղաւք մերժեաց ի կենաց, եւ ի դժոխս արկ A B Mser. Վասն] յաղագս A B Mser. 3 ի – խնդրելով] խնդրելով ի քէն A B Mser. պար – աղաղակէին] սրբոցն սեռք (բազմութիւն B Mser.), պար առեալ առ քեզ գոչէին A B Mser. 4 Ո] որ A B Mser. հովեստ] հովուեսդ A B Mser. Բարայէղի] Բարայէղի j A Mser., զԲարայէղի B որ առաջնորդես < A B Mser. 5 երեսեաց] երեսեց զերեսս քո ի մեզ A B Mser. զգարութիւն] զարութիւնս քո j, զգարութիւնս A B Mser. 5/6 եւ – ասէն] ասես A, այլ ասես B Mser. 6 ի կեցուցանել A B Mser.

8 Ἀμαρτία ἡμῶν κατηγωνίσατο καὶ ποῦ ἡ σὴ ἐπαγγελία ἡ λέγουσα· «Ἰδοὺ ἐκκλίνω εἰς αὐτοὺς ὡς ποταμὸς εἰρήνης καὶ ὡς χεῖμαρρος ἐπιβλύζων δόξαν ἐθνῶν»; Ἡ ποῦ ἡ πρόρρησις τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡ λέγουσα· «Ἰδοὺ ἐξελεύσεται κύριος καὶ συντρίψει πόλεμον»; Συντριβέντος δὲ τοῦ  
5 πολέμου εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν ἐξεδεχόμεθα, καὶ ἐλθὼν λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»;

9 Προφῆτας προαπέστειλας, πατριάρχας προέπεμψας, ὅπλοις δικαι-  
οσύνης αὐτοὺς ἐθώρηξας πρὸς τὸ στῆναι τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ  
συντρίψαντας τὸν πόλεμον εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ βραβεῦσαι, ὡς εἶς αὐτῶν  
εὐχαριστῶν ἔλεγεν· «Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ διδάσκων τὰς χεῖράς μου εἰς  
5 παράταξιν, τοὺς δακτύλους μου εἰς πόλεμον». Καὶ οὗτοι ἡττηθέντες  
νῶτα δεδώκασι πρὸς σὲ βοῶντες, σὲ καλοῦντες βοηθόν· «Κύριε, κλῖ-  
νον οὐρανούς σου καὶ κατὰβηθι». Καὶ κλίνας οὐρανούς καὶ καταβάς ἐπὶ  
τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον  
βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»;

10 Τί δὲ καὶ μακαρίζεις τοὺς εἰρηνοποιοὺς λέγων· «Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρη-  
νοποιοί, ὅτι υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται»; Τί οὖν; Ὁ διδάσκων ἄλλους εἰρη-  
νοποιεῖν τί λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»; Τί δὲ  
λέγεις, ὃ ἀπόστολε Παῦλε, περὶ Χριστοῦ· «Αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν»;

8, 2/3 Is. 66, 12      4 Is. 42, 13      4/5 cf. Is. 42, 13      5/6 Matth. 10, 34  
9, 1 2 Cor. 6, 9      3 Is. 42, 13; Os. 2, 18      4/5 Ps. 143, 1      6/7 Ps. 143, 5  
7 cf. Ps. 143, 5      8/9 Matth. 10, 34  
10, 1/2 Matth. 5, 9      3 Matth. 10, 34      4 Eph. 2, 14

**Trad. text.:** S P C S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.

8, 1 Ἀμαρτία – κατηγωνίσατο < P C V S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav. arm.      ἡ σὴ] ἡσιν P      ἐπαγγελία]  
παραγγελία C V      2 ἐκλίνω P      εἰς] πρὸς C V      αὐτοὺς] δεq (vous) arm.  
εἰρήνης + ἡu (ma [paix]) arm.      χεῖμαρρους P S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.      ἐπιβλύζων P C V S<sub>i</sub> Q  
Sav.      3 Ἡ] ἐι (et) arm.      πρόρρησις C      4 ἐξελεύσεται] ἐξέρχεται S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.  
5 βαθεῖαν] καὶ βοήθειαν S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.      ἐλθὼν] πῶς V

9, 1 προαπέστειλας] προανέστειλας C      2 ἐθώρηξας] ἐστήριξας P, ἐθώραξας C,  
θωρίζας S<sub>i</sub>      τῷ P      στῆσαι C, ἀντιστῆναι Q Sav. (uon h p̄uηηt̄u h̄u) arm.      τὴν  
μάχην P C      3 τὸν πόλεμον < V      εἰς αὐτὸν P S<sub>i</sub> Q      5 τοὺς] ἐι (καὶ) praem.  
arm.      οὗτοι] αὐτοὶ C V      6 σὲ καλοῦντες] καὶ καλοῦντες P, καὶ καλοῦντες σε  
C V      βοηθόν] + λέγοντες S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav., < arm.      7 σου < P C V S<sub>i</sub> Sav. arm.      κλίνας]  
ἐκλινας S      οὐρανούς < arm.      7/8 ἐπὶ – αὐτὸ] ἐπὶ τὸ (τῷ P C) σῶσαι τὸ γένος  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων P C V S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav. (p̄r̄h̄t̄i q̄uq̄q̄ ūw̄r̄h̄l̄ūn) arm.      8 αὐτὸ] scripsi: αὐτῷ S  
λέγεις] ἐι ἡu, St̄p, w̄ūt̄u (et toi, Seigneur, tu dis) arm.

10, 1 δὲ καὶ] < arm.      καὶ < P C S<sub>i</sub> Sav.      λέγων – εἰρηνοποιοί < S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav.  
οἱ < V      2 αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ P C V (ūnp̄u η̄r̄h̄p̄) arm.      Ὁ διδάσκων] ἐδίδασκον P  
3 λέγεις + περὶ σεαυτοῦ P C V S<sub>i</sub> Q Sav. (j̄ūh̄w̄qu p̄n) arm.      3/5 Τί – μάχαιραν < S<sub>i</sub> Q  
Sav.      3 δὲ < P C V      4 ἀπόστολε Παῦλε trsp. arm.      ἡμῶν] + η̄r̄ w̄r̄w̄r̄ t̄r̄h̄l̄h̄u  
ūh̄ (lui qui des deux n'en a fait qu'un) arm.

8 Ո՞ր եւ անտիքն քո զորս ասէիր. «*Ահա խոնարհեցուցանեմ ի ձեզ իբրեւ զգետ զխաղաղութիւն իմ եւ իբրեւ զհեղեղ, որ ծածկիցէ զփառս հեթանոսաց*»: Եւ կամ ո՞ր նախաճառեալք սրբոց հարցն, որ ասէին. «*Ահա եկեացէ Տէր եւ խորտակեցէ զպատերազմ*»: Ի խորտակել պատերազմին  
5 խոր խաղաղաուտեանն մնացաք վստահացաք, եւ եկեալ ասես. «*Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր*»:

9 Մարգարէս յառաջագոյն առաքեցեր, զհայրապետսն կանխաւ յղեցեր, զինուք արդարութեան զնոսա վառեցեր առ ի ընդդէմ կալ սատանայական կռուոյ եւ խորտակել զպատերազմ, խաղաղութիւն աշխարհի ընձեռել, որպէս մի ոմն ի նոցանէ գոհանալով ասէր. «*Աւրինեալ Տէր, որ ուսոյց զձեռն իմ ի պատերազմն եւ զմատունս իմ ի ճակատամարտ*»: Եւ նոքա պարտեալ թիկունս ետուն, առքեզ գոչէին կոչէին աւգնական. «*Տէր, խոնարհեցո՛ զերկինս եւ էջ*»: Եւ մերձեցուցեալ իջէր փրկել զազգ մարդկան խաղաղութեամբ եւ դու, Տէր, ասես. «*Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր*»:

10 Ընդէ՞ր երանես զխաղաղարարսն ասելով. «*Երանի խաղաղարարաց, զի նոքա որդիք Աստուծոյ կոչեցին*»: Զի՞ նչ է: Որ ուսուցանես այլոց զխաղաղութիւն առնել, եւ զի՞ նչ զոր ասես յաղագս քո. «*Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր*»: Եւ ընդէ՞ր եւ դու, Պաւղոս առաքեալ, ասես

8, 1/3 Is. 66, 12      3/4 Is. 42, 13      4 cf. Is. 42, 13      5/6 Matth. 10, 34  
9, 2 2 Cor. 6, 9      3 Is. 42, 13; Os. 2, 18      4/5 Ps. 143, 1      6/7 Ps. 143, 5  
8 Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

8, 1 զոր *A B Mser.*      ասէիր + աշակերտացն քոց *A B Mser.*      Ահա < *A B Mser.*      2 զհեղեղ – ծածկիցէ] զհեղեղատ ծածկեցէ *A B Mser.*      3 Եւ] < *A B Mser.*      նախաճառեալք] նախաճառութիւնք *A B Mser.*      4 եկեացէ] ելցէ *A B Mser.*      4/5 Ի – մնացաք վստահացաք] զի յետ բառնալոյ պատերազմին խորին խաղաղութեանն ակն ունեաք *A B Mser.*

9, 1 զհայրապետսն – յղեցեր] հայրապետիւքն կանխագուշակեցեր *A*, հայրապետարն կանխագուշակեցեր *B Mser.*      կախաւ *J*      2 զինուն *B Mser.*      2/3 առ – կռուոյ] կալ ընդդէմ կռուոյ սատանայի *A B Mser.*      3 եւ < *A B Mser.*      եւ խաղաղութիւն *A B Mser.*      4 գոհանալով] գոհաբանելով *A B Mser.*      5 պատերազմ *A B Mser.*      պարտեալք *A B Mser.*      6 ետուն] դարձուցին *A B Mser.*      առ – աւգնական] զքեզ կոչելով յաւգնութիւն *A*, եւ առ քեզ գոչելով գոչէին *B Mser.*      խոնարհեցո] խոնարհեցոյ *J j*      7 մերձեցուցեալ] խոնարհեցուցեալ *A B Mser.*      իջէր *A B Mser.*      ի փրկել *A B Mser.*      8 դու – ասես] ասես *A B Mser.*

10, 1 ապա ընդէ՞ր *A B Mser.*      երանես] ասես *J j*      ասելով < *j*      2 է < *A B Mser.*      ուսուցանես այլոց *trsp. A B Mser.*      3 խաղաղութիւն *A B Mser.*      եւ < *B Mser.*      որ *A B Mser.*      4 Եւ] < *A B Mser.*      առաքեալ < *A B Mser.*

- 5 Οὐκ ἀκούεις αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»;

11 Ἐχθρὸς ἡμῖν γέγονεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν· μεσίτου ἐδεόμεθα τοῦ λύοντος μὲν τὴν μεταξὺ ἡμῶν ἔχθραν, εἰρήνην δὲ γλυκεῖαν βραβεύοντος, περὶ οὗ μεσίτου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰῶβ ἠύχετο λέγων· «Εἴθε ἦν ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν». Καὶ ἐλθὼν μεσιτεῦσαι καὶ λῦσαι τὴν ἔχθραν

- 5 τὰ ἐναντία λέγεις· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν»; Καὶ ἐν τίνι λοιπὸν τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰρήνης ἐκδεξόμεθα;

12 Ἀλλὰ ναί, πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμετέροις ποσὶ πεπατημένην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερσὶ πεπλασμένην. Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαις ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἐνέσπειρεν ἁμαρτημάτων, πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ

- 5 τὴν γῆν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἀνάλωσιν καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀνακαίνισιν· διὰ τοῦτο πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τί θέλω, εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη. Δεῖ με καθαρῖσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γῆν, δεῖ με τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου πικροφόρα καὶ βλαβοποιὰ βλαστήματα πυρὶ ἐξαναλῶσαι, ἵνα καθαρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν τὸν οὐράνιον σπόρον ἐνράνω· διὰ τοῦτο πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

10, 5 Matth. 10, 34

11, 4 Iob 9, 33 5 Matth. 10, 34

12, 1 Luc. 12, 49 4/5 Luc. 12, 49 6 Luc. 12, 49 9 Luc. 12, 49

**Trad. text.:** S P C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. Cram.

12, 1 a πῦρ inc. fragm. Cram. 9 a ἐνράνω des. fragm. Cram.

11, 1 Ἐχθρὸς – ἡμῶν] ἔχθρὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν P C V, διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν ἔχθρὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν ὁ κύριος S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. 1/2 μεσίτου ἐδεόμεθα] μεσιτενόμεθα C 2 μὲν < V δὲ < P 3 περὶ – Ἰῶβ] Καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰῶβ περὶ τοῦ μεσίτου S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. 4 ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> + καὶ ἐλέγχων Q Sav. 5 τὰ – λέγεις] *ti qhawhawhū* (et l'opposition) arm. λέγει C

12, 1 ναί + φησιν C V, *ku wuṭū* (moi, je dis) arm. ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> – γῆν<sup>1</sup> < arm. οὐκ – γῆν<sup>2</sup>] οὐ C, < S S<sub>1</sub> Sav. 1/2 ὑφ' ὑμετέροις] ὑψημεροις C 1 ὑφ'] ἐφ' P 2 πεπατημένην] πατουμένην C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. Cram. 2/3 ἀλλ' – πεπλασμένην < S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. 2 ὑπὸ – χερσὶ] ὑφ' ἐμαῖς χερσὶν P C Cram., ὑπ' ἐμαῖς χερσὶ V 3 πεπλασμένην sic P ἐν < Cram. 4 ἁμαρτιῶν S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav., < arm. ἦλθεν C βαλεῖν] ἐπιβαλεῖν Cram. 4/5 ἐπὶ – γῆν < arm. 5/6 πρὸς – γῆν < Cram. 5 πρὸς < S<sub>1</sub> Sav. καὶ – ἀνακαίνισιν < S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. ἀνακαίνωσιν P C I 6 ἦλθεν C τί < P C V I Q arm. 6/7 Δεῖ με < Q Sav. 6 Δεῖ + γάρ Cram. 7 με τὰ] μετὰ Q Cram. διαβόλου] *qUawhawhū* (du Satan) arm. πικροφόρα] πικρόφορα C 8 καθαρῶ] καθαρῶ Cram. καθαρὸν < S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. τὸν < P 9 ἐνράνω] ἐν οὐρανῶ Cram., *ḥnḥawhūghū* ([pour qu'] ils reçoivent) arm. ἐπὶ – γῆν < arm.

- 5 յաղագս Քրիստոսի. «Նա է խաղաղութիւն մեր, որ արար երկինս մի»: Ո՞չ լսես նա, որ ասէ. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»:

11 Թշնամի մեր եղեւ Աստուած յաղագս մեղաց մերոց, միջնորդի պէտս ունէաք լուծանողի, որ ի մէջ մեր է թշնամութիւնն, եւ զքաղցր խաղաղութիւն պարգեւէր, յաղագս որոյ միջնորդի եւ հայրն մեր Յոբ աղաչէր ասելով. «Եթէ էր միջնորդ մեր»: Եւ եկեալ միջնորդել եւ լուծանել զթշնամութիւն  
5 եւ զհակառակն. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»: Եւ յումէ՞ այսուհետեւ զյոյս խաղաղութեան վստահացուք ունել:

12 Այլ եւ ասեմ. «Հուր եկի արկանել», ոչ յերկիր որ ի ձերոց ոսիցդ կոխի, այլ յերկիր որ յիմոց ձեռաց ստեղծաւ: Վասն զի Սատանայ ի սիրտս մարդկան փուշ եւ տատասկ սերմանեաց, *հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր* ի փշոյն վատնումն եւ յոգոյն նորոգումն, վասն այնորիկ *հուր*  
5 *եկի արկանել յերկիր եւ կամիմ, թէ արդէն իսկ բորբոքեսցի*: Քանզի պարտ է ինձ մաքրել զերկիրն իմ, վայել է ինձ զՍատանայի զմահաբեր եւ զվնասակար փուշն հրով ծախել, զի մաքուր անձամբ զմաքուր զերկնային զսերմն ընդունիցին, յաղագս այսորիկ *հուր եկի արկանել յերկիր*:

10, 5 Eph. 2, 14

6 Matth. 10, 34

11, 4 Iob 9, 33

5 Matth. 10, 34

12, 1 Lc. 12, 49

3/4 Lc. 12, 49

4/5 Lc. 12, 49

8 Lc. 12, 49

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

10, 5 յաղագս] վասն *A B Mser.* որ<sup>1</sup> – մի < *A B Mser.* 6 այլ սուր < *A B Mser.*

11, 1 Թշնամին *B Mser.* մերաց *A B Mser.* 2 է] էր *A B Mser.* թշնամութիւն *A B Mser.* 3 պարգեւէր] պարգեւողի *A B Mser.* Յովբ *B Mser.* աղաւթէր եւ աղաչէր *A B Mser.* 4 միջնորդ մեր] միջնորդ *A*, միջնորդ *B Mser.* 4/5 Եւ – զհակառակն] եկեալ միջնորդէր, եւ լուծանէր զթշնամութիւն, արդ զայսմ զհակառակն ասես *A B Mser.* 5 յումմէ՞ *A B Mser.* 6 զյոյս խաղաղութեան < *A B Mser.* ունել] ընդունել զայս (+ զոր խնդրեմքս *B Mser.*) *A B Mser.*

12, 1 Այլ եւ] Այլազգ *B Mser.* ասեմ] ասէ *A B Mser.* ոսից *A B Mser.* 2 յիմոց ձեռաց] յիմոյն աջոյս *A*, յիմոյն աջոյ *B Mser.* 3 եկի + ասէ *A B Mser.* 4 յերկիր < *A B Mser.* փշոց *A B Mser.* վատնումն] վառումն *A B Mser.* յոգոյն նորոգումն] ի նորոգումն ոգւոց *A B Mser.* այնորիկ + ասեմ *A*, ասեմ թէ *B Mser.* 5 յերկիր < *A B Mser.* բորբոքեսցի] բորբոքիւր *A*, բորբոքէր *B Mser.* 6 զերկիր *A B Mser.* զսատանայ զմահաբեր] մահաբեր *j*, զղատնաբեր *A B Mser.* եւ < *B Mser.* 7 փուշն] զրոյսն *A B Mser.* 8 սերմն *A B Mser.* ընդունիցին] ընկալցի *A B Mser.* յաղագս այսորիկ] վասն այնորիկ *A B Mser.*, + ասեմ *B Mser.* յերկիր < *J A B Mser.*

13 Πλάσας ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ γῆς σπινθῆρα θείου πυρὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἐνώκισα πρὸς τὸ διαπύρως ἔχεσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτον τὸν θεῖον σπινθῆρα τῇ πολυχύτῳ κακίᾳ ὁ διάβολος χώσας κατέσβεσεν, δεῖ με πάλιν ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐτὸν θεῖον σπινθῆρα καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θερμὴν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαις ἐμβαλεῖν, ἵνα ἄδυτον καὶ καλλιφεγγῇ ἔχωσιν ἅπαντες τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἑξαψιν.

14 Κρυμῶ ἀσεβείας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ὁ διάβολος ἐνέκρωσεν· δεῖ με πῶρ βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἵν' ἐκλύσας καὶ χαυνώσας τὸν ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπιγεγεννημένον ταῖς ψυχαῖς χειμῶνα τῆς ἀπιστίας, εὐδιον καὶ γαληνιώσαν τὴν φρόνησιν καταστήσας ἀναθάλλειν καὶ γλοηφορεῖν αὐτὴν τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σπέρματα παρασκευάσω· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν.

15 Κηρύξατε ταῦτα, οἱ ἐμοὶ ἀπόστολοι, εὐαγγελίσασθε τοῦτο πᾶσι, συναγάγετε τὰ πεπλανημένα πρόβατα εἰς τὰς ἀγίας μάνδρας, εἵπατε αὐτοῖς· «Μὴ φοβηθῆτε τὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ὠρύμενον λέοντα, οὐκ ἦλθον γὰρ βαλεῖν αὐτῷ εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν».

14, 2 Luc. 12, 49      5/6 Matth. 10, 34

15, 2 cf. Matth. 10, 6      cf. Mich. 2, 12 ; Matth. 10, 6      3 1 Pet. 3, 14; 5, 8  
3/4 Matth. 10, 34

**Trad. text.:** *S P C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. Cram.*

14, 5 *a* αὐτὴν *des. S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav. (inc. pars aliae homiliae)*

13, 1 θεῖον *P C S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      2 μέσῳ] μέση *P C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      τῆς καρδίας] τὴν καρδίαν *P*, τῇ καρδίᾳ *C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      ἐνώκισα] ἐνοίκισα *C*, ὥκισα *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      τὸ] τῷ *P*      διαπύρως] διαπύρω *P C*, διάπυρον *V*, διὰ πυρὸς *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      ἔχεσθαι] ἐκθέσθαι *C V*      αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ *V*      τῆς < *P C V*      3 ἀγάπη *P*, ἀγάπην *C*      τοῦτον < *P*      σπινθῆρα + τοῦ πυρὸς *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      3/5 τῇ – σπινθῆρα] < *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*  
4 διάβολος] բաւսարկուի (le calomnieur) *arm.*      δεῖ με] պարտ էի արժանի (il m'est digne et convenant) *arm.*      τῆς γῆς *C V*      5 θεῖον σπινθῆρα *trsp. C I Q*      τὴν αὐτὴν] ταύτην τὴν *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      αὐτὴν] αὐτοῦ *P*      ταῖς – καρδίαις] < *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*  
6 ἐμβαλεῖν] ἐκβαλεῖν *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      ἵνα] ἦν *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      ἄδυτον] δυνάτον *C V*, ἀδύνατον *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*, արկանիւի շարիւ (un vêtement [pour empêcher] le mal) *arm.*      καὶ] ἵνα *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*, < *arm.*      καλλιφεγγῇ] καλλιφεγγές *P V*, καλλιφθεγγές *C*, καλλιφερές *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      ἅπαντες < *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*

14, 1 Κρυμῶ] κρυμῶ *P*, + γὰρ *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      τὰς < *P*      ἐνέκρωσεν ὁ διάβολος *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      διάβολος] Սատանայ (le Satan) *arm.*      2 με < *V*      ἵνα *C V S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*  
2/3 ἐκ – διαβόλου] ի Սատանայէ (du Satan) *arm.*      3 ἐπιγεγεννημένον] γεγεννημένον *V*  
4 φρόνησιν] φρένα *S<sub>1</sub> Q Sav.*      5 αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν *C*  
15, 1 ταῦτα] τοῦτο *P C*      2 μάνδρας + Թրիստուի (du Christ) *arm.*      3 λέοντα] δράκοντα *C*      γὰρ < *P C V*      4 αὐτῷ < *P C V*



13 Ստեղծեալ ի սկզբան զմարդն յերկրէ կայծ աստուածային հրոյն ի մէջ սրտի նորա բնակեցուցի յաղագս ջերմագոյն նմա ունելով Աստուած զսէրն: Եւ վասն զի զայն աստուածային կայծակն բազմահոս չարութեամբք բանասարկուն ծածկելով շիջոյց, պարտ եւ արժան է ինձ դարձեալ գալովս  
5 յերկիր զնոյն աստուածային փայլակն եւ զնոյն ջերմութիւնն մարդկան ի սիրտ արկանել, զի արկանելի չարին գեղեկափայլ ունիցին ամենեքեան զշոգւոյն սրբոյ զճառագայթս:

14 Սառնամանեալք ամբարշտութեան Սատանայ զանձինս մարդկան եսպան, պարտ է ինձ *հուր արկանել յերկիր*, զի լուծանելով եւ մեղկելով ի Սատանայէ զլեալ զձմեռն անհաւատութեան, անքոյթ եւ խաղաղական զմիտս կացուցից առ ի զուարճանալ եւ դալարաբեր լինել զարդարութեան  
5 սերմանս պատրաստեցից, վասն այնորիկ *ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր*:

15 Քարոզեցէք զայս, իմ առաքեալք, աւետարանեցէք ամենեցուն, ժողովեցէք զմոլորեալ ոչխար ի սուրբ փարախն Քրիստոսի, ասացէք նոցա. «Մի երկնչիք, որ հակառակ ձեզ *գոչէ առիւծն, ոչ եկի արկանել մնա խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր*»:

14, 2 Lc. 12, 49      5/6 Matth. 10, 34

15, 2 cf. Matth. 10, 6      3 1 Pet. 5, 8      3/4 Matth. 10, 34

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

13, 1 ի<sup>1</sup> – զմարդն] իսկ զբարի մարդն *A*, իսկ բարի զմարդն *B Mser.*      զկայծ *A B Mser.*      1/2 ի<sup>2</sup> – սրտի] ի սրտի *A B Mser.*      2/3 ունելով – զսէրն] ունելոյ զսէրն առ Աստուած *A B Mser.*      4 բանասարկուն *A B Mser.*      դարձեալ + վերստին *A B Mser.*      5 աստուածային] զաստուածային *B Mser.*      փայլակն *J*      իսկ զջերմութիւնն *A B Mser.*      5/6 մարդկան – արկանել] զմարդկան ունել *A*, մարդկան տալ ունել *B Mser.*      6/7 արկանելի – զճառագայթս] աստուածային եւ գեղեցկապէս փայլեցեն ամենեքեան զճառագայթս *A*, գեղեցկապէս ամենեքեան փայլեցեն ճառագայթիւք *B Mser.*      6 արկանելի] անմտանելի *j*      ամենեքեան *J*

14, 1 սառնամանեալք *J*      1/2 Սատանայ – եսպան] զանձինս մարդկան սատանայ սպան *A B Mser.*      1 Սատանայ] Սատանա *J*      3 ի] զ'ի *A B Mser.*      զլեալ] զլիեալ *j*, լեալ *B Mser.*, < *J*, + ոգւոց *A B Mser.*      զձմեռն] զժմեռն *B*      խաղաղական] խաղաղ *A B Mser.*      4 դալարաբեր *J*      5 զսերմանս *A B Mser.*      պատրաստեցից] պտղաբերելով *A B Mser.*

15, 2 զմոլորեալ ոչխար] զհաւտն իմ հոգեւոր *A B Mser.*      ի – Քրիստոսի] ի փարախն սուրբ *A B Mser.*      2/3 ասացէք – առիւծն] տուք նոցա աւետիս մի երկնչել ի հակառակորդին յառիւծակերպ գոչմանէն *A B Mser.*      3 զի ոչ *A B Mser.*

- 16 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ πρέσβεις εἰρήνης ἀποστέλλει πρὸς με βοῶντας καὶ λέγοντας· «Οἶδαμέν σε, τίς εἶ», ὥς ἐκ τούτου δυσωπῆσαι με νομίζων καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην κάμψαι· ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν αὐτῷ εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν. Ἔτι μὴ θεωρήσας, ὅτι πόλεμον αὐτῷ ἀπειλῶ, ἀναβοᾷ  
 5 μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στρατοπέδου λέγων· «Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; Ἦλθες πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;» Ναί, λέγε· «Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί;» Τοὺς πάντας ὀξέσιν ἀμαρτίας κατεσφάξατε, ἀπατηλῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐσκοτώσατε, ἀχλύϊ ἀγνωσίας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν τῆς διανοίας ἐνεχώσατε ὥς τὰ ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκθειάζε-  
 10 σθαι, καὶ λέγετε· «Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου;» Δεῖ με τὴν μάχαιραν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν ὀξύναι· δεῖ με εἰς τὸν Ἄδην καταδραμεῖν ἔωντα τὸ λάβωρόν μου τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ στρατο-  
 15 πεδάρχαις τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει συγκεκραμένον· δεῖ με καταδραμεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἄδην ἀκκεῖ τὴν κοιλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀνατε-  
 15 μεῖν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ κατεχομένας ψυχὰς πρὸς ζωὴν ἐκπετάσαι· οὐκ ἦλθον γὰρ βαλεῖν αὐτῷ εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν.

- 17 Ἰσχύσατε χεῖρες ἀνημέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα, παρακαλέ-  
 σατε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους τῇ διανοίᾳ, εἶπατε· «Ἰσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε». Ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἠκούσατε προφήτου λέγοντος· «Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπά-  
 5 φεύγοντα, καὶ ἀνελεῖ τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κρυπτόμενον»;

16, 2 Luc. 4, 34      3/4 Matth. 10, 34      5/6 Matth. 8, 29      6/7 Matth. 8, 29  
 10 Matth. 8, 29      15/16 Matth. 10, 34  
 17, 1/2 Is. 35, 3-4, cf. Hebr. 12, 12      3/5 Is. 27, 1

Trad. text.: S P C

16, 1 a καὶ des. V      8 a αὐτῶν denuo inc. I

16, 1 πρέσβεις] προέβρεις P      2 τούτου] τοῦ P      με] μὲν C      3 ἀγνώσει] ἠγνώσει C  
 4 μὴ] μὴν P C (ἡὺ) arm.      5 ἡμῖν] ὑμῶν C      σὺ C      5/6 θεοῦ – ὑψίστου] θεοῦ  
 λέγων τοῦ ζῶντος C      6 λέγε] λέγετε P, wuḥ (il dit) arm.      7 σὺ C      ὀξέσιν ἔξουσιν  
 C      ἀμαρτίας] ἀμαρτίαις P      ἀπατηλῇ] τι (et) praem. arm.      8/9 τῆς διανοίας  
 αὐτῶν P C      9 παρ' αὐτοῖς] παρ' αὐτῶν P, αὐτοὺς I      10 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν I      σὺ P I  
 Δεῖ με] δεῖναι I, wḥrwn ti wḥdwn t ḥuā (il m'est digne et convenant) arm.      12 λάβωρόν]  
 λαβρόν με I      στρατοπεδάρχαις καὶ στρατιώταις C I arm.      καὶ στρατοπεδάρχαις  
 < P      13 θείᾳ] σῇ C      συγκεκραμένον] ἡuḥhū (τοῦ σταυροῦ) arm.      14 μαχα-  
 αῖρα – σταυροῦ] μαχαίρει P C (uḥḥu) arm.      16 γὰρ < P I arm.      βαλεῖν αὐτῷ  
 trsp. I      βαλλεῖν I

17, 1 παρακαλέσατε] παρακαλεύσατε C      2 εἶπατε + ἰσχύσατε χεῖρες ἀνημέναι καὶ  
 γόνατα παραλελυμένα, παρακαλέσατε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους τῇ διανοίᾳ P<sup>capugn.</sup> Ἰσχύσατε  
 < I      φοβεῖσθαι P C I      3 ἡ P, εἰ C I      4 τὴν – μάχαιραν] τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἀρίαν I      ὄφιν σκόλιον] ἡuḥuḥrḥḥḥḥḥḥ ti (qui échappe et [fuit]) arm.      τὸν ὄφιν P I  
 5 ἀνελῇ C

16 Քանզի նա հրեշտակս խաղաղութեան առաքէ առ իս գոչելով եւ  
 ասելով. «Գիտեմք զքեզ  $n^{\circ}$  էս», որպէս զի այնոքիկ հաւանեցուցանել  
 զիս կարծիցէ եւ ի խաղաղութիւն խոնարհեցուցանել, բայց անգիտանայ,  
 թէ ոչ եկի արկանել մնա խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր: Արդէն իսկ ետես,  
 5 թէ պատերազմաւ նմա սպառնամ, գոչէ հանդերձ իւրով բանական  
 ասելով. «Զի  $^{\circ}$ նչ մեր եւ քո, Որդի Աստուծոյ բարձրելոյ. Եկիր յառաջ քան  
 զԺամանակն տանջել զմեզ»: Այո ասէ. «Զի  $^{\circ}$ նչ մեր եւ քո»: Որ զամենեսեան  
 սրով մեղաց խողխողեցէք եւ խաբէական վարդապետութեամբ զնոսա  
 խաւարեցուցուք, մթով անգիտութեան զաչս մտաց նոցա ծածկեցէք մինչեւ  
 10 զփայտս եւ զքարինս առ ինքեանս աստոածացուցանել, եւ ասէք. «Զի  $^{\circ}$ նչ  
 կայ մեր եւ քո, Որդի Աստուծոյ բարձրելոյ»: Պարտ եւ արժան է ինձ զսուրն  
 ընդդէմ սրել, պատշաճագոյն է ինձ ի դժոխս իջանելով ընթանալ, թողլով  
 դեղ խաչին իմոյ զաւրականաց եւ զաւրացն աստուածային զաւրութիւնսն  
 խառնեալ, պարտ է ինձ ի դժոխս ընթանալ եւ անդ զորովայն վիշապին  
 15 հերձանել սրովս եւ որ ի նմա են արգելեալ հոգիք ի կեանս թոռուցանել: Ոչ  
 եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր:

17 Զաւրացարուք ձեռք լքեալք եւ ծունգք կրօնցեալք, մխիթարեցէք  
 զկարճամիտս խորհրդովք, ասացէք. «Զաւրացարուք եւ մի երկնչիք»: Ո՞չ  
 արդեաւք լուարուք ի մարգարէէն, որ ասէ. «Յայնմ աւուր ածցէ Տէր զսուրն  
 իւր ի վերայ վիշապին խոտորեցելոյ եւ փախուցելոյ, եւ սպանցէ զվիշապն,  
 5 որ ի մէջ ծովուն թագուցեալ է»: Արդ ասացէք մարդկան, մխիթարուցէք

16, 2 Luc. 4, 34      4 Matth. 10, 34      6/7 Matth. 8, 29      7 Matth. 8, 29  
 10/11 Matth. 8, 29      15/16 Matth. 10, 34  
 17, 1/2 Is. 35, 3-4, cf. Hebr. 12, 12      3/5 Is. 27, 1      5/6 Is. 35, 4

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

16, 1/4 Քանզի – սուր < A B Mser.      3 անգիտանա J j      4 մնա < j  
 5 պատերազմաւ – սպառնայ] պատերազմ սպառնայ A B Mser.      հանդերձ < A B Mser.  
 6 Աստուծոյ < A B Mser.      7 Այո] այս j      ասէք A B Mser.      որք A B Mser.  
 8 վարդապետութեամբն A      9 խաւարեցուցուք] խոտորեցուցէք A B Mser.      ծածկեցէք]  
 խաւարեցուցէք A B Mser.      9/10 մինչեւ – եւ<sup>2</sup>] մինչ զի զփայտս եւ զփայինս աստուած  
 նոցա ձեւացուցէք A, < B Mser.      11 կայ մեր < A B Mser.      կա J j      Բարձրելոյ J j  
 12 եւ պատշաճագոյն A B Mser.      12/13 իջանելով – խաչին] ընթանալ թողլով զարեղ  
 խաչին A, ընթանալ թողլով զխաչին B Mser.      13 զաւրականաց] զաւրականացն j,  
 զաւրութիւն զաւրականաց A B Mser.      զաւրացն] զաւրավարացն A, զաւրավարաց B Mser.  
 աստուածային զաւրութիւնսն] ընդ աստուածային զաւրութեան A B Mser.      14 խառնեալ  
 scripsi: խառնել J j, խաչին A, խաչիս B Mser.      14/15 վիշապին – սրովս] աւձին սրով  
 հերձանել A B Mser.      14 վիշապի j      15 արգելեալ + են J j      ոգիք A B Mser.  
 17, 1 ծունկք A B Mser.      2 խորհրդովք ասացէք < j      խորհրդով A B Mser.      եւ <  
 B Mser.      3 արդեւք J      լուարուք] լուարք A B Mser.      Յայնմ աւուր] յաւուր յայմնիկ  
 A B Mser.      4 իւր + սուրք A B Mser.      վիշապ A B Mser.      խոտորեցելոյ] աւձին  
 կամակորի A B Mser.      5 մէջ < A B Mser.

- Εἶπατε οὖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, παρακαλέσατε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, οἱ ἀπόστολοι, λέγοντες· «Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον τῷ ἔχθρῳ ὑμῶν βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν». Ἡ ἐμὴ μάχαιρα ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐστὶ μάχαιρα θλίψεως, ὑμῖν δὲ ἄγκυρα πίστεως. Πολλὰς ἐτῶν περιόδοις ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ ἐδουλεύσατε, πολλοῖς χρόνοις φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς τῷ διαβόλῳ συνεδήσατε ποιοῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰ θελήματα. Δεῖ δὲ ἔχθραν ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν βαλεῖν, δεῖ με ἔχθρους ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ φίλων αὐτῷ καταστῆσαι, ἵν' αὐτοῖς δακτύλοις, οἷς ἐργασάμενοι τὰ ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους θεοὺς ἀνηγορεύσατε, τούτους πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δακτύλοις καταστρέψετε. Δεῖ με ἔχθραν καὶ μάχαιραν ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου βαλεῖν, ἵνα οὗς τῇ γλώσσει ἐσέβεσθε ὡς θεοὺς, τούτους τῇ γνώμῃ πάλιν βδελύξησθε, οὐκ ἦλθον γὰρ βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀνὰ μέσον ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν. Ἐὰν μὴ χαλάσω τῷ ἔχθρῳ ὑμῶν μάχαιραν, ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔσται εἰρήνη.

**18** Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκλαβέσθαι τὸ ῥητὸν τό· «Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν καὶ διαμερισμόν», σκόπησον τὴν ἀγίαν Θέκλαν, τὴν ποτε Ἑλληνίδα, ἀκούσασαν Παύλου διδάσκοντος καὶ εὐθύς διὰ τὸν λόγον ἀποκοπεῖσαν πατρός, μητρός, φίλων, συγγενῶν, οἰκετῶν, γάμου

17, 6 Is. 35, 4      7/8 Matth. 10, 34      9 cf. Hebr. 6, 19      14/15 cf. Matth. 10, 34  
16/17 Matth. 10, 34

18, 1/2 Matth. 10, 34      2 Luc. 12, 51

Trad. text.: S P C I

17, 16 a οὐκ inc. fragm. Cram.      18 a εἰρήνην des. fragm. Cram.

17, 7 γὰρ < arm.      τῷ – ὑμῶν] αὐτὸν I      ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν (= ἡμῶν) arm.  
8 ἐκείνῳ] ἐκείνων I      ἡμῖν I      9 ἐτῶν] τῶν C      περιόδοις] πολλαῖς I  
αὐτῷ] Սատանայի (au Satan) arm.      9/10 πολλοῖς χρόνοις] πολλῶ χρόνῳ C  
10 τῷ διαβόλῳ] ընդ Սատանայի (au Satan) arm.      11 δὲ] με P C I (húd) arm.  
ἀνὰ – ἔχθρους < I      12 ἵν' αὐτοῖς] ἵν' οἷς P (qñ nñuñp) arm., ἵνα ἐν οἷς C, ἵν' ἐν  
οἷς I      οἷς < P C I      ἐργασάμενοι] εἰργάσασθαι C      13 θεοὺς] ἐι (et) praem.  
arm.      ἀνηγορεύσατε] ἀναγορεύσατε P      τούτους] զմեզ (vous[-mêmes]) arm., trsp.  
ante ἀνηγορεύσατε arm.      14 δακτύλοις < arm.      Δεῖ] Ὑπὲρ (alors) praem. arm.  
ἔχθραν καὶ < arm.      ἔχθραν] ἔχθρους C      15 τοῦ διαβόλου] Սատանայի (du Sa-  
tan) arm.      βαλλεῖν I      ἵνα] καὶ βάλλω εἰς I      γλώττη I      ὡς < P C I arm.  
16 τῇ – βδελύξησθε] πάλιν τῇ γνώμῃ βδελύξασθε αὐτούς I      γὰρ < arm.      βαλλεῖν I  
16/17 ἀνὰ – ὑμῶν < I Cram.      17 μάχαιραν + νῦν C; + իմ (mon [éree]) arm.  
18 ἔστιν C (t) arm.      εἰρήνην C  
18, 1 δεῖ] պարտ է արժան է (il est digne et convenant) arm.      ἐκλαβέσθαι]  
ἐκλαβεῖν C, ἐκβάλεσθαι P (-λλ-) I      ῥητὸν + τοῦτο I      2 καὶ < I      σκόπευσον C  
3 Παῦλον I      εὐθέως P      3/4 τῶν λόγων S, յառաջ բանի Ստանիդն (à cause de la  
parole de Dieu) arm.      4 πατρός + καὶ P I, + իրմէ ([de] son [père]) arm.      μητρός  
< arm.      φίλων συγγενῶν trsp. I, յազգականաց էի հիւրերէաց (des compatriotes et des  
amis) arm.      γάμου] յամուսնի (du conjoint) arm.

- զկարճամիտս, ով առաքեալք, ասելով. «Ոչ եկն թշնամոյն մերոյ արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր»։ Քանզի իմ սուրն նմա սուր նեղութեան, իսկ ձեզ խարիսխ հաւատոյ։ Զբազում շրջանակս ամաց դուք նմա ծառայեցէք, յոլով ժամանակս սիրով զձեզ ընդ Սատանայի կապեցէք առնելով զկամս նորա։
- 10 Պարտ է ինձ այսուհետեւ թշնամութիւն ի մէջ ձեր արկանել, իրաւացի է ինձ թշնամիս զձեզ փոխանակ սիրելեաց նմա կացուցանել, զի որովք մատամբք գործեցէք զփայտս եւ զքարինս եւ աստուածս զձեզ անուանեցէք, զնոսին դարձեալ նոքիմբք կործանիցէք։ Արդ պատշաճագոյն է ինձ սուր ի մէջ ձեր եւ Սատանայի արկանել, զի զոր լեզուով պաշտէիք զաստուածս, ի նոցանէ
- 15 դարձեալ կամաւք զարշիցիք։ Ոչ եկի խաղաղութիւն արկանել ի մէջ ձեր, այլ սուր։ Եթէ ոչ խոնարհեցուցանիցէ զթշնամին ձեր սուրն իմ, ձեզ ոչ է խաղաղութիւն։

18 Եւ եթէ պարտ եւ արժան է մի այլազգ առնուլ զճառեալս. «Ոչ եկի արկանել խաղաղութիւն, այլ սուր եւ որոշումն», տեսե՛ք զսուրբ Թեկղ, որ երբեմն հեթանոս էր եւ լսելով զվարդապետութիւնն Պաւղոսի վաղվաղակի յաղագս բանին Աստուծոյ ի բաց զատեալ ի հաւրէ իւրմէ, յազգականաց

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17, 6/7 Matth. 10, 34

15/16 Matth. 10, 34

18, 1/2 Matth. 10, 34

2 Lc. 12, 51

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Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

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17, 6 թշնամոյն *Jj* մերոյ] մերոյ *J*, < *AB Mser.* 7 սուր + է *AB Mser.* 8 հաւատոց *AB Mser.* բազում *AB Mser.* շրջանակս *A Mser.* դուք նմա] Սատանայի *AB Mser.* ծառայեցէք] ծառայեցիս *A Mser.*, ծառայեցիք *B* 9 Սատանայի] նա *AB Mser.* կապեցիք *AB Mser.* առնելով – նորա] զկամս նորա կատարելով *AB Mser.* 10 զթշնամութիւն *AB Mser.* 11 որով *AB Mser.* մատամբ *J j* 12 գործեցիք *AB Mser.* զձեզ] ձեզ *j*, < *AB Mser.* անուանեցիք *AB Mser.* 13 նոքիմբք] նոքիմբ *J j*, մատամբք ձերովք *AB Mser.* Արդ < *AB Mser.* 14 զորս *AB Mser.* լեզուաւ *AB Mser.* զաստուածս] աստուածս աստարս *A*, զաստուածս ար աստարս *B* 15 կամաւք < *AB Mser.* զարշիցէք *A* խաղաղութիւն արկանել *trsp. AB Mser.* 16 խոնարհեցուցանիցէ զթշնամին] խոնարհեցուցից ի թշնամին *AB Mser.* զսուր *AB Mser.* է < *j*

18, 1 մի < *AB Mser.* այլազգ + եւս *AB Mser.* 2 զսուրբ Թեկղ] զԹեկղ *AB Mser.* 3 էր] գոլով *AB Mser.* եւ լսելով] բայց յորժամ լուաւ *AB Mser.* զվարդապետութիւնն] զվարդապետութիւն *AB Mser.* 3/4 վաղվաղակի – Աստուծոյ *scripsi*: յաղագս բանին Աստուծոյ *J j*, վաղվաղակի *AB Mser.* 4 զատաւ *AB Mser.* ի<sup>2</sup> – իւրմէ] յազգատոհմից *AB Mser.* հաւրէ] հաւրէն *j* 4/5 յազգականաց – սիրելեաց] սիրելեաց եւ յազգականաց *j*, եւ ի սիրելեաց յազգականաց *AB Mser.*

- 5 τρυφῆς. Σκόπησόν μοι καὶ τὸν ποτε διώκτην καὶ ὑβριστὴν Σαῦλον μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα οὐρανόθεν τοῦ λόγου καὶ παυσάμενον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθέντα Παῦλον, τὸν ποτε μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑπερμαχοῦντα Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστῷ πολεμοῦντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀντιδικοῦντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντα Χριστῷ. Καὶ ὅψει, πῶς
- 10 ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καθάπερ μάχαιρα διαμερίζει ἀπὸ συγγενῶν καὶ ἰδίων τοὺς πιστούς. Περὶ τούτου τοῦ πυρὸς ὁ προφήτης ἐβόα λέγων· «Καὶ ἀγιάσει αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρὶ». Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἰωάννης βοᾷ λέγων· «Αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ». Ταύτην τὴν μάχαιραν καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἰστόρησεν, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι λέγοντος·
- 15 «Ἴδου τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἡ μάχαιρα, ποῦ τὸ πρόβατον, πάτερ»;

19 Τούτου τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει εἶδε τὴν δύναμιν· εἶδε γὰρ τὴν βάτον καιομένην καὶ μὴ καταφλεγομένην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πατέρες διηγῆσαντο. Εἰδέναι φασι τὸν Μωϋσέα εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς τικτούσης καὶ μὴ φθειρομένης· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ βάτος ἐκαίετο καὶ οὐ κατεκαίετο, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Μαρία ἔτικτε καὶ οὐκ ἐφθειρετο. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἄλλως εἰπεῖν, εἶδε τὴν βάτον καιομένην καὶ μὴ κατακαιομένην, τουτέστι τὴν ποτε ἀκανθηφόρον ἀνθρωπότητα τῷ πνεύματι τὰς νυττούσας τὴν ψυχὴν ἁμαρτίας καθαιρομένην, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν φωτιζομένην καὶ μὴ φθειρομένην.

18, 5/6 cf. Ac. 8-9      7 cf. Ac. 13, 9      11/12 Is. 10, 17      12/13 Matth. 3, 11  
15 Gen. 22, 7  
19, 1/2 cf. Ex. 3, 2      6 cf. Ex. 3, 2

Trad. text.: S P C I

18, 5 μετὰ + δὲ P C I      6 τοῦ οὐρανόθεν λόγου C      8 ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων C, τῶν Ἰουδαίων I      τῷ Χριστῷ I      ταῦτα + τὰ(?) S (male legitur)      διὰ < C I  
9 ἀντιδικοῦντα] ἀντιδεικνύντα P      τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις P C I      Χριστῷ] Χριστοῦ P I, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ C      Καὶ < C arm.      10 διαμερίζει] μερίζει C, η̅ρη̅η̅ε̅ω̅ (a séparé) arm.  
11 Καὶ < I arm.      12 βοᾷ] ἐβόα P C I (ω̅η̅ω̅η̅η̅η̅η̅) arm.      14 ὡς ἔστιν] ὡς τὴν C ἀκούσαι λέγοντος trsp. P C I      15 ἡ μάχαιρα] τὰ ξύλα καὶ ἡ μάχαιρα C, τὰ ξύλα I, uhuu unip (ἰδοὺ ἡ μάχαιρα) arm.

19, 2 καταφλεγομένην] κατακαιομένην P C I      3 φασι] φησὶν C      Μωσέα P C  
4 γὰρ < I      5 οὕτως C I      Μαρία] ἁγία θεοτόκος praem. S      ἔτικτε] ἔτεκεν P δει] uhuu u̅i u̅h̅u̅u̅ u̅i u̅h̅u̅u̅ u̅i (il est digne et convenant) arm.      6 τουτέστι < C      7 ποτε + μὲν C      ἀκανθηφόρον C I      τοῦ πνεύματος I      7/8 πνεύματι – καθαιρομένην] q̅h̅u̅n̅g̅h̅u̅n̅e̅w̅ u̅h̅u̅d̅h̅i̅u̅ ž̅n̅q̅i̅n̅i̅p̅ h̅ u̅h̅e̅w̅u̅g̅ u̅h̅u̅p̅h̅e̅w̅u̅ (épurant des péchés, par l'Esprit, les âmes couvertes de plaies) arm.      7 νυττούσας] συνταπτούσας P      8 καθαιρομένην – φωτιζομένην] κατακαιομένην, τὴν ψυχὴν καθαιρομένην καὶ φωτιζομένην I μὴ < C

- 5 եւ ի սիրելեաց, ի ծառայից, յամուսնոյ, ի փափկութենէ: Տես, որ երբեմն հալածիչ եւ թշնամանիչն էր Սաւղոս եւ յետ այնորիկ լսելով զբանն յերկնից դադարեաց յարինակէն եւ յաղագս նորին կոչեցաւ Պաւղոս, որ երբեմն անգիտութեամբն կոռուակից էր Հրէից եւ ընդ Քրիստոսի պատերազմէր եւ յետ այնորիկ յաղագս բանին Աստուծոյ ոսոխ լինէր Հրէիցն եւ մարտակից Քրիստոսի: Տեսանես, զհարդ բանն Աստուաոյ իբրեւ զսուր որոշեաց յազգականաց եւ յընտանեաց զհաւատացեալն: Յաղագս այսր հրոյ մարգարէն գոչէր ասելով: «Սրբեցէ զնա հրով»: Վասն այնորիկ եւ Յովհաննէս աղաղակէր ասելով. «Նա զձեզ մկրտեցէ Հոգւով սրբով եւ հրով»: Զայս սուր եւ զհուր Իսահակ պատմեաց, որպէս լսել ի մնանէ, որ
- 15 ասէրն. «Ահա հուր եւ ահա սուր, ու՞ր է ոչխար, հայր»:

19 Զայս հրոյ զարութիւն եւ Մովսէս ետես ի լերինն, քանզի ետես զմորենին վառեալ եւ ոչ այրեցեալ, որպէս նախ քան զմեզ հարքն պատմեցին: Գիտացեալ ասէն զՄովսէսէ, եթէ կերպարանք նորա որպէս սրբոյն Մարիամայ էր, որ ծնաւ եւ ոչ ապականեցաւ, որպէս մորենին բորբոքեալ

5 լինէր եւ ոչ այրեցեալ, նոյնպէս եւ Մարիամ ծնաւ եւ ոչ ապականեցաւ: Եւ եթէ պարտ եւ արժան է այլազգ եւս ասել, ետես զմորենին վառեալ եւ ոչ այրեցեալ, այս է որ երբեմն փշաբեր էր մարդկութիւնն զխոցոտեալ անձինս Հոգւովք ի մեղացս մաքրեալս, եւ զհոգիս լուսաւորեալս եւ ոչ ապականեալս:

18, 12 Is. 10, 17      13/14 Matth. 3, 11      15 Gen. 22, 7  
19, 1/2 cf. Ex. 3, 2      6/7 cf. Ex. 3, 2

Trad. text.: *J j A B Mser.*

19, 4 *a* ապականեցաւ *des. A B Mser.*

18, 5 եւ ի ծառայից *A B Mser.*      ծառայից *J*      յամուսնաց *A*      եւ ի փափկութենէ *A B Mser.*      5/7 որ – նորին] աստանաւոր եւ զՍաւղոս (զՍողոս *Mser.*) որ երբեմն թշնամանիչն էր եւ հալածիչ. այլ յորժամ լուսւ զբանն եկեալ ի վերուստ, նահանջեալ դադարեաց ի յամառութենէն. սակս որոյ *A B Mser.*      7 երբեմն] յառաջագոյն *A B Mser.*      8 անգիտութեամբ *A B Mser.*      8/10 կոռուակից – Քրիստոսի] ռազմ յարուցանէր եկեղեցեաց Քրիստոսի զարաւիզ (զարաւիզ *B*) լինելով ապերախտ ազգին Հրէից, իսկ ի վերջոյ ոսոխ ազգատոհմին իւրոյ եղեալ ջերմագոյն սիրով քարոզէր զբանն Քրիստոսի *A B Mser.*      10 Տեսանես] հայեաց եւ (< *B Mser.*) տես *A B Mser.*      11/10 որոշէ *A B Mser.*      11 ընդանեաց *J*, ընդանեացն *j*      զհաւատացեալն] զհաւատացեալս աւետարանական վարդապետութեան *A B Mser.*      Յաղագս – հրոյ] վասն որոյ *A B Mser.*      12 գոչէ *A B Mser.*      ասելով + եթէ *A B Mser.*      եւ < *A B Mser.*      13 Յովհաննէս *j*, Յովհաննէս *A* ասելով < *A B Mser.*      Հոգւով – եւ<sup>1</sup> < *A B Mser.*      14 սուր – զհուր] սուր եւ զսուր *j*, հուր եւ սուր *A B Mser.*      եւ Իսահակ *A B Mser.*      14/15 պատմեաց – ասէրն] նկատեալ ասաց *A B Mser.*      15 Ահա – սուր] Ահա սուր եւ ահա հուր *A*      ոչխար + յողջակէզ *A Mser.*, + ողջակէզ *B*

19, 1 տեսանէր *A B Mser.*      2 եւ] որ *B Mser.*      այրեցեալ] այրէր *A B Mser.*      2/5 նախ – ապականեցաւ] նախահարքն մեր պատմեցին մեզ իմացեալ վասն սրբոյ կուսին Մարիամու, որ ծնաւ եւ մնաց անապական *A B Mser.*, + Արինակեցաւ ի Հնչեշտ, յամի 1841 ի մարտի 31. ի Մտերայ դպրէ Գրիգորեան: Ընծայ առ Աստուածաշնորհ Առաջնորդ Հ. Մինաս Վ. Բժշկեան *A*      4 Մարիամայ *j*      7 մարդկութիւնն *scripsi*: մանգութիւնն *J j*      8 Հոգւովք *scripsi*: Հոգւովք *J j*      զհոգիս *scripsi*: զոգիս *J*, զոգիսն *j*



20 Τούτου τοῦ πυρός τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἶχε Δαυίδ, ὡς ὁ ζωγραφήσας καὶ διηγησάμενος τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῦ σώματος, ὅσον τῆς ψυχῆς ἔλεγεν ὁ λόγος· «Πυρράκης, φησί, μετὰ κάλλους ὀφθαλμῶν».

21 Τούτῳ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ Ἰσαΐας ἐκαθάρθη· ὅτε γὰρ εἶδε τὸν κύριον Σαβαώθ καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένον καὶ ἀναστενάζας εἶπεν· «Οἱμοι, τάλας ἐγώ, ὅτι κατανένυγμαι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὢν καὶ ἀκάθαρτα χεῖλη ἔχων ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ ἀκάθαρτα χεῖλη ἔχοντος ἐγὼ οἰκῶ  
5 καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κύριον Σαβαώθ εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου». Καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν· «Ἀκάθαρτα χεῖλη ἔχω», ἀπεστάλη ἐν τῶν σεραφείμ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔχον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἄνθρακα πυρός, ὃν τῇ λαβίδι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Καὶ ἤφατο, φησί, τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν τὸ σεραφεῖμ· «Ἴδὸν τοῦτο ἀφαιρεῖ τὰς ἀνομίας σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου περικα-  
10 θαρτεῖ». Ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης, ὅτι τότε μὲν Ἡσαΐαν ὁ ἄνθραξ ἐκεῖνος ἐκαθάρισεν, νῦν δὲ οὐδένα ἡμῶν καθαρίζει· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἄνθραξ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κείμενος ὁ περιαιρῶν καὶ καθαίρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας. Ὁ πιστὸς νοεῖτω. Χερουβεῖμ ἐρμηνεύεται «πληθυσμὸς ἐπιγνώσεως». Τί ἐστὶ χερουβεῖμ τὸ αἶρον τὸν ἄνθρακα καὶ ἀπτόμενον τῶν χειλέων σου  
15 καὶ μεταδιδόν, ἢ πάντως ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ; Πρόσεχε οὖν καὶ σὺ τῷ ἄνθρακι ἐκεῖνῳ· ἐκεῖνος ἀφαιρεῖ τὰς ἀνομίας σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου περικαθαριεῖ.

20, 3 1 Reg. 17, 42

21, 1/2 Is. 6, 1      3/5 Is. 6, 5      6 Is. 6, 5      6/9 Is. 6, 6-7      14 Is. 6, 7  
16/17 Is. 6, 7

Trad. text.: S P C I

20, 1 Δαυίδ] (et) *praem. arm.*      ὡς < I      2 διηγησάμενος + λόγος C      τοσοῦτο P, τοσοῦτος τὸν I      σώματος + αὐτοῦ P C I *arm.*      3 ὁ λόγος] λόγος P, < C I  
Πυρράκης] πυρακῆς (-ις I) P I, μυριάκης C      φησί < I      μετὰ καλλοῦ P, μεταβάλλου C

21, 1 ἐκαθαρίσθη P C, ἐκαθερίσθη I      ὅτε] τότε P, ὅταν C      2 καὶ ἐπηρμένον < *arm.*      καλ<sup>2</sup> < C I      3 Οἱμοι + οἱμοι I      4 ἔχοντος I      ἐμμέσῳ P      καὶ ἐν I  
ἀκάθαρτα – ἔχοντος] ἀκαθάρτου I      ἐγὼ οἰκῶ *trsp.* C      5 βασιλέα < P C *arm.*      ἐπειδὴ] *jnpdwl* (*quand arm.*)      6 ἔχων I      ἐν τῶν] ἐν τῷ P      7 ἔχων P C I  
δεξιᾷ + αὐτοῦ P C I      πυρός < *arm.*      8 φησί < *arm.*      αὐτοῦ] μου I  
τῷ P      σεραφεῖν C      9 ἀφορεῖ P, ἀφαίρει C      περικαθαίρει C      10 νομίσητε P C (*q̄wrgp̄*) *arm.*, νομίσεται I      τότε] τὸ C      Ἡσαΐας P      ἐκαθαίρησεν C  
11 οὐδένα] μηδένα C      ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν C      καὶ < I *arm.*      ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθραξ P C, ὁ ἄνθραξ ἐστὶν I      12 περιαιρῶν C      περικαθαίρων I      ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας P C I  
13 νοεῖται I      Χερουβεῖμ] σεραφεῖμ I, + γὰρ P C I      14 χερουβεῖμ] σεραφεῖμ I  
τὸ αἶροντα P, τὸν αἶροντα C I      15 μεταδίδοντα P, μεταδιδόντας C, μεταδιδόντα I  
καλ<sup>2</sup> < *arm.*      16 ἀφαίρει C      τὰς – ἁμαρτίας] τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας σου P C (*q̄l̄t̄m pn bi q̄w̄l̄w̄r̄h̄t̄m̄p̄h̄l̄m pn*) *arm.*

20 Զայսր հրոյ զարութիւն եւ գեղեցկութիւն ունէր եւ Դաւիթ, որպէս որ կենդանագրեացն եւ պատմեաց զպատկեր ոչ այնքան զմարմնոյն, որչափ զհոգւոցն ասաց բան. «Շատաւեղագոյն, ասէ, հանդերձ գեղեցկութեամբ աչաց»:

- 21 Այսու հրով եւ Եսաիաս մաքրեցաւ, քանզի յորժամ ետես զՏէր Սաբաւովթ նստեալ ի վերայ աթոռոյ բարձու եւ հառաչելով ասաց. «Վայ ինձ, թշուական իս, զի ստրջացեալ եմ, զի մարդ եմ եւ անմաքուր շրթունս ունելով ի մէջ ժողովրդեան, որ անմաքուր շրթունս ունին, բնակեալ եմ
- 5 եւ զՏէր Սաբաւովթ տեսի աչաւք իմովք»: Եւ յորժամ ասաց. «Անմաքուր շրթունս ունիմ», առաքեցաւ մի ի Սրովբէից առ նա եւ յաջումն ունէր կայծակն, զոր ունելեաւք առեալ ի սեղանոյն եւ մերձեցոյց ի շրթունս նորա: Եւ ասաց Սրովբէն. «Ահա ի բաց բառնայ զանաւրէնութիւնս քո եւ զմեղս քո մաքրէ»: Բայց մի կարցէք, եթէ յայնժամ զԵսաիաս կայծակն այն սրբեաց
- 10 եւ այժմ ոչ զոք ի մէնջ մաքրէ, այլ այժմ է կայծ ի վերայ սեղանոյ կացեալ, որ ի բաց բառնայ եւ մաքրէ զմեղս մեր: Որ հաւատացեալ է, իմասցի: Քերովբէ թարգմանի «յաճախութիւն գիտութեան»: Ո՞վ է Քերովբէն, որ առ զկայծակն եւ մերձեցոյց ի շրթունս քո եւ ճաշակեցոյց զքեզ, եթէ ոչ ամենայն իրաւք քահանայ Աստուծոյ: Արդ հայեաց դու ի կայծակն յայն, վասն զի նա
- 15 ի բաց բառնայ ի քէն զմեղս քո եւ զանաւրէնութիւնս քո մաքրէ:

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20, 3/4 1 Reg. 17, 42

21, 2/5 Is. 6, 5-6

5/9 Is. 6, 6-7

15 Is. 6, 7

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Trad. text.: Jj

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20, 1 հրոյ j 3 զհոգւոցն scripsi: զոգոցն Jj

21, 2 աթոռոյ] աթոռոյ j

4 որ < j

6 Սրովբէից scripsi: Սրովբից J j

8 Սրովբէն scripsi: Սրովբէն Jj

բառնայ scripsi: բառնա Jj

11 բառնայ scripsi: բառնա Jj

12 Քերովբէ scripsi: Քերովբէ Jj

14 քահանայ] քահանա J

15 բառնայ scripsi: բառնա Jj

- 22 Ταύτην τὴν θερμὴν καὶ διάπυρον ἀγάπην τοῦ πυρός εἶχε καὶ Ἰερεμίας, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος· «Καὶ ἐγένετο πῦρ ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις μου καὶ παρεῖμαι πάντοθεν καὶ οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν». Τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ εἰ μὴ εἶχον οἱ ἀπόστολοι, οὐκ ἂν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς πίστιν ἐφω-  
 5 ταγώγησαν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη τὸ πῦρ, ἀνάγνωθι τὰς πράξεις καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐκεῖ πάντας καθεζομένους ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐρανόθεν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεῖναν καί, ὡς διηγεῖται ἡ πράξις, ὥφθησαν αὐτοῖς γλῶσσαι διαμεριζόμεναι ὥσει πυρός. Μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἔχων τὴν μάχαιραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο. *Λαμβάνετε τὸν* καὶ  
 10 *ὁμεῖς τὴν μάχαιραν ταύτην τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶ ῥῆμα θεοῦ, ᾧ πνεύματι καὶ πυρὶ ἁγίῳ* τοὺς πάντας ὑμᾶς ἁγιάσει πρὸς ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀνάψυσιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

22, 2/3 Ier. 20, 9      6 Ac. 2, 1-2      8 Ac. 2, 3      9/10 Eph. 6, 17      11 cf. Mat-  
 th. 3, 11      cf. Is. 10, 17      12 cf. Ac. 3, 19

**Trad. text.:** *S P C I*

22, 1 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < *I*      2 ὡς – λέγοντος] *nr wuērū (qui disait) arm.* αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι  
 trsp. *I*      3 πάντοθεν < *I*      4 πρὸς – ἐφωταγώγησαν] *h huiwunhū jnh wdehū*  
 ([n']auraient [pas] conduit [tous les peuples] vers la lumière de la foi) *arm.*      5 Ὅτε *P*  
 τὸ < *I*      πράξεις + *wuwrēngū (τῶν ἀποστόλων) arm.*      6 εὐρίσκεις *P C*  
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν < *arm.*      καὶ<sup>1</sup> < *arm.*      7 ἐλθὼν *P*, ἐλθόντα *I*      ἔμεινεν *C*, μείνοντα *I*  
 ἡ πράξις] *gnrḁr wuwrēngū (les Actes des apôtres) arm.*      8 ὥφθησαν + *wuē (dit-il)*  
*arm.*      ὥσει πυρός < *I*, *h hrnh (par le feu) arm.*      9 λάβετε *P C I*      καὶ < *P C I*  
 10 τοῦ – πνεύματος] τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου *P (znqnhū urpnj) arm.*      11 πνεύματι  
 + ἁγίῳ *P C (urpnū) arm.*, *h (et) prae. arm.*      ἁγίῳ < *arm.*      ὑμᾶς] *quēq (= ἡμᾶς)*  
*arm.*      ἁγιάσει < *arm.*      Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ *P C I (Uunniḁnh) arm.*      12 ἄναψιν *P I*,  
 τὰς λαμπάδας ἀνάψῃ *C*, *ψwntugē (= ἀνάψῃ) arm.*      13 καὶ – κράτος < *P C*, + *nūn καὶ*  
 ἀεὶ καὶ *I*, + *jnh žwir h wnrp znqnhū wjḁū h wḥzun h (avec le Père et le Saint-Esprit, main-*  
*tenant et toujours et) arm.*

22 Զայս զջերմութիւնս եւ գորբոքեալ սէր հրոյ ունէր եւ Երիմիայ, որ ասէրն. «*Եղէւ հուր յոսկերս իմ եւ լքայ ամենայն ուստեք եւ ոչ կարեմ համբերել*»: Եւ թէ ոչ զայս հուր ունէին առաքեալքն, ոչ արդեաւք զամենայն հեթանոսս ի հաւատոյն լոյս ածէին: Եւ զի տուաւ նոցա հուրս, ընթերցիր 5 զգործս առաքելոցն եւ զոցես անդ *նստեալս զամենիսին*, զՀոգին սուրբ յերկնից եկեալ եւ ի նոսա մնացեալ, որպէս պատմեն գործք առաքելոցն. «Երեւեցան, ասէ, նոցա լեզուք որոշեալք ի հրոյ»: Երանի, որ ունիցի գտուրս զայս եւ զհուրս: Առէք այսուհետեւ եւ դուք զհուր եւ գտուր Հոգւոյն սրբոյ, որ է բանն Աստուծոյ, որով եւ Հոգւով սրբով եւ հրով զամենայն 10 զմեզ ի սէր Աստուծոյ առ իւրեանս վառեսցէ ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս ի Տէր մեր, որում փառք եւ զաւրութիւն ընդ Հաւր եւ սուրբ Հոգւոյն այժմ եւ միշտ եւ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից: Ամէն:

22, 2/3 Ier. 20, 9      5 Ac. 2, 1-2      7 Ac. 2, 3      8/9 Eph. 6, 17      9 Matth. 3, 11  
cf. Is. 10, 17

Trad. text.: *Jj*

22, 1 Երիմիայ *scripsi*: Երիմիա *Jj*      2 լքայ *scripsi*: լքա *Jj*      9 սրբոյ *scripsi*: սրբ *Jj*  
զամենայն] զամենեսեան *j*      10 սէր] սէրն *j*      12 Ամէն + Քրիստոս, որ լուսաւորեցի՝  
զբնութիւնս, մի՛ թողուր ՚ի խաւարի զմեղաւոր Եղիայ Աբեղայի ոգի, այլ շնորհիւ գերծա նա՝  
եւ զծնողացն մեր եւ բնակչաց սրբոյ գերեզմանի, եւ որք ՚ի սէր քո զա՛ն գնան եւ որ ասեն.  
«Ամէն»:*j*

## TRADUCTION

**Sur (la parole) : « Je suis venu jeter un feu sur la terre »<sup>27</sup> et : « Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée »<sup>28</sup>.**

### *Le lait et la nourriture solide des Écritures*

1 Les tendres mères des nourrissons, tant que les nourrissons n'ont pas atteint un âge avancé et plus fort, tendent leurs mamelles à leurs chers, telles des sources laitières, en les stimulant, avec des caresses, d'en tirer la nourriture intarissable du lait. Mais dès qu'ils atteignent un âge et une sensation plus avancés, si bien que leurs dents deviennent capables de mâcher au moins les aliments mous, leurs mères amollissent les durs morceaux du pain et en préparent de la nourriture molle et douce, à l'instar de la moelle, pour la mettre ensuite dans leur bouche.

2 C'est d'une façon similaire qu'agissent les docteurs de l'Église. En effet, ils ne proposent pas les idées difficiles à comprendre ou à discerner à ceux qui sont encore des nourrissons quant à leur faculté de penser, mais, comme les mères, ils leur donnent le sein de la raison et, d'un air doux, les exhortent à téter le lait franc de la parole. Puis, lorsqu'ils grandissent assez dans leur faculté de penser pour comprendre mieux les idées, ils ont l'habitude de leur révéler le sens des mystères plus grands. C'est ce que Paul faisait aussi ; en effet, il disait, en écrivant à certains qui n'étaient encore que des nourrissons : « *Je vous ai donné du lait, non des aliments (solides)* »<sup>29</sup>. C'est de la même façon que notre Seigneur fait aussi jusqu'à présent : il a adapté la mesure de l'écriture contenant les idées évangéliques à la faculté des auditeurs et, ainsi, dans les jours précédents, il ne nous donnait que de la nourriture de la parole qui était douce et facile à rompre, comme à des nourrissons, alors que maintenant il a vu que chez certains l'esprit a grandi assez pour penser et il nous laisse enfin assimiler les doctrines plus grandes.

3 En effet, que dit-il ? « *Je suis venu jeter un feu sur la terre* »<sup>30</sup> et : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>31</sup>. Toutefois, ceux qui sont des nourrissons dans leur intelligence considèrent que le Seigneur est venu pour détruire le tout par le feu et pour tuer tous par l'épée. Eh bien, allons-y,

<sup>27</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>28</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>29</sup> 1 Cor. 3, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>31</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

empruntons, nous-autres, ce même usage des nourrissons et prononçons ces paroles des nourrissons devant le Seigneur, pour pouvoir transmettre en retour les paroles du Seigneur aux nourrissons.

*La demande des nourrissons adressée au Christ*

4 *Je suis venu jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>32</sup>. — *Es-tu venu jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>33</sup>, Seigneur ? N'as-tu pas *apporté la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>34</sup> ? Le péché nous combattait, la mort nous a dominés, la géhenne du feu nous menaçait, un régiment d'abominables démons nous luttait et nous n'attendions que toi qui étais annoncé par les prophètes comme un secours, mais une fois venu, toi, tu dis : « *Je suis venu jeter un feu sur la terre* »<sup>35</sup> et : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>36</sup> ?

5 Nous ne pouvions pas résister à l'attaque du diable, car nous ne possédions pas l'arme<sup>37</sup> de la foi, nous n'avions pas le trophée du sceau<sup>38</sup> (de l'Esprit), le diable avait enlevé notre *cuirasse de la justice*<sup>39</sup>, ayant dénudé Adam tant qu'il était encore au paradis<sup>40</sup>. C'est pourquoi chacun de nous, étant privé de secours, te criait en disant : « *Fais justice, Seigneur, de ceux qui me traitent injustement, combats ceux qui me combattent, prends l'arme et le bouclier et lève-toi pour me secourir, tire l'épée et ferme la voie à ceux qui me persécutent, dis à mon âme : « Je suis ton salut »* »<sup>41</sup>. Et toi, venu pour nous secourir, tu dis : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>42</sup> ?

6 Où (est-elle) donc, la demande des saints faite en faveur de la paix : « *Seigneur, notre Dieu, donne-nous la paix, car c'est toi qui nous donnes tout* »<sup>43</sup> ? Nous demandions de la paix, nous supplions pour le calme, nous ne voulions plus la guerre, nous avons répudié l'épée, et toi, une fois venu, tu dis : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>44</sup> ?

7 Une armée énorme de ces abominables démons s'est armée contre nous, elle nous a tous meurtris par l'épée du péché à double tranchant et nous

<sup>32</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>34</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>35</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>36</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Rom. 6, 13 ; Rom. 13, 12 ; 2 Cor. 6, 7.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Rom. 4, 11 ; 2 Cor. 1, 22 ; 2 Tim. 2, 19.

<sup>39</sup> Eph. 6, 14.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Gen. 3, 7, 10-11.

<sup>41</sup> Ps. 34, 1-3.

<sup>42</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>43</sup> Is. 26, 12.

<sup>44</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

a faits tomber jusqu'à l'Hadès. En te demandant pour la compassion, le chœur entier de saints te criait à haute voix et disait: « *Pasteur d'Israël, sois attentif! Toi qui conduis Joseph comme une brebis, apparais! Réveille ta puissance et viens pour nous sauver!* »<sup>45</sup> Et toi, une fois venu, tu dis: « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>46</sup>?

8 Le péché nous combattait; où est donc ta promesse qui disait: « *Voilà que je détourne vers eux la paix comme un fleuve, et comme un torrent regorgeant de son lit, la gloire des gentils* »<sup>47</sup>? Ou encore, où est le présage des saints pères qui disaient: « *Voilà que le Seigneur s'avancera et anéantira la guerre* »<sup>48</sup>? Et là, quand la guerre a été anéantie<sup>49</sup>, nous aurions attendu une paix profonde, et toi, une fois venu, tu dis: « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>50</sup>?

9 Tu envoyais les prophètes, tu déléguais les patriarches, tu les munissais d'*armes de la justice*<sup>51</sup> pour qu'ils puissent tenir ferme contre le diable, anéantir la guerre<sup>52</sup> et gagner une paix pour le monde, comme l'un d'eux rendait grâce et disait: « *Béni soit le Seigneur qui instruit mes mains pour l'attaque (et) mes doigts pour le combat!* »<sup>53</sup> Et lorsqu'ils se voient vaincus et se mettent en fuite, alors ils te crient (et) t'appellent à leur aide: « *Seigneur, incline les cieux et descends!* »<sup>54</sup> Et toi, ayant incliné les cieux et étant descendu<sup>55</sup> vers le genre humain pour le sauver dans la paix, tu dis: « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>56</sup>?

10 Pourquoi alors bénis-tu les artisans de paix, en disant: « *Bienheureux sont les artisans de paix, car ils seront appelés fils de Dieu* »<sup>57</sup>? Pourquoi alors? Toi, qui enseignes les autres à être artisans de paix, pourquoi toi-même dis-tu: « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>58</sup>? Pourquoi toi-aussi, ô apôtre Paul, dis-tu au sujet du Christ: « *Lui, il est notre*

<sup>45</sup> Ps. 79, 2-3.

<sup>46</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>47</sup> Is. 66, 12.

<sup>48</sup> Is. 42, 13.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Is. 42, 13.

<sup>50</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>51</sup> 2 Cor. 6, 9.

<sup>52</sup> Is. 42, 13; Os. 2, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Ps. 143, 1.

<sup>54</sup> Ps. 143, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ps. 143, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>57</sup> Matth. 5, 9.

<sup>58</sup> Matth. 10, 34.



*paix* »<sup>59</sup> ? N'entends-tu pas ce qu'il dit : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>60</sup> ?

11 Dieu est devenu notre ennemi à cause de nos péchés ; nous avons demandé un intermédiaire qui, d'un côté, romprait cette hostilité et, d'un autre côté, nous apporterait la douce paix. C'est de cet intermédiaire que notre père Job priait aussi, en disant : « *Ô si nous avions un intermédiaire !* »<sup>61</sup> Et toi, une fois venu pour être notre intermédiaire et pour rompre cette hostilité, tu dis le contraire : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>62</sup> ? En qui alors mettrons-nous notre espoir de paix ?

*La réponse du Christ*

12 — Oui, effectivement, je suis *venu jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>63</sup>, non sur la terre qui est foulée sous vos pieds, mais sur la terre que mes mains ont façonnée. Puisque le diable a semé les ronces et les épines des péchés dans les cœurs des hommes, moi, je suis *venu jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>64</sup> pour éliminer les ronces et pour renouveler les âmes ; c'est pour cela que je suis *venu jeter un feu sur la terre et qu'ai-je à désirer, s'il est déjà allumé ?*<sup>65</sup> Il me convient de nettoyer ma terre ; il me convient d'exterminer, par le feu, les ronces amères et malsaines du diable pour projeter la pure semence céleste dans une âme pure ; c'est pour cela que je suis *venu jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>66</sup>.

13 Dès le début, quand j'ai façonné l'homme de la terre, j'ai placé une étincelle du feu divin au milieu de son cœur pour qu'il (*sc.* l'homme) puisse porter ardemment l'amour vers Dieu. Mais puisque le diable a étouffé cette étincelle divine l'ayant arrosée abondamment avec de la méchanceté, il me convient de venir encore sur la terre et de remettre la même étincelle divine et la même chaleur dans les cœurs des hommes pour qu'ils puissent porter tous l'embrasement sacré et lumineux du Saint-Esprit.

14 C'est avec un gel de l'impiété que le diable a meurtri les âmes des hommes ; il me convient donc de *jeter un feu sur la terre*<sup>67</sup> pour dissoudre et adoucir l'hiver de l'incrédulité qui s'est installé dans les âmes à cause du diable, pour remettre l'intelligence dans un état paisible et calme et pour la

<sup>59</sup> Eph. 2, 14.

<sup>60</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>61</sup> Job 9, 33.

<sup>62</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>63</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>64</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>65</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>66</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

<sup>67</sup> Luc. 12, 49.

faire fleurir et fructifier<sup>68</sup> avec la semence de justice. C'est pour cela que je suis *venu apporter non la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>69</sup>.

**15** Annoncez-le, ô mes apôtres ! Porter cette bonne nouvelle à tous ! Réunissez les *brebis égarées*<sup>70</sup> dans les saintes étables ! Dites-leur : « *N'ayez pas peur du lion rugissant contre vous*<sup>71</sup>, car je ne suis pas venu lui apporter la paix, mais l'épée !<sup>72</sup> »

**16** Mais qui plus est, il m'envoie des ambassadeurs de paix qui s'écrient et disent : « *Nous savons qui tu es* »<sup>73</sup>, comme s'il entendait, par cela, me décourager et me forcer à une paix. Eh bien, il ignore que *je ne suis pas venu lui apporter la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>74</sup>. Il ne s'aperçoit pas encore que je le menace de guerre ; il s'écrie ensemble avec son armée, en disant : « *Qu'y a-t-il entre nous et toi, Fils de Dieu très-haut ? Es-tu venu avant le temps pour nous tourmenter ?* »<sup>75</sup> Oui, tu parles : « *Qu'y a-t-il entre nous et toi ?* »<sup>76</sup> Vous avez meurtri tous par des javelots des péchés, vous les avez aveuglés par une doctrine mensongère, vous avez couvert les yeux de leur intelligence par un brouillard d'ignorance, si bien qu'ils ont fini par déifier les morceaux du bois et de la pierre, et là, vous dites : « *Qu'y a-t-il entre nous et toi, Fils de Dieu très-haut ?* »<sup>77</sup> Il me convient d'aiguiser l'épée contre une pierre ; il me convient de faire une incursion dans l'Hadès en laissant à mes soldats et à mes généraux mon étendard de la Croix imprégné d'une force divine ; il me convient de faire une incursion dans l'Hadès et de disséquer, là, le ventre du dragon avec l'épée de la Croix et de lancer les âmes qui y sont détenues vers la vie, car *je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>78</sup>.

**17** Fortifiez-vous, mains affaiblies et genoux tremblants ! Consolez les âmes défaillantes de raison ! Dites : « *Prenez courage, n'ayez pas peur !* »<sup>79</sup>. Ou bien n'avez-vous pas entendu ce que dit le prophète ? « *En ce jour-là le Seigneur tirera son épée contre le dragon, (ce) serpent et ver fuyant, et tuera le dragon qui se cache dans la mer* »<sup>80</sup>. Dites (cela) aux hommes, consolez les âmes

<sup>68</sup> Ici finit la recension δ.

<sup>69</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Mich. 2, 12 ; Matth. 10, 6.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Pet. 3, 14 ; 5, 8.

<sup>72</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>73</sup> Luc. 4, 34.

<sup>74</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>75</sup> Matth. 8, 29.

<sup>76</sup> Matth. 8, 29.

<sup>77</sup> Matth. 8, 29.

<sup>78</sup> Matth. 8, 29.

<sup>79</sup> Is. 35, 3-4, cf. Hebr. 12, 12.

<sup>80</sup> Is. 27, 1.

*défaillantes*<sup>81</sup>, ô apôtres, en disant : « En effet, *je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>82</sup> à votre ennemi ». Pour lui, mon épée est une épée de tourment et pour vous, elle est une ancre de foi<sup>83</sup>. Vous le serviez durant de nombreux cycles annuaires, pendant plusieurs années vous étiez liés au diable par une amitié, en accomplissant ses volontés. Il convient, alors, d'apporter une hostilité entre vous ; il me convient de vous rendre ennemis à son égard, de sorte que par les mêmes doigts, avec lesquels vous avez travaillé le bois et avez désigné les pierres du nom des dieux, – que par les mêmes doigts vous puissiez maintenant les détruire. Il me convient d'*apporter l'hostilité et l'épée*<sup>84</sup> entre vous et le diable, pour que vous puissiez maintenant répudier avec la conviction ceux que vous avez vénérés avec la langue, car *je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée*<sup>85</sup> entre vous. Si je ne brandis pas l'épée contre votre ennemi, il n'y aura point de paix pour vous !

*Autres explications : Thècle*

18 Mais si c'est d'une autre façon encore qu'il faille comprendre cette parole : « *Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais l'épée* »<sup>86</sup>, regarde sainte Thècle qui était une grecque païenne, mais dès qu'elle a entendu l'enseignement de Paul, elle s'est tout de suite retranchée, à cause de la Parole, du père, de la mère, des amis, des parents, des domestiques, du bonheur de mariage.

*Saul/Paul*

Regarde aussi Saul qui était autrefois un persécuteur et un blasphémateur, qui a ensuite entendu la Parole depuis le ciel et a cessé sa conduite<sup>87</sup>, et pour cela il a été nommé « Paul »<sup>88</sup> (sc. « celui qui cesse ») ; lui, qui, par ignorance, combattait autrefois du côté des Juifs et luttait contre le Christ et qui s'est mis ensuite, à cause de la Parole de Dieu, à contester les Juifs et à combattre du côté du Christ. Et vois que la Parole de Dieu retranche, telle une épée, les croyants de leurs parents et de leurs proches ! C'est de ce feu que le prophète criait, en disant : « *Il vous sanctifiera par son feu* »<sup>89</sup>. C'est pour cela que Jean crie aussi : « *Lui, il vous baptisera de l'Esprit saint et du feu !* »<sup>90</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Is. 35, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Hebr. 6, 19.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>85</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>86</sup> Matth. 10, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Ac. 8-9.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Ac. 13, 9.

<sup>89</sup> Is. 10, 17.

<sup>90</sup> Matth. 3, 11.

*Isaac*

C'est sur cette épée et sur ce feu qu'Isaac posait sa question, comme on peut l'entendre dire lui-même : « *Voici le feu et le couteau ; où est l'agneau, père ?* »<sup>91</sup>

*Moïse*

19 C'est bien la force de ce feu que Moïse, lui-aussi, a vue sur la montagne ; en effet, il a vu un buisson qui brûlait et ne se consumait pas<sup>92</sup>, comme les pères avant nous ont relaté. Ils disent que Moïse a vu alors l'image de sainte Marie qui a enfanté et n'a pas subi de corruption<sup>93</sup>, car de même que le buisson brûlait et ne se consumait pas<sup>94</sup>, de même Marie a enfanté et n'a pas subi de corruption. Mais si c'est d'une autre façon encore qu'il faille parler, il a vu un buisson qui brûlait et ne se consumait pas<sup>95</sup>, c'est-à-dire, d'un côté, l'humanité qui portait autrefois les épines a été purifiée, par l'Esprit, des péchés qui piquaient l'âme et, d'un autre côté, l'âme a été illuminée et n'a pas subi de corruption.

*David*

20 C'est bien la force et la beauté de ce feu que David avait aussi, comme disait la parole en dessinant et en décrivant plutôt l'image de son âme que celle de son corps : « *Il est de la couleur du feu*, disait-elle, *avec de beaux yeux* »<sup>96</sup>.

*Isaïe*

21 C'est par ce feu qu'Isaïe aussi a été purifié ; en effet, quand il a vu le Seigneur Sabaoth assis sur le trône haut et élevé<sup>97</sup>, il a dit, en poussant un soupir : « *Malheur à moi, le pauvre, parce que je suis percé de douleur, parce que je suis homme, et que j'ai des lèvres impures ; j'habite au milieu d'un peuple dont les lèvres sont impures, et le Roi, Seigneur Sabaoth, je l'ai vu de mes yeux* »<sup>98</sup>. Et puisqu'il a dit : « *J'ai des lèvres impures* »<sup>99</sup>, l'un des Séraphins lui fut envoyé, et dans sa main droite il tenait un charbon qu'avec

<sup>91</sup> Gen. 22, 7.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Ex. 3, 2.

<sup>93</sup> Ici finit la recension ζ.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Ex. 3, 2.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Ex. 3, 2.

<sup>96</sup> 1 Reg. 17, 42.

<sup>97</sup> Is. 6, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Is. 6, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Is. 6, 5.

*une pince il avait pris sur l'autel. Et il a touché ses lèvres, est-il dit; et le Séraphin a dit: « Voilà, cela enlèvera tes iniquités et purifiera tes péchés »*<sup>100</sup>.

### *L'Eucharistie comme un feu*

Mais ne pense pas qu'alors ce charbon purifiait Isaïe, tandis que maintenant il ne purifie plus personne d'entre nous; en effet, aujourd'hui aussi il y a un charbon qui gît sur l'autel, qui enlève et purifie nos péchés. Que le fidèle entende! « Chérubin » veut dire « l'abondance de compréhension ». Qui est ce chérubin qui tient le charbon, touche tes lèvres et (te le) transmet, si ce n'est le prêtre de Dieu? Fais donc attention à ce charbon, toi-aussi! C'est lui qui *enlèvera tes iniquités et purifiera tes péchés*<sup>101</sup>!

### *Jérémie*

22 C'est cette chaleur et cet amour ardent du feu que Jérémie avait aussi, comme on peut l'entendre dire lui-même: « *J'ai dans mes os comme un feu ardent; je suis entièrement épuisé, et je ne puis plus supporter* »<sup>102</sup>.

### *Les apôtres*

Si les apôtres n'avaient pas ce feu, ils n'auraient pas pu conduire tous les peuples vers la lumière de la foi. Et que ce feu leur a été aussi donné, lis les Actes et là tu trouveras qu'*ils étaient assis ensemble*<sup>103</sup>, que l'Esprit saint est descendu du ciel et qu'il s'est posé sur eux, et, comme raconte(nt) l(es) Acte(s), *des langues, comme celles de feu, leur apparurent, séparées les unes des autres*<sup>104</sup>.

### *Conclusion*

Heureux est celui qui a cette épée et ce feu! *Prenez donc vous-aussi cette épée du Saint Esprit qui est la parole de Dieu*<sup>105</sup>! *Par cet Esprit et par ce feu*<sup>106</sup> saint il vous *sanctifiera*<sup>107</sup> tous pour (avoir) l'amour du Christ et le rafraîchissement<sup>108</sup> mutuel dans le Christ Jésus notre Seigneur, à qui (est) la gloire et la puissance dans les siècles des siècles. Amen.

<sup>100</sup> Is. 6, 6-7.

<sup>101</sup> Is. 6, 7.

<sup>102</sup> Jer. 20, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Ac. 2, 1-2.

<sup>104</sup> Ac. 2, 3.

<sup>105</sup> Eph. 6, 17.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Matth. 3, 11.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Is. 10, 17.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Ac. 3, 19.

*Summary*

The article offers the first complete edition of the Greek text of the Pseudo-Chrysostomic homily *In illud: Ignem ueni* (CPG 4669) and an *editio princeps* of the Old Armenian version of the sermon. The introduction ventures the analysis of seven Greek and four Armenian manuscripts which have been used for the edition; the problems of the textual transmission on the Greek and Armenian soil are discussed. It is shown that the earlier edition of the Greek text by Savile was based on a copy of a contaminated witness of the text, whereas a complete form of the sermon survived in a number of manuscripts. Two of the Armenian manuscripts also present a contaminated redaction, which, however, is different from the Greek contaminated redaction. A French translation of the established critical text accompanies the publication.

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# Notes on the *Vita Sanctae Heliae* (*BHL* 3798)

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The *Vita* of Saint Helia of Dyrrhachium tells of a Thecla-like maiden who embraces virginity and defends her choice in a series of extended exchanges, first with her own mother, then with a sympathetic but rather ineffectual bishop, and finally with a hostile judge. The work survives in two manuscripts: Biblioteca del Escorial, a.II.9 (= *A*) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 2178 (= *B*), both Spanish in origin and written in Visigothic script. The text was first edited by Guillermo Antolín in 1909, on the basis of *A* alone.<sup>1</sup> In 2013 Virginia Burrus and Marco Conti (= BC) published a new edition based on both surviving manuscripts, with English translation, introduction and commentary.<sup>2</sup>

Burrus and Conti have harsh words for their predecessor's edition, which they describe as "inaccurate and significantly flawed" (p. 63) – a judgment with which I would not quarrel. Their own text has been lauded by its reviewers and is canonized in the online *Library of Latin Texts* administered by Brepols.<sup>3</sup> In what follows I comment on some passages where either the text they print or their interpretation of it seems to admit of improvement. I have also taken the opportunity to draw attention to a few motifs or points of usage that seem worthy of comment. Burrus's introduction credits Conti with primary responsibility for text and translation but speaks of "an extremely close collaboration on all fronts" (p. v). I have accordingly assumed that both editors bear responsibility for the final

<sup>1</sup> "Estudios sobre códices visigodos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909), p. 117-128; 204-246.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of Saint Helia*, Oxford, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> I have seen the following reviews: M. GRAVES, *JECS* 23 (2015), p. 489-490 ("Scholars ... will benefit greatly from this edition"); K. KISDI, *JTS* 66 (2015), p. 459-462 ("meticulous care"; "an extremely well-edited text"); L. K. PICK, *JMLat* 25 (2015), p. 245-247 ("this careful edition and excellent translation"); M. SÁGHY, *JEH* 66 (2015), 838-840 ("The English translation ... reads very well and as far as could be judged is faultless"); A. D. PERKINS, *Ancient Jew Review*, June 28, 2017, published online at <http://www.ancientjewreview.com/articles/2017/6/28/ui94a709slc99ya7bivdowgx8kxvkd> ("a quite readable rendering"). With one small exception (see on 1.13 below), none of these has any discussion of individual passages.



product, although where the singular *scripsi* or *conieci* appears in the apparatus I take it as referring to Conti.

I cite by book and line number in BC, followed by their page numbers in parenthesis. The text, translation and apparatus quoted initially are theirs unless otherwise noted, though I cite the apparatus selectively and sometimes in simplified form. I have been able to check their reports of *A* against color digital photographs and of *B* against images from a good-quality microfilm.<sup>4</sup> In the interest of space I have not given citations for scriptural quotations (which are adequately dealt with by BC in footnotes), except where directly discussed or in a few cases where BC have overlooked an echo or allusion.<sup>5</sup>

BC regard the *Vita* as a product of late antiquity.<sup>6</sup> I see no indications to the contrary, though the only secure *terminus ante quem* is provided by the dating of the manuscripts, both tenth-century.<sup>7</sup> One question that arises in such cases is the degree of latinity that can be reasonably credited to the author. The work is written in a high rhetorical register, not dissimilar to that of Jerome's letters, with grammatically complex sentences and much use of balance, homoeoteleuton and other rhetorical figures.<sup>8</sup> It seems reasonable to assume in the author a familiarity with the basic rules of Latin accidence and syntax; egregious deviations from these I take to be probably the result of scribal error. BC offer no comment on their treatment of orthography, but they generally follow classical usage, restoring it where necessary (not always with complete consistency).<sup>9</sup> The manuscripts

<sup>4</sup> My thanks to the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo at the Escorial and to the Bibliothèque nationale de France for providing me with these images.

<sup>5</sup> Unless otherwise noted, my quotations of scripture follow R. Weber, *Biblia sacra Vulgata*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Stuttgart, 1975.

<sup>6</sup> More specifically they argue for an origin in Priscillianist circles in early fifth-century Galicia; I take no position on this, though on the issue of Priscillianism reviewers do not seem entirely convinced.

<sup>7</sup> For this dating see BURRUS and CONTI, *The Life of Saint Helia*, p. 60-62 (the information on the dating of *B* there conflicts with, but is evidently meant to supersede, that on p. 76, where it is assigned to the eleventh century, as in earlier discussions).

<sup>8</sup> BC refer to the work's "highly convoluted syntax and stilted rhetorical style" (p. 61); this seems to me unduly pejorative.

<sup>9</sup> Some missed points: praef. 20 (p. 78) for *iubamina* read *iuuamina*; 1.47 (p. 82) for *erbas* read *herbas*; 1.275 (p. 96) for *conuerse* read *conuersae*; 1.505 (p. 112) for *storiā* read *historiam*; 2.7 (p. 120) for *inquid* read *inquit*; 2.23 (p. 120) for *quonian* read *quoniam*; 2.32 (p. 122) for *quodquod* read *quotquot*; 2.295 (p. 138) for *letus* read *laetus*; 3.139 (p. 160) for *ordea* read *hordea*; 3.198 (p. 164) for *possessione* read *possessione* (so *B*); 3.204 (p. 164) for *humane* read *humanae*; 3.243 (p. 166) for *mecatū* read *moechatū*; 3.290 (p. 170) for *choronam* read *coronam*. Contrariwise, at 1.25 (p. 82) there is no reason to correct the transmitted *perurgueri*. In some cases BC appear to have introduced barbarisms. At 1.61 (p. 84) they print *praesbiterum*, although both manuscripts have the abbreviated form *prsb-*. In eight

themselves present a fairly classicizing spelling, and I take occasional deviations to be probably scribal or best treated as such. The scribes do show considerable oscillation between *b* and (consonantal) *u*; this is unsurprising in an early medieval text with a Spanish tradition. As we shall see there is also some confusion of *a* and (vocalic) *u*, a reflection of the similarity of those letters in Visigothic script.

BC's punctuation generally agrees with Antolín's, who in turn seems to have simply transcribed what he found in *A*. As a result, it often makes no sense by modern standards, and is frequently in conflict with the facing translation. I offer corrections where the issue comes up in passages discussed for other reasons, and I list some additional corrections in Appendix II.<sup>10</sup>

\*

**Prol. 4-8 (p. 76).** The dedicatee is asking the author to run before he can walk.

Mirari me fateor, cur in me istum ordinem commutaris [...] ut cuius tyrocinium *nec dum* in studiis ludicris *adtentaris*, gesta spiritualia narrare committas.

You thereby entrust the narration of spiritual achievements to one whose inexperience *you would not have put to the test even while* in playful studies!

Rather: "whose inexperience you *have not yet* put to the test." BC write *nec dum* as two words in four other instances; twice they have *necdum*. Either form is acceptable, but consistency would be welcome.

**Prol. 13-16 (p. 76).** The author protests his incapacity.

Molestum namque est profiteri *quod* adgredi nequeas et plenius expedire quod uix ualeas incohare. Cum enim tibi suppetat facultas largior enarandi, cur *a belingui* sermonem, a fatuo sapientiam, a caligante lumen desideras impetrare?

cur a belingui] cur abelingui *A*, cura belingui *Antolín*

It is painful to admit *that* you cannot undertake and fully expound what you are scarcely able to start. When a greater ability to narrate is available to you, why do you want to request speech from one who is *double-tongued*, wisdom from one who is foolish, and sight from one who is blind?

instances out of ten they write *femina* as *foemina*, although that spelling is medieval and both manuscripts consistently have *fem*-.

<sup>10</sup> I am most grateful to the journal's two anonymous referees; one in particular made a number of acute suggestions which are cited below *suo loco*. I discussed some of the passages included below in a paper delivered at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in May 2018; I thank the audience on that occasion for questions and suggestions.

The translators misunderstand the first *quod*, which is parallel to the second: “It is a hard thing to proclaim what you cannot (even) embark upon, and to expound fully what you are scarcely capable of beginning.” The redundancy is the typical theme-and-variation of late Latin rhetoric.: cf. e.g. 1.18-19 (p. 80): *Res enim non modica magnis eget auxiliis, et ardui opus negotii praesidiis iuuandum est infinitis*.<sup>11</sup>

Of the next sentence the authors comment: “The self-designation *bilin-guis* may be intended in the sense of ‘deceitful’ [...] Alternately it may be a reference to speaking two languages” (p. 176). Hagiographers often claim incompetence, but it is bizarre to think that one would ever deliberately describe himself as deceitful. And a bilingual person does not lack speech, as a fool lacks wisdom or a blind man sight (if anything, he has a double share of it). The author wrote *ab elingui*: “speech from one who is mute.”

**Prol. 17-19 (p. 76-78).** The author reluctantly accepts the commission.

Vereor ne cum dixeris, “si pater ego sum, ubi est honor meus,’ qui completur oboedientia filiorum?” de cetero non audeam musitare, nec *malorum consilia insolens scrutator discutere*.

When you have said “if I am the father, where is my honor,’ which is fulfilled through children’s obedience?” I fear that, as for the rest, I will not dare even to murmur or, *as an unaccustomed investigator, to dispel the plans of the wicked*.

The previous sentence expresses the author’s incapacity, this one announces his compliance. One expects this shift to be mediated by a “Nevertheless ...” or “However ...” Perhaps <At> *uereor ne ...* or *Vereor* <tamen> *ne ...* (the abbreviation *tñ* would be easily overlooked between *-r* and *ne*).

The final phrase is unintelligible in BC’s version. Sense can be restored by *maiorum* and some adjustment to the rendering of other words. The author is reluctant to accede to his addressee’s commission, but when the addressee plays his trump card “I will not dare to grumble further, nor as a presumptuous questioner to frustrate the plans of those greater.” For *consilia discutere* cf. Greg. M. *Moralia* 25.32, ed. by M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1985 (CCSL, 143B), p. 1258: *exempla humilitatis accipimus, ne temere discutere superna consilia [...] praesumamus*.

**1.3-9 (p. 80).** Earthly merchants are eager for gain.

At si illi peritura lucra summo studio inhiant<sup>12</sup> per hanc industriam profligare, quanto magis nobis congregabuntur commoda quaestuos-  
sa,<sup>13</sup> ‘non quae pereunt, sed quae permanent in uitam aeternam’? Si per

<sup>11</sup> I delete the comma after *negotii* in BC’s text.

<sup>12</sup> I regularize the transmitted *iniant*, which BC preserve.

<sup>13</sup> I regularize the transmitted *questuosa*, which BC preserve.

nauem dictionis nostrae non corporalia, sed spiritualia mercimonia deferramus quae non caro mercetur, sed spiritus, nec uoluptas saeculi peritura, sed sanctimonia comparet permansura. Nec quilibet emat infidus et profanus, sed solummodo fidelissimus et pudicus.

But if they yearn with the greatest eagerness to achieve perishable gains by this effort, how much more profitable are the goods that will be accumulated for us, goods ‘that do not perish but endure in eternal life’? If by the ship of our utterances we transport not fleshly but spiritual wares, it is not the transient pleasure of the world but lasting holiness that purchases what not the flesh but the spirit offers for sale. Nor does anyone faithless or profane purchase these wares, but only one most faithful and chaste.

This should be printed as a single sentence: “If *they* yearn [...] to achieve perishable gains [...], how much more shall profitable goods be accumulated for us [...] if we carry in the ship of our utterances not fleshly but spiritual wares, which not the flesh but the spirit purchases, and not the transient pleasure of the world but lasting holiness acquires, and which no one faithless or profane purchases (etc.)?”

**1.12-14 (p. 80).** In depicting Helia I follow the example of visual artists.

Sciens igitur nostra studia pluribus profutura, cessi uoluntatibus *supplicantium* exemplum trahens ab illis qui *actus* defunctorum et gesta radio digerunt colorante.

actus] *Conti*, abtus *A B*

Therefore, knowing that our efforts will profit many, I have yielded to the desires of *those who beseech me*, drawing an example from those who depict the feats and *actions* of the dead with an artist’s tool.

BC’s apparatus offers no variants, but both manuscripts have *supplicantium*, which is superior rhythmically. Forms in *-ntum* are favored by poets, for metrical convenience, and migrate into later prose: see F. NEUE and C. WAGENER, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1892, p. 139-145. For *supplicantium* cf. e.g. Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8.24.4, ed. by T. MOMMSEN, Berlin, 1894 (*MGH AA*, 12), p. 255 *desiderio supplicantium*; Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani* 129, ed. by F. VOGEL, *Magni Felicis Ennodi opera*, Berlin, 1885 (*MGH AA*, 7), p. 100 *supplicantium lacrimas*.

As L. PICK has already noted, the transmitted *abtus* is more likely to represent *ab(i)tus*, i.e. *habitus*.<sup>14</sup> Physical appearance is better suited to artistic depiction than actions, which are anyway covered by *gesta*.

<sup>14</sup> Above, n. 3.

**1.20-21 (p. 80).** Transition to main narrative.

IGITUR SANCTAE HELIAE VITAM DICTURO HIC IAM SI PLACET, SERMO INCIPIAT APERIRI.

THUS, IF IT NOW PLEASES THE ONE WHO IS HERE TO RELATE THE LIFE OF SAINT HELIA, LET THE NARRATIVE BEGIN TO BE DISCLOSED.

BC comment that “this exhortation [...] seems to be a prompt for the person who will read the Life aloud to the audience” (p. 177). But *si placet* is parenthetical (we should place a comma after *iam*); *dicturo* surely refers to the author.

**1.28-29 (p. 82).** Helia sets her sights on eternity.

Cunctam *praesenti* saeculi gloriam, aeternae comparans uitae inueniebat nihil esse condignum, quod illi beatitudini aequaretur.

When she compared the entire glory of the *present* world to eternal life, she found that there was nothing worthy of being equated to that latter blessedness.

BC print *B*’s *praesenti*; they do not even mention *A*’s *praesentis* (correctly transcribed by Antolín), which is required by grammar. The comma after *gloriam* should be deleted.

**1.31-33 (p. 82).** Helia shows precocious signs of her vocation.

Cupiebat *maior se* potius quam inferior inueniri. Desiderabat puella quae aetati non conueniunt puellari, sed maturae potius et grandevae.

She wanted to be found *greater* rather than inferior. Though a girl, she longed for things that were fitting not for girlhood but rather for maturity and old age.

The translation ignores *se*: she wanted to be found greater *than herself*, i.e. than nature made her.

**1.37-38 (p. 82).** Helia lived up to her name.

*Speciosa ut luna*, uere *Heliae* quae ‘soli iustitiae’ cohaerendo, praefulgidae uitae suae radiis Dirrachium inlustrauit.

*Beautiful as the moon*, by truly cleaving to ‘*Helia*’, which is the ‘sun of justice,’ she illumined Dyrrhachium with the rays of her brilliant life.

*Speciosa ut luna* comes from Cant. 6.9. *B*, unreported by BC, reads *Helia*, which is surely correct: “Beautiful as the moon,’ (she was) truly a ‘female Sun,’ who by cleaving to the ‘sun of justice’ (i.e. Christ) illumined (etc.).” The reference to Christ as *sol iustitiae* derives from exegesis of Mal. 4.2 (not the nonexistent 3.20 as BC have it). *Vere*, as often, signals an etymology: cf. R. MALTBY, “The Limits of Etymologising”, *Aevum Antiquum*, 6 (1993), p. 268-269.

**1.38-41 (p. 82).** Helia had no spiritual models to follow.

In hoc mirabilis et praeclara, *quod* nec lectionis diuinae praesidia, nec cuiuspiam habens exempla, *qui* non solum nulla sacrarum uirginum, sed nec turba credentium in supradicta fuerat ciuitate.

She was amazing and dazzling in this respect, *since* she had neither the support of the divine scriptures nor examples from anyone, *as* there had not only been no holy virgin but not even many believers in that aforementioned city.

*In hoc* looks forward to *quod*, rather than back to anything in the previous sentence; *quod* should accordingly be rendered “that” rather than “since.” Both sense and syntax require correcting *qui* to *qui*⟨*a*⟩. We should supply *turba* with *sacrarum uirginum* as well as *credentium*: “no multitude of holy virgins.”

**1.44-46 (p. 82).** Helia embraces an ascetic lifestyle.

Cum per dies singulos tali *concupiscentia* flammaretur, agit carnis lasciuam rigore ieiunii subiugare, *animi corporis imperio uti seruitio*, et famulatum carnis *libertatis spiritui* mancipare.

libertatis] *om. B*

When day after day she was inflamed by such *lust*, she managed to subdue the wantonness of the flesh with the rigor of fasting, *to use the service of the body by the command of the mind*, and to release the bondage of flesh to *the spirit of freedom*.

BC’s note (p. 178) takes *concupiscentia* as referring to sexual desire, but it is rather Helia’s desire for chastity. (In the previous sentence she is described as *benedictionis Mariae cupiens particeps inueniri*.)

The word order of *animi corporis imperio uti seruitio* seems quite impossible. A simple transposition will mend matters: *animi imperio, corporis uti seruitio*. The author is adapting Sallust *Cat.* 1.2: *animi imperio, corporis seruitio magis utimur*.

Something has gone seriously wrong with the last five words: obviously *libertatis* should respond to *famulatum* and *spiritui* to *carnis*. Either we should omit *libertatis*, with *B*, or *libertatis* and *spiritui* have exchanged endings: *famulatum carnis libertati spiritus mancipare* (“to enslave the servitude of the flesh to the freedom of the spirit”). If *libertati* became *libertatis* by dittography, *spiritus* might subsequently have been altered to supply the needed dative.

**1.46-51 (p. 82-84).** First steps.

Instabat [...] noxias herbas<sup>15</sup> a sese conuellere [...] ne post lolio dominante *aborsu* frugis pretiosi seminis pateretur *talibus studiis expedita*,

<sup>15</sup> I regularize the transmitted *erbas*, printed by BC.



atque huiusmodi sollecitudine castigata, uolebat legitime decertare, sed certaminis ordinem nesciebat.

aborsum *A*

She steadfastly endeavoured to weed from herself any harmful plant [...] lest later the tare should prevail and she might suffer *the miscarriage* of the fruit of the precious seed, *if she were released from such efforts*. And chastened by worry of this sort, she wanted to fight lawfully, but she did not know the order of the battle.

BC print *B*'s *aborsu*, but their translation requires *A*'s *aborsum*. The double genitive in *frugis pretiosi seminis* is slightly worrisome and I wonder if something has dropped out, e.g. *ne [...] aborsum frugis <cum damno> pretiosi seminis pateretur*.

*Talibus studiis* begins a new sentence: "Prepared by these efforts and chastened by worry of this sort [...]"

**1.52-54 (p. 84).** Helia is conscious of her ignorance.

Quamuis iam Christi adulescentula esset, quamuis 'post odorem unguentorum illius *curricaret*,' tamen non paruis moeroribus angebatur, ne dum modum spiritualiter nubentium nescit *adoperta fieret non sponsa*.

Even though she was already a maiden of Christ, even though she was 'running after the perfume of his ointments,' she was, nevertheless, distressed by great anxieties that, as long as she did not know the way of those who marry spiritually, *she would not become a cloistered bride*.

In the quotation from Cant. 1.3, *curricaret* should be *cursitaret*, which is in fact the reading of *B* (unreported by BC), and to my eye of *A* as well. The final phrase as printed must mean rather "lest she be veiled (but) not a bride," i.e. lest she be dressed like a bride but not actually married. Alternatively one might transpose *non* and *fieret*.

**1.62-64 (p. 84).** A helpful presbyter comes to town.

Qui consuetudine solita, ut moris est dei *seruus* coepit *lectioni* assiduus *frequentare*, ac spiritualia officia indesinens exercere.

And according to common practice, this diligent *servant* of God began *to give a reading regularly*, as is customary, and to exercise his spiritual duties tirelessly.

*Ut moris est* seems duplicative of *consuetudine solita*, as *dei servus* does of the initial *qui*. Both problems disappear if we read *seruis*. This is in fact what *B* reads, though BC do not report it; *A* has the functionally equivalent *serbis*. I cannot find good parallels for *frequentare* + dative and initially suspected that an object had dropped out, e.g. *lectioni <deditos>* or



⟨*insistentes*⟩. But as the referee points out, we can get the same effect more simply by correcting to *assiduos*: “he began to keep company with those devoted to scriptural study.”

**1.64-68 (p. 84).** (cont.)

Hunc *ergo* Abbacuc non immerito compararim, qui esurienti animae et carnalium parentum, uelut leonum custodia laboranti, cibum uerbi dominici ministraret, uel certe angelo, qui sicut Petrum saecularibus eam uinculis resolutam ac de carcere uoluptatis exemptam ad libertatem castimoniae *deducta est*.

With good reason would I compare with Habakkuk one who serves the food of the word of the Lord to a soul who hungers and suffers under the custody of her carnal parents as if they were lions; or certainly with an angel one who *causes* her, like Peter, to be released from worldly chains and removed from the prison of pleasure, *so that* she is brought to the freedom of chastity.

BC take over Antolín’s *ergo* without reporting that the manuscripts both have *ego*, which is clearly correct. Neither “causes” nor “so that” is to be found in the Latin. Either *deducta est* should be *deduceret* or (more likely) we must assume an anacoluthon.

**1.73-74 (p. 84).** Helia springs into action.

Hic iam omnem uelocitatem iudicans moram ac negotium nequaquam *recrastinans* omne intentionis suae dispositum dei famulo reserauit.

At that stage, since she considered all speed to be delay and by no means *wanted to postpone* the matter, she revealed the entire nature of her intention to the servant of God.

The very rare *recrastinare* is found in Columella (*Rust.* 2.20.2) and Pliny (*NH* 17.113), but the only other instances before Julian of Toledo are in Jerome: *Commentarioli in Psalmos* 6, ed. by G. MORIN, Turnhout, 1959 (*CCSL*, 72), p. 188; *Epist.* 53.11.3, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (*CSEL*, 54), p. 465. Jerome also has the only pre-medieval instances of *recrastinatio*, at *in Ezechielem* 2.7, ed. by F. GLORIE, Turnhout, 1964 (*CCSL*, 75), p. 74 and in his translation of Pachomius’s *Regula* 144, ed. by A. BOON, *Pachomiana Latina*, Louvain, 1932, p. 52. BC’s introduction discusses Jerome’s influence on the *Vita* (p. 28-35), and this may be another small example.

**1.74-80 (p. 84).** The presbyter goes fishing for souls.

Ille [...] uelut caelestis piscator, parat salutaria retia in stagnum animae eius praetendere, [...] ut de uoluptuosis uitae huius gurgitibus in terra uiuentium rationabilem piscem extrahens ‘ab elementis mundi’ huius *emortuorum* [...] in epulas resurgentis Domini praepararet.

emortuorum] *Conti*, emortuum *A B*

He prepared like a heavenly fisherman to set saving nets in the pond of her soul, [...] so that, by drawing the rational fish 'out of the elements of this world' *of the dead*, [...] he might prepare a cooked meal for the banquet of the rising Lord.

BC note the echo of Col. 2.20 *si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi*, yet fail to recognize that it confirms and explains *emortuum*.

**1.81-83 (p. 84).** The presbyter instructs Helia.

Nec ante destitit quam illam amore Christi medullitus crapulata *exprobate* audiret: 'Haec musto onerata est.'

exprobate] *Conti*, exprobranter *A B*

And he did not cease until he might hear *with certainty* that she was deeply intoxicated with the love of Christ: 'she was filled with new wine.'

BC's translation would require *crapulata*⟨*m*⟩. But in fact the problem lies rather with *illam*, which should be *illa* (as in *B*, unreported by BC) or *illa in*. What Helia (not the presbyter) "hears" (from unsympathetic bystanders) is the utterance '*haec musto onerata est*.' This (as BC have seen) echoes Acts 2.13 (after the miracle of Pentecost): *alii autem inridentes dicebant quia 'musto pleni sunt isti*.' We should retain the transmitted *exprobranter* or (with the referee) read *exprobrantes*, in either case representing *inridentes* in the Acts passage.

**1.84-87 (p. 86).** Mother enraged at Helia's intentions.

Per idem tempus [...] coepit mater hanc agoniam spiritualis instantiae *non aequis aspectare luminibus*, sed facibus furoris accensa frementibus dictis *puellam inuehitur*.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time [...] her mother began *to view* this contest of spiritual perseverance *with unfair eyes* and, being inflamed by the torches of rage, she *attacked the girl* with thunderous words.

For *non aequis aspectare luminibus* cf. Sen. *Dial.* 5.37.5 *non aequis quendam oculis uidisti, quia de ingenio tuo male locutus est*; Rufin. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.21.2, ed. by T. MOMMSEN, Leipzig, 1903 (*GCS*, 9.1), p. 485-487 *sed hoc non aequis oculis ille antiquus [...] hostis aspexit*. If sound, this passage should be added to the exiguous evidence for *inuehi* + acc. collected by W. A. BAEHRENS, *Beiträge zur Lateinischen Syntax*, Leipzig, 1912 (*Philologus Supplement* 12.2), p. 353-354. But ⟨*in*⟩ *puellam* is tempting.

<sup>16</sup> I regularize the transmitted *inueitur*, retained by BC.

**1.97-98 (p. 86).** Helia's mother appeals to biblical precedents for marriage.

Peruerse quidem sapit, si quis tantorum patrum *mensura* transgredi<sup>17</sup> credit.

It certainly sounds perverse, if someone thinks to transgress the rule of such great fathers.

BC's translation requires *mensura*⟨*m*⟩, which should be restored.

**1.99-100 (p. 86).** Transition to Helia's response.

Tali calliditate Christi uirginem accelerans subplantare tali puellae *constantiam* refutatur.

accelerans] festinans *B<sub>2</sub> in marg.*

Pressing the virgin of Christ with such cunning skill, she failed, nevertheless, to overthrow *the constancy* of such a girl.

The participle *accelerans* means "hastening" (as the glossator in *B* understood), not "pressing," and takes *subplantare* as a complementary infinitive. Read *constantia*: Hastening to trip up the virgin of Christ with the cunning skill exhibited above, she was refuted by the constancy of the girl as exhibited below.

**1.101-102 (p. 86).** "Your claims constitute evidence in my favor."

Nihil [...] mei *praepositi* coeptum ualuit roborare quam tui sermonis testimonium opportunum.

Nothing [...] has had the power to strengthen the undertaking of my *preferred way of life* as much as the opportune testimony of your speech.

BC fail to report that *B* has *propositi*, the word one would expect, and the one regularly (13x) used of Helia's virginal vocation. There are two similar instances: 1.125 (p. 88) *illos [...] arguis, quando in me praepositum [...] reprehendis*; 3.202 (p. 164) *si meum culpatis praepositum, culpatis apostolum*. In both cases *B* reads *pro-*; in neither case do BC report this. While there is evidence for some semantic slippage between the two words in late Latin (cf. *TLL* 10.2:778.36-46), they are also commonly confused in manuscripts. I think we are justified in preferring *B*'s reading in all three cases.

**1.103-104 (p. 86).** Helia endorses humility over ambition.

Utique et ego confirmo non *sublimitas* sapiendum, sed humiliter consentiendum.

I too, absolutely confirm that one should not occupy one's mind with the sublime but should consent humbly.

<sup>17</sup> BC print *transgedi*, which I assume to be a typo (Antolín has *transgredi*).

The sentence looks back to Rom. 12.16 *non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes* (quoted above). I cannot construe *sublimitas* and had at first thought of *sublimiter*, but the referee surely hits the mark with *sublimitus*.

**1.105-109 (p. 86).** On presumptuousness.

Alta sapit, si qua cum filiabus Sion [...] audit Dominum increpantem: 'Exaltatae sunt filiae Sion, et ambulauerunt extento collo' (Is 3.16) [...] *et cetera subsequencia* quae digna supplicia promerentur.

A person is high-minded if [...] along with the daughters of Zion, she hears the voice of the Lord reproaching: 'The daughters of Zion are haughty, and they walked with outstretched necks [...],' and they deserve *all the other ensuing* appropriate punishments.

Rather: "and the other things that follow [sc. in Isaiah], which earn well deserved punishments."

**1.114-117 (p. 86-88).** Helia continues her defence.

Quod uero ad calumniam iungis non meliores nos esse patribus nostris, mea defensio est contra interpretationis tuae opinionem. *Vere, quia* non sum melior Abel, Elia, Eliseo ac filiis prophetarum [...]

And to your slander you add this, that we are not better than our fathers. My defense goes against the supposition of your interpretation, *because* I am *indeed* not better than Abel, Elijah, Elisha and the sons of the prophets [...]

The first sentence means rather: "That which you append as a jibe – that we are not better than our fathers – is my defence against the view of your interpretation." The point her mother harps on (the practice of the patriarchs) is in fact the strongest argument in Helia's favor. *Vere quia* means "Truly" (see below on 2.203) and begins a new sentence, as the punctuation of the Latin implies.

**1.124-125 (p. 88).** "To attack me is to attack the virgins of scripture."

Illos sine dubio arguis, quando in me *praepositum similem* reprehendis.

Without doubt, you accuse them when you reproach in me *a similar preference*.

I have argued above (on 1.101-102) that we should read *propositum* with *B*. But whether we read *prae-* or *pro-*, we need *simile*.

**1.129-130 (p. 88).** Helia's defence only enrages Mother.

Cuius ueracibus genetrix insolentior reddita [...] letalibus telis festinat filiam suam sauciare.

And since her mother had been made more insolent by her truthful words, [...] she hastened to wound her daughter with lethal arrows.

I find the substantivization of *ueracibus* very harsh, and suggest *ueracibus* <*uerbis*>. *B* (unreported by BC) omits *suam*, and its removal would certainly improve the rhythm.

**1.130-131 (p. 88).** Mother begins her attack.

“*Longe*,” inquit, “disputationum ambages et uerborum circuitus flexuosus non mirum si contradictiones excitet ueritati.”

‘It is far from surprising,’ she said, ‘if the evasiveness of your arguments and the tortuous circumlocution of your words should cause contradictions of truth.’

*Longe* is not clearly represented in BC’s rendering (unless it underlies “far from”). We should print *longae* here. For *longae ambages* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.341-342, Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.82, Ov. *Met.* 3.692, etc. and for the genitive e.g. Sedulius, *Epist. ad Maced.*, ed. by J. HUEMER, *Sedulii opera omnia*, Vienna 1885 (CSEL, 10), p. 12.1-2 *cessent longae deinceps excusationis ambages*.

**1.133-135 (p. 88).** Mother shifts to question-and-answer format.

Paucis agendum est et summa breuitate dicendum ut uersuta subtilitas disputationis *increpidine* constituta huc illucque nequeat diffugiens euagari.

One must make one’s case in a few words and speak with extreme brevity, so that the cunning subtlety of disputation, established by its groundlessness, cannot wander about, fleeing here and there.

I can find no other examples of *increpido*, and do not understand what “established by its groundlessness” might mean. Read *in crepidine*. Helia’s supposed *subtilitas* will be isolated and exposed by interrogation, as on the edge of a precipice, with nowhere to run or hide. For the phrasing cf. Sen. *Epist.* 57.4 *si uastam altitudinem in crepidine eius constitutus despexerit*.

**1.136-138 (p. 88).** “Is marriage to be praised or condemned?”

Aut suscipies nuptias aut damnabis. Nihil est medium quod *cornuatam quaestionem* solita fraude declinans poteris indagare.

You will either support marriage or condemn it. There is nothing in the middle that you will be able to trace after turning aside from the *horned dilemma* with your usual dishonesty.

The rendering of the second sentence is very stilted: *nihil est medium quod [...] poteris indagare* means “you will not find any middle ground.” For the “horned dilemma” BC cite two passages of Jerome: *Adversus Helvidium* 16, PL 23, col. 200 *cornuta* [sic] *interrogatione* and *Epist.* 69.2.3, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (CSEL, 54), p. 680 *cornuatum [...] syllogismum*.

They have overlooked at least one more: in *Matth.* 19.3, ed. by D. HURST and M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1969 (*CCSL*, 77), p. 165, where the scribes and Pharisees question Jesus *ut quasi cornuato eum teneant syllogismo*. On current evidence, the two latter passages are the only earlier or contemporary attestations of *cornuatus*, though a proper edition of the *Adversus Helvidium* might add a third. A small group of later uses can almost all be traced back to the Matthew commentary. But closer inspection of the context shows that *Epist.* 69 must be our author's source here: *sustinui Romae a uiro eloquentissimo cornuatum, ut dicitur, syllogismum, ut, quocumque me uerterem, strictus tenerer. 'uxorem,' inquit, 'ducere peccatum est an non?'*

**1.147-148 (p. 88).** Helia turns the tables.

Virginitas profitenda est aut damnanda? Tuis morigerata responsis uelocius respondeto.

Is virginity to be professed or condemned? Be so obliging as to *answer* quickly.

The transmitted text is problematic on various counts. Helia is at least superficially deferential to Mother throughout; it seems rude to demand that the latter respond *uelocius*, while *morigerata* would fit child better than parent: cf. 1.408 (p. 106) *equitas [...] exigit parentum motibus obedire et his morigerari*.<sup>18</sup> The pleonastic "respond with your responses" also does not seem much in the author's manner. The *Vita* has the archaic imperative in *-to/-tote* at 2.308 (p. 140) *dissipato* (there perhaps with an eye to rhythm), but otherwise reserves the form for *scire* (which has no other imperative form) and (*ad*)esse (where the form in *-to* is the more common one). All these problems can be solved by reading *respondebo*: "I will respond obediently and with all speed to *your* responses."

**1.151-154 (p. 90).** Mother objects that Helia is evading the question.

Inepta garrulitatis tuae facundia, *subterfugis studes* certamen disputationis euitare utique secundum apostoli Petri sententiam dicentis: 'Parati semper ad responsionem omni poscenti uos rationem,' inquirenti responsum reddere debuisti.

With the foolish fluency of your babbling, *you try by means of subterfuges* to avoid the contest of the debate. Surely in accordance with the judgment of the apostle Peter, who said, 'Always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who demands from you a reason,' you were obliged to return an answer to the one who questioned.

<sup>18</sup> Helia uses the verb of Mother at 2.208 (p. 134) *non es contenta morigerari praeceptis apostoli*, but there of course Mother is the inferior.

There should be a period after *euigare*, as in the English. The transmitted *subterfugis* does not mean “subterfuges”; that would be *subterfugi*⟨*i*⟩*s*. But the ablative seems redundant after *facundia*. Better to read *stude*⟨*n*⟩*s* and delete the comma after *facundia*: “you sneak off, striving to avoid the contest.”

**1.160-161 (p. 90).** Truth can present itself in different forms.

*Nouit* enim secundum nostri propositi qualitatem se ipsam praeberē.

Indeed, it *knows that* it offers itself according to the nature of our way of life.

Rather: “knows how to offer itself.” As often in late Latin, *nouit* virtually = *potest*.

**1.163-168 (p. 90).** Importance of unbiased judgment.

‘Recta,’ ait propheta, ‘iudicate, filii hominum,’ ne quando ad te prouerbii dirigatur sententia prophetalis, ‘mendaces filii hominum in stateris ut decipiant ipsi de uanitate.’ In *unam* sine dubio deceptionem molitur quisquis, quod sibi prodest, et non quod proximis *argumentatur*. Iustissimus censor libram mediam adprehendens utramque lancem aequo libramine moderatur.

The prophet says, ‘Judge righteously, you sons of men,’ lest the sentiment of the prophetic proverb be directed at you: ‘the sons of men are liars in the balances so that they deceive with falsehood.’ Undoubtedly, everyone strives for a *particular* deception because it profits them and not because it *proves something with respect to* their neighbors. The most just magistrate takes a neutral scale and regulates each side of the balance with a proper counterpoise.

There is no point to *unam* and *B* (unremarked by BC) has the correct reading, *uanam*. The words that follow mean “each deploys what benefits himself, and not what argues in his neighbors’ favor.” In the final sentence, *libram mediam adprehendens* means not “tak[ing] a neutral scale” but “holding the scale by its midpoint.”

**1.172-173 (p. 90).** A saying of Solomon.

Vera est sapientissimi sententia Salomonis: ‘Qui aedificabit domum suam *impensis* alienis’ dimittit filiis dolorem.

The sentiment of the very wise Solomon is true: ‘the one who builds her house *at the expense* of others’ will cause pain to her children.

*A* has *in impendiis* (the *in* an obvious dittography after *-m* and before *in-*), while *B* has *impendiis*; so too the scriptural source, Sirach 21.9. BC’s *impensis* can only derive from Antolín’s *impensiis*, which is perhaps just a typographic error: *s* and *d* are adjacent on both typewriter and monotype keyboards.



**1.179-180 (p. 90).** A threefold harvest.

Oportuerat namque terram bonam non simplices fructus, sed tripertiti abundantiam germinare.

simplices] *Conti*, simplicis *A B*

It was necessary, in fact, that the good earth put forth not simple fruits but a threefold abundance.

I cannot see how *Conti*'s emended text is to be construed. The transmitted *simplicis* modifies (gen.) *fructus*, and *abundantiam* is supplied from the clause that follows: "an abundance not of a single kind of fruit but of a three-fold one."

**1.180-187 (p. 90-92).** (cont.)

Decebat enim pacificum nostrum [...] non unimoda, sed triplicia sortiri coniugia. [...] (Deus) omne hominum genus tribus professionibus – uirginitate uidelicet, continentia et coniugiis – *ordinabit*.<sup>19</sup> [...] Conueniens erat regem nostrum sui exercitus legionem *diuersa acie* congregare.

For it is fitting that our Peacemaker [...] should allot unions of not a single kind but triple. [...] he *will order* all humankind by three professions, virginity, continence, and marriage. [...] It was appropriate that our king gathered the legion of his army *in a different battle-array*.

*B*, unreported by BC, has *ordinauit*, which matches the past tense in *decebat* and *erat* and must be correct. In the last sentence, *diuersa acie* means not "in a different battle-array," but "in distinct ranks."

**1.205-206 (p. 92).** Helia challenges Mother.

Quae uero uirginitatem non recapitulatam in lege causaris, *paucis responde*.

pacis interroganti responde *A*

You who plead that virginity is actually not mentioned in the law, answer a few questions.

BC assert that "we have included [sc. in the text] all of the words, phrases, and passages missing from either *B* or *A* in order to provide a complete picture of the manuscript tradition" (p. 63). By this standard they should have placed *interroganti* in the text – but also because it is hard to see any motive for its interpolation. For the phrase cf. 1.145 (p. 88) *non ante interroganti respondit quam inferret congruam quaestionem*.

<sup>19</sup> I have silently adjusted BC's punctuation of this sentence.

**1.209-212 (p. 92).** The chastity of certain patriarchs presents Mother with a dilemma.

Isti igitur sancti reprobandi sunt aut sequendi. Reprobandi, si temeraria praesumptione inlicitam professi sunt castitatem. Sequendi, si eligentes optimam portionem secundum prophetam super Dei laudibus adiecerant.

Therefore these saints must be either rejected or followed. They must be rejected if they professed an unlawful chastity with imprudent presumption, but must be followed if, by choosing the best portion, according to the prophet, they added to the praises of God.

The first sentence might better be punctuated as a question. BC have caught the reference to Luke 10.42 in *optimam portionem*, but Luke could hardly be described as a prophet; they have missed the allusion to Psalm 70.14 *et adiciam super omnem laudem tuam*.

**1.212-213 (p. 92).** Either way, Helia is vindicated.

Quicquid unum dixeris e duobus tuis *edicta* sermonibus nobis uictoriam comparabis.

Whichever one of the two you affirm, by your *proclamations* you will provide the victory for our speeches.

A comma after *duobus* would be helpful. I do not see how *edicta* is to be construed, or how BC's rendering can be extracted from the text as printed. Read *edicta*<*m*>: "you will confer on us a victory proclaimed by your speeches."

**1.214-215 (p. 94).** Mother is unimpressed by Helia's arguments.

At illa *ne quam* tantis testibus emollita, controuersiam praeparans duriorem haec prorupit in uerba.

But the mother was *not* softened by such great testimonies and, preparing an even harsher debate, she broke out into these words.

Read *ne*<*qua*>*quam*, a *Lieblingswort* of the author: there are fifteen other examples in the work. The same error is found at 1.73 (p. 84) in *B*, though ignored in BC's apparatus.

**1.216-218 (p. 94).** Mother's rejoinder.

Quamuis ea quae paulo apertius reserasti, nihil luculentius *putauerint*, tamen ea quae dictura sum non negabis secundum prosecutionis tuae ueridica documenta.

dictura sum] *Conti*, dictura sunt *A B*

Although *some might have thought* that what you have disclosed a bit more openly could not be clearer, you will not deny, nonetheless, that what I am going to say accords with the true proofs of your argument.

*Putauerint* has no subject (there is no “some” in the Latin). Read *putauerim*, which restores a welcome balance: “while I accept what *you* have said, you cannot deny what *I* am about to say.” That *m* was easily misread as *nt* in the archetype is demonstrated by the corruption of *sum* to *sunt* in this very passage.

**1.218-219 (p. 94).** God honors married patriarchs more than unmarried ones.

Nouimus totius propositi uiros nobiles extitisse, tamen uirginibus mariti Domini uocibus proferuntur.

We know that noble men of full resolution were prominent, yet they were offered as husbands to virgins by the commands of the Lord.

Rather: “We know that there were noble men of every lifestyle, but married men are placed before virgins by the utterances of the Lord.”

**1. 220-221 (p. 94).** The case of Abraham.

Denique Abraam in tanta familiaritate perfunctus est Dei ut ‘amicus illius praedicetur.’

tanta] *Conti*, tantum *A B*

Abraham finally enjoyed such a familiarity with God that ‘he was called his friend.’

Since *perfungor* takes a straight ablative, *Conti*’s emendation is neither necessary nor helpful; *in tantum* means “to such a degree,” just as it does at 1.567 (p. 116). Since Abraham is the first of eight instances, *denique* here can hardly mean “finally.” Rather, it means “for example,” a sense well attested in later Latin (*TLL* 5.1:533.68-534.9).

**1.227-229 (p. 94).** Further examples.

Esaias ait: ‘Vidi Dominum Sabaoth sedentem’ necnon *Micha paria uerba* similibus contestatur.

Isaiah says, ‘I saw the Lord of hosts sitting,’ and *Micah* confirms *these same words* with similar ones.

Here, as well as immediately above (1.225) and at 1.304 (p. 98) below, BC write *Micha*, with no comment in the apparatus. Yet in all three places both manuscripts have *Miceas*, a perfectly well attested form. *Paria uerba* does not mean “these same words” (that would be *eadem uerba*) but “equivalent words.” Both manuscripts in fact have *uerbis*: “Micah affirms like things in similar words.” The aberrant *uerba* is an error in Antolín, perpetuated by BC.

**1.237-238 (p. 94).** Mother sums up.

Ubi nunc tui uirgines, quando tantae adepti priuilegio claritatis singularis tituli fulti sunt dignitate?

Where now are your virgins, when those who have obtained such great renown through their privilege are supported by the dignity of their unique title?

Presumably “their unique title” would be marriage. But marriage is not a unique condition (indeed, Mother would like it to be a universal one!), and a more explicit contrast would be helpful: *quando* <mariti> or even just *quando* <hi>. Another difficulty is that *adipisci* normally takes an accusative. BC assume it here governs the genitive, a construction that appears to be attested only twice elsewhere (Tac. *Ann.* 3.55.1; *CLE* 466.2). Should we write *priuilegium*?

**1.239-240 (p. 94).** Helia reacts to Mother’s speech.

In cuius prosecutionis nimietate puella *parum perexterrita* sponsi auxilium supplicauit.

Faced with the immensity of her argument, the girl, *not particularly terrified*, asked for help from her spouse [i.e. Christ].

This would be the only instance of *perexterreo* in Latin. Rather than invent this rare compound, read *puella parumper exterrita*: “the girl, momentarily terrified [...]”. This is in fact the word division in *B*. BC’s apparatus records a marginal gloss in both manuscripts: *ubi uirgo perexterrita a deo suffragia postulauit*. But the gloss in fact reads *uirgo exterrita* (and *suffragium*, not *suffragia*).

**1.247-251 (p. 96).** “Although I am the underdog, I am not afraid.”

Sed *noueris* frequentius contigisse quanto bellum terribile densabatur, tanto uictoriam *praestitam* triumphantibus *nominatam*, nec nos *usque adeo* tuarum quaestionum impetus territabit exemplo, ueterum informata qui paruissimo militum numero falanges hostium innumeras trucidarunt.

But *you know* that it has very often happened that the more terrible a war that pressed, the more *excellent* the victory for the conquerors *was called*, and the assault of your questions *up to now* will not frighten us *with its example*. I am well informed about the ancient people who, with a quite small number of soldiers, massacred countless phalanxes of enemies.

The subjunctive *noueris* is equivalent to an imperative: “Know that [...]”. BC’s “excellent” would be *praestantem*, not *praestitam*: *uictoriam praestitam triumphantibus nominatam* means “a famous victory was delivered to the

winners.” *Usque adeo* does not mean “up to now,” but “to such a degree”; it should be taken with *terrabit*. The comma after *exemplo* should be moved back to follow *terrabit*: “informed as I am by the example of the ancients.” *Informata* should logically be an accusative, but the anacoluthon is perhaps bearable (*nec nos [...] impetus terrabit* is felt as being equivalent to *nec [...] impetus timeo*).

**1.253-255 (p. 96).** The Israelites often defeated much larger armies.

Contra Gedeon nonne ut locustae dimicantium confluxerat multitudo, qui sine labore *cedentium* optima quondam captiuis spolia *profuerunt*.

Did a multitude of fighters not stream together like locusts against Gideon? Without any effort *by those yielding*, they *benefited* the former captives with the best spoils.

There should be a question mark at the end of the sentence, as the English implies. As BC note, the reference is to the defeat of the Midianites at Judges 6-8. *Cedentium* gives no sense; intended must be *c⟨a⟩edentium*: “without effort on the part of the attackers.” Since *prodesse* is not transitive, *profuerunt* can hardly be correct. Read *profu⟨d⟩erunt*, perhaps influenced by Judges 8.25, *expandentes [...] super terram pallium proiecerunt in eo in aures de praeda* (though there the subject is Gideon’s own troops).

**1.255-258 (p. 96).** (cont.)

Diligentius contemplare *Asam contra Aethiopem* turmis flammantibus<sup>20</sup> coruscantem. Qui decies centena milium *bellatus* exercitum unius Asae precibus occubuit cum totis agminibus interemptus.

contra] *add.* Conti, *asam eziyopem A*, *asam etiopem B* bellatus] *Conti*, *ballatus A B*

Observe Asa with great attention, standing against the Ethiopian who shone with flaming hordes. He fought with an army of one million soldiers but fell by the prayers of Asa alone when he was killed with all his troops.

Asa was not an Ethiopian, but the king of Judah who *defeated* the Ethiopians, so the paradox is cannot stand. Conti’s *⟨contra⟩ Aethiopem* is on the right track, but does not quite give us “standing against”; it also tempts the reader to misconstrue *coruscantem* with *Asam* rather than *Aethiopem*. Better to make *contra* precede *Asam*. This brings the passage into line with the two previous examples, which it caps: *Contra Iosue quanti coegerunt reges ... qui tamen funditus interem⟨p⟩ti ... cessere uexilla*; *Contra Gedeon confluxerat multitudo, qui ... spolia profu⟨d⟩erunt*; *Diligentius contemplare contra Asam Aethiopem ... coruscantem, qui ... occubuit*. It also more closely

<sup>20</sup> We need not retain the manuscripts’ *flamantibus*.

tracks the scriptural source, 2 Chron. 14.9: *egressus est autem contra eos Zara Aethiops cum exercitu decies centena milia*.

What follows also requires adjustment. Conti's *bellatus exercitum* could only mean "he fought with an army" in the sense of "fought against an army." But since the Ethiopian Zara is the subject (cf. *occubuit*), this will not do. Rather, the transmitted *ballatus* should be interpreted as *uallatus*. Cf. Jerome in *Ezech.* 5.17, ed. by F. GLORIE, Turnhout, 1964 (CCSL, 75), p. 216 *multis imperans nationibus, et innumerabili uallatus exercitu*. This implies that we should read *exercitu* here, and indeed that is what *B* has (unrecorded by BC). *A's exercitum* is a virtual dittography before *unius*.

**1.258-260 (p. 96).** (cont.)

Scito quod non consistat in multitudine fortitudo, neque in exercitibus *faretris*, sed in adiutorio Domini manubiae tribuantur.

Know that strength does not lie in numbers and prizes are not conferred by armies *with quivers* but by the help of the Lord.

Read *faretr<at>is*?

**1.268-272 (p. 96).** The married Job inferior to the virgin John the Baptist.

Quid mirum si Iob illo tempore nullus sit aequatus, quando carnalis populus nec dum ad robur peruenerat perfectorum? Unde eo tempore Iohannem nostrum nullum habuisse se maiorem, quando uerbo otioso damnatio comminatur, quando angelos imitari, etiam publicanis facile uidebatur, quando gentilium fides Israelitis antefertur.

Why is it surprising if no one was equal to Job at that time, when the carnal people had not yet attained the strength of the perfect ones? Whence our John had nobody greater than him at that time, when condemnation threatened in an idle word, when even to the tax-collectors he seemed clearly to resemble the angels, when the faith of the Gentiles was placed before the Israelites.

With the text printed, *Iohannem [...] habuisse* has no construction. For *unde* read *uide*: "Observe that our John had nobody greater than himself in this time." (John is "our" John from the standpoint of virgins.) BC's translation of *quando uerbo [...] uidebatur*, like their note (p. 183) is far astray. The first phrase looks not to John's death at the hands of Salome and Herodias (Matth. 14.7; Mk 6.22) but to Matthew 12:36: *omne uerbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii*. The comma after *imitari* should be deleted. Translate: "when damnation threatens for an idle word, when it seemed easy even for tax-collectors to imitate the angels (etc.)." Helia's point is that the bar was higher in John's day than in Job's, and the pool of contestants larger; hence his glory is greater.

**1.277-279 (p. 98).** John the Baptist, a virgin, was superior to the married Job.

Qua ratione Iob Iohannae extimas meliorem? Dic *cuius* umquam in natiuitate gauisus est Iob, quando nec ipse in sua natiuitate laetatur? cuius] *Conti*, quis *A B*

By what principle do you consider Job superior to John? Tell me, *who* ever rejoiced at his birth, when Job himself was not glad of his own birth?

BC translate not the *cuius* they print, but the transmitted (and correct) *quis*. The reference (as BC themselves note) is to the angel's prophecy at Luke 1:14: *multi in natiuitate eius (= Iohannis) gaudebunt*. *Conti's cuius* would mean "Tell me, at whose birth did Job ever rejoice?" which would be pointless here.

BC print an ablative form *Iohannae* both here and at 1.118 (p. 88), without any comment in the apparatus. In both cases *B* has the correct *Iohanne* and *A* the virtually equivalent *Ihoanne*. At 1.380 (p. 104) *sed quid Iohannae memorem* I do not know what case the form is meant to represent. *B* there has the correct *Iohannem* while *A* has *Ihoanne*.

**1.279-281 (p. 98).** (cont.)

Et si Iob prophetam audeas nominare, *Iohannes propheta amplior prae-dicatur*, et super hoc corona martyrii muneratur.

And if you dare to call Job a prophet, *the prophet John preaches much more*, and beyond this, he is rewarded with the crown of martyrdom.

Rather: "John is proclaimed a greater prophet."

**1.284-285 (p. 98).** (cont.)

Ille 'in sterquilinio sedens' *horrebat*, hic suo baptisate alios emundabat.

The former *trembled* while 'sitting on a dung heap'; the latter purified others with his baptism.

Given the contrast with *emundabat*, *horrere* here must mean "to have a rough, unkempt, unsightly, or sim. appearance" (*OLD* s.v. *horreo* 3).

**1.300-303 (p. 98).** David compared to the apostle John.

Quid mirum si Dauid 'omnem illius fecerit uoluntatem,' quando Iohannes de se suisque *militibus* dicat: 'Praecepta eius seruamus, et quae sunt placita sub oculis eius facimus.'

Why is it surprising if David 'fulfilled his every wish,' when John says about himself and his *soldiers*, 'We observe his precepts, and do what is pleasing in his eyes.'



While the image of “soldiers of Christ” et sim. is not uncommon, it is harder to accept a reference to *John’s* soldiers. BC fail to report that *B* reads not *militibus* but *similibus*, which is probably correct. Cf. e.g. Bede, *In proverbialia Salomonis* 3.30, ed. by D. HURST, Turnhout, 1983 (CCSL, 119B), p. 141, *et ipse* (sc. Paulus) *de se suisque similibus in quibus est Deus: ‘Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum.’*

**1.316-320 (p. 100).** It is false to say the apostles’ leader was married.

*Si* enim Christus apostolus est, ipso dicente: ‘Non sum missus, nisi ad oues quae perierant domus Israel.’ Et utique latine missus, graece apostolus dicitur. Sed et Paulus: ‘Considerate,’ inquit, ‘apostolum et pontificem confessionis nostrae Iesum,’ sine dubio uirginem oportuerat praeesse apostolis.

For Christ is an apostle, as he himself says: ‘I am sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel’; and to be sure, ‘missus’ in Latin is called ‘apostolus’ in Greek. But so too Paul: ‘Consider,’ he says, ‘the apostle and pontiff of our confession, Jesus.’ Without doubt, it was necessary that a virgin preside over the apostles.

The translation ignores *si*. The Latin needs repunctuation:

Si enim Christus apostolus est, ipso dicente: ‘Non sum missus, nisi ad oues quae perierant domus Israel’ (et utique latine ‘missus,’ graece ‘apostolus’ dicitur), sed et Paulus ‘Considerate,’ inquit, ‘apostolum et pontificem confessionis nostrae Iesum,’ sine dubio uirginem oportuerat praeesse apostolis.

For if Christ was an apostle ... (then) without doubt it was necessary (etc.).

**1.320-323 (p. 100).** The married Peter was not the only one called *beatus*.

Quid *diribes* illam uocem ad Petri magnificentiam singularem: ‘Beatus es Simon Bariona,’ quasi non omnibus dicitur credentibus; ‘beati oculi qui uident quae uidetis,’ et ‘beati eritis, cum maledixerint uos’?

*diribes*] *Conti*, *diribas A*, *diriuas B*

Why do you *separate* that call to Peter’s distinction, ‘Blessed are you, Simon Bariona,’ as if it were not said to all believers, ‘Blessed are the eyes that see what you see’ and ‘blessed are you when people revile you’?

*Diribere* is a rare verb at all periods, and I have found only one attestation in any text later than the Elder Pliny.<sup>21</sup> So it is adventurous to introduce it

<sup>21</sup> See *TLL* 5.1:1231.77-1232.6, which does not include *Expositio Evangelii Marci* 1.3, ed. by M. CAHILL, Turnhout, 1997 (CCSL, 82), p. 7 *et opus nostrum non diribetur ab ore* (“our deeds are not distinguished from our words”). Also attested but even rarer are *diribitor* (twice in Cicero; once each in Apuleius, Ammianus, and Ausonius), *diribitio* (once each in Cicero and Symmachus) and *diribitorium* (twice in Pliny, once in Suetonius).

by conjecture. It is also wrong in sense. It means to “sort” or “distribute” to multiple destinations or recipients, and is used especially of sorting ballots. On Helia’s showing, Mother is doing just the opposite of this: wrongly diverting or redirecting a word applicable to all Christians to a *single* recipient. That sense is well conveyed by *deriuas* (a metaphor from irrigation), which is virtually the reading of both manuscripts. The author employs the word in a similar sense at 2.80-81 (p. 124): *quod ad litteram non stabit, nisi ad uirginitatis intelligentiam deriuaris* (BC: “unless you refer it to the understanding of virginity”). Here translate: “Why do you refer that word to the sole glory of Peter ...?”

**1.323-326 (p. 100).** Reflections on Matth. 16.18 (“Tu es Petrus”).

Si firmas fundari ecclesiam super Petrum, apparet quod hunc locum non adtentius aduertisti. Petram enim non nouimus nisi Christum. Paulo apostolo perhibente: ‘Petra autem,’ inquit, ‘erat Christus.’ Nam *si* et ipse fundatus erat in petra, quomodo super ipsum fundari poterat ecclesia?

If you assert that the church is founded on Peter, it appears that you have not considered this point attentively: we know no rock but Christ. As the apostle Paul asserts, ‘The rock,’ he says, ‘was Christ.’ For *if* he himself had also been founded on rock, how could the church be founded on him?

The period after *Christum* should be a comma. The last sentence makes no sense. Read <ni>*si et ipse*: “unless he himself had been founded on rock, how could the church have been founded on him?” The loss of *ni-* after *-m* hardly requires explanation.

**1.331-333 (p. 100).** (cont.)

Postremo si supra *petram* ecclesia conlocatur, ergo et supra Iohannem et Paulum, ceterosque apostolos, quia dictum est: ‘Fundati supra fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum.’

Finally, if the church rests on *rock*, it also rests on John and Paul, and all the other apostles, because it was said, ‘You are founded on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.’

This should be *Petrum*, which is in fact the reading of *B* (unreported by BC).

**1.346-347 (p. 102).** (cont.)

Si Petro *pascendo* oues a Domino *commendatur*, ergo et ipse perdidit pastoris officium?

If Peter *is praised* by the Lord *for feeding* his sheep, then did the Lord himself lose his office as shepherd?

BC do not signal the allusion to John 21.17. But Jesus there does not “praise” Peter for feeding his sheep; he *directs* him to do so. Both manu-

scripts actually read *commendantur* (reported by neither Antolín nor BC), and *B* also has the needed *pascend(a)e*. Translate: “If the Lord’s sheep are entrusted by him to Peter to be fed, [...]”

**1.347-350 (p. 102).** Peter was not the only “shepherd” of Christ’s sheep.

*Vis nosse* quia communis est dignitas officii pastoralis. Audi apostolum: ‘Ipse,’ inquit, ‘dedit quosdam apostolos, quosdam prophetas, quosdam uero euangelistas, quosdam autem pastores et doctores’ ouium.

*You should know* that the dignity of the pastoral office is shared. Listen to the apostle: ‘He gave,’ he says, ‘some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and some teachers’ of the sheep.

The first sentence should be punctuated as a question (“Do you wish to know ...?”), which is answered by *Audi apostolum*. The mistranslation of *uis nosse* recurs at 1.389-390 (p. 104).

**1.351-353 (p. 102).** Christ entrusted his mother to the virgin John, not the married Peter.

Postremo Christus oues suas *commendauerit* Petro. Iohanni tamen genitricem propriam commendauit.

Finally, Christ entrusted his sheep to Peter. But he entrusted his own mother to John.

The subjunctive is concessive: “Grant that Christ entrusted [...],” or “Even if Christ entrusted [...]”

**1.356-358 (p. 102).** The married Peter was *not* the first to see the risen Christ.

Ceterum prae omnibus apostolis mulieribus sese demonstrans iubentur Petro uel ceteris apostolis nuntiare Dominum resurgentem.  
iubentur - apostolis] *om. B*

Yet he reveals himself to the women before all the apostles and they are ordered to announce the resurrection of the Lord to Peter and the other apostles.

Something seems to have fallen out after *demonstrans*, e.g. *<apparuit. Quae> iubentur*. Alternatively (with the referee) we might assume a slight anacoluthon and place a comma after *demonstrans*.

**1.365-367 (p. 102).** Praise of Elijah.

Et quantum arca ualuit testamenti, quae *Iordanis fluentis diuisi* per siccum alueum commeauit, tantum melotes istius compensauit.  
diuisi] *Conti*, diuisis *A B*

And as powerful as was the ark of the covenant, which passed through the dry bed *of the flowing Jordan after it was divided*, Elijah’s sheepskin mantel equaled it.

The transmitted text is sound: *fluentis* is not a participle but abl. pl. of *fluentum*; *fluentis diuisis* is an ablative absolute.

**1.368-369 (p. 102).** What married patriarch can compare with Jeremiah?

Quis sicut Hieremias ante sanctificatur in utero quam nascatur et nec dum fusus in auras '*prophetam gentibus*' destinatur?

Who, like Jeremiah, is consecrated in the womb before he is born and appointed a '*prophet* to the nations' when he has not yet been brought forth into the light?

The passage paraphrases Jer. 1.5 *priusquam te formare in utero noui te, et antequam exires de uulua sanctificaui te; prophetam gentibus dedi te*. But here *prophetam* does not construe. Read either *propheta* (with B, unreported by BC) or *propheta in*: patristic quotations give the verse as *prophetam in gentibus posui te*: cf. e.g. Cypr. *Laps.* 19, ed. by M. BÉVENOT, *Cyprian. De Lapsis and De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*, Oxford, 1971, p. 30; Ambr. *in Luc.* 1.33, ed. by C. SCHENKL, Vienna, 1902 (*CSEL*, 32), p. 31. For the formulation *ante sanctificatur [...] quam nascatur* cf. Ambr. *De fide* 4.9, ed. by O. FALLER, Vienna, 1962 (*CSEL*, 78), p. 197 *qui sanctificatus est antequam natus*; Jerome, *Adu. Pelagianos* 2.28, ed. by C. MORESCHINI, Turnhout, 1990 (*CCSL*, 80), p. 94 *Hieremias sanctificatus antequam natus*; Cassian, *Contra Nestorium* 4.9.1, ed. by M. PETSCHENIG, Vienna, 1888 (*CSEL*, 17), p. 295 *cui uni admodum contigit sanctificari antequam nasci, Hieremias propheta*.

**1.373-375 (p. 104).** John the Baptist's claims to fame.

Quis tantae praerogatiuae titulo sublimatur ut nazareus propheta, praeco, uox, euangelista, baptista, *auromicula*, doctor, martyr et angelus praedicetur?

Who (sc. else) was elevated to a title of such favor that he was called Nazarete, prophet, herald, voice, evangelist, baptist, *gold dust*, teacher, martyr, and angel?

The emperor Valentinian I had a pet bear named Mica Aurea (cf. Ammianus 29.3.9), but it seems an unlikely epithet for John the Baptist. I had proposed to obelize, but the referee makes the attractive suggestion of *heremicola*. The word does not appear to be attested elsewhere before the twelfth century, but its formation (by analogy to *agricola*) does not seem particularly difficult. There should also be a comma after *nazareus*.

**1.375-376 (p. 104).** (cont.)

Cuius desectum caput ante mensas regias *cumulauit* quam sepulcrum saxeam *honorauit*?

And whose severed head *was the climax of* a royal banquet before it *gave honor to* a sepulcher of stone?

*Mensas regias cumulauit* means not “was the climax of a royal banquet” but “weighed down a royal table”: cf. Ennodius, *Vita Epiphanii* 150, ed. by F. VOGEL, *Magni Felicis Ennodi opera*, Berlin, 1885 (MGH AA, 7), p. 103 *inemptis dabibus mensae cumulabantur*. Ennodius’s line is modeled on Verg. *Georg.* 4.133 *dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis*. As this suggests, *cumulare* and *onerare* are virtually interchangeable in this use. So it is unfortunate that in the second half of the sentence BC do not record that *A* has *honerauit*, i.e. *onerauit*. This is, I think, the correct reading: *cumulauit* and *onerauit* are an instance of ornamental *variatio*. The image of “weighing down” a tomb is a slightly awkward one; normally the tomb is envisioned as weighing down the body (hence the formulaic *sit tibi terra levis*). But a striving for parallelism may have outweighed strict logic – perhaps aided by a hazy reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* 10.557-558 *non te optima mater / condet humo patrioque onerabit membra sepulchro*.<sup>22</sup>

**1.379-381 (p. 104).** John remained with Christ during the crucifixion.

Immo fugientibus coniugatis solus cum uirgine uirgo permansit. *Sed quid Iohannae memorem?* Virgo Maria ante patibulum Filii tormentis praesentibus aderat [...]

When the married ones had run away, only the virgin remained with the virgin. *But what else should I mention about John?* The virgin Mary was present before the gibbet at the actual torturing of her Son [...]

The italicized phrase means “But why should I mention John?” (sc. when I can cite the Virgin herself). BC unhelpfully place a paragraph break before *Virgo. Iohannae* should be *Iohannem* (as in *B*): see on 1.277-279 above. *Filii* is better taken with *patibulum* than with *tormentis*.

**1.387-388 (p. 104).** Mother has claimed that the married disciples fled so as not to be defiled.

Posset tibi istud aliquatenus ad defensionem proficere, si reuerentiae<sup>23</sup> instinctum id facerent non *timorem*.

*timorem*] *Conti*, *timore* *A B*

May this be useful to your defense to an extent, if the apostles cause this inspiration of reverence and not fear.

The subjunctive is potential, not optative, and it is *instinctum*, not *timore*, that needs correction. Read *instinctu* (as in *B*, unrecorded by BC). “This

<sup>22</sup> Alternatively I suppose one might take *sepulcrum saxum* as nominative, supplying an object from the preceding *caput*; this seems to me strained, but perhaps not impossible.

<sup>23</sup> I see no need to preserve the manuscripts’ *referentiae*.

could bolster your defence up to a point, if they had done this from a sense of reverence and not from fear.”

**1.389-392 (p. 104).** Benefits of contemplating the crucifixion.

Nam *uis nosse* ad salutem *omnibus modis* pertinere crucifixum Dominum conspicari. Legimus in Numeris qui plagati fuerant a serpente, pendentis aspersione serpentis continuo sanabantur.

omnibus] *Conti*, omnis *A B*

Indeed, *you should know* that to gaze upon the crucified Lord is *in every way* relevant to salvation. We read in Numbers that those who had been bitten by snakes were immediately healed by the sight of the hanging snake.

The first sentence is a question (“Do you wish to know ...?”) which the second answers. The transmitted *omnis modis* is attested in Visigothic texts: cf. *Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium* 4 praef., ed. by A. MAYA SÁNCHEZ, Turnhout, 1992 (CCSL, 116), p. 25, *ea que omnis modis uera sunt*; 5.9, p. 80 *defensor omnis modis catholicam fidem*; 5.11, p. 92, *ut omnis modis catholicam fidem [...] conseruaret*; Fructuosus of Braga, *Epist. ad Receswindum* ed. by W. GUNDLACH, Berlin, 1892 (MGH Epist., 3), p. 688, *idque omnis modis cupere agere*. See also B. LÖFSTEDT, review of M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *La Vida de san Fructuoso de Braga*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 81 (1976), p. 364-365. All of these examples are later than the assumed date of the *Vita Heliae*, but if correction is needed, *omnimodis* would be more economical than *Conti*’s *omnibus*.

**1.394 (p. 104).** Paul’s vision.

Quis sicut Paulus *binus* ‘in tertium rapitur caelum’ et ‘in paradisum’ [...]?

binus] *uibus B*

Who, like Paul, ‘was carried up’ *twice* ‘to the third heaven’ and ‘to paradise’ [...]?

Paul speaks of being raptured, but not of being raptured twice (the Latin for which in any case is *bis*). Read *uiuus*, “while still alive.” This is in fact the reading of *A*, mis-transcribed as *uius* by Antolín. Where BC’s *binus* comes from is a mystery to me.

**1.403-404 (p. 106).** Mother demands a return to question-and-answer format.

Si ueritatis fulta praesidiis fiduciam geris, nequaquam certamen longis spatiis protelemus. Sed angustis *interrogantibus* confligamus [...]

If you are confident that you are supported by the fortifications of truth, let us by no means drag this debate out for long stretches of time. Rather, let us compete with more restricted *questions* [...]

I do not know where BC's *interrogantibus* comes from; both manuscripts (and Antolín) have the correct *interrogationibus*. The period after *protelemus* should be a comma (as in the English).

**1.407-408 (p. 106).** Helia accedes to her mother.

Equitas diuinae religionis exigit parentum *motibus* obedire et his morigerari dumtaxat quae propositum non offendunt.

The justice of divine religion requires us to yield to the *impulses* of our parents and to comply with them, insofar as they do not go against our way of life.

"Impulses" seems wrong; we expect "orders," "requests," or "wishes." I have toyed with *uotis* and *monitis*; the referee suggests *nutibus*. Palaeographically easiest would be *moribus* (for the confusion cf. Lucan 10.329), but this does not give quite the right sense, and would make *morigerari* repetitive. I wonder, though, if the transmitted text cannot be defended. *Motus* is sometimes found of a judicial verdict or injunction (*TLL* 8:1535.76-1536.8) and conceivably is used in a similar sense here.

**1.408-412 (p. 106).** Helia welcomes the attack.

Quomodo uis certamina conseramus. Quamuis beatus apostolus 'uerborum pugnas' prohibeat, tamen propter praeciudicium propositi uirginalis, ne dum dissimulamus refellere falsitatem, uideatur tibi ueritas titubare. Respondere uestris oppositionibus non cunctabor.

Let us join battle however you like. Although the blessed apostle prohibits 'verbal fights,' nevertheless, because of your prejudice against the way of virginity, may truth not seem to you to falter while we neglect to disprove falsity. I will not hesitate to answer your opposing arguments.

The *tamen* clause requires a verb, which can be supplied by turning the period after *titubare* into a comma: "yet lest truth seem to you to falter, I will not hesitate to respond."

**1.412-414 (p. 106).** I fight under Christ's banner.

Qui enim filius esse dignatus est uirginis, ipse nunc uexilla uirginalia sublimauit. Quae nuptiarum *imperiis* niteris subiugare?

For he who deigned to be the son of a virgin has himself now raised the virginal banners. Will you try to subjugate them *with* the injunctions of marriage?

I see no need to make the final words a separate sentence – or a question, either. *Imperiis* is more likely dative than ablative: "[...] which *you* are trying to make subject to the commands of marriage."



**1.427-430 (p. 106).** Failings of some practitioners do not reflect on the discipline.

Neque enim sub inertia personarum poterit sanctum labefactari propositum. Quomodo propter militem segniorem non poteris incausari militiam, uel propter imperitum lectorem lectio condemnari.

For a holy way of life shall not be overthrown because of the idleness of particular persons. And you cannot accuse military service because of one lazy soldier, or condemn reading because of one unskilled reader.

The period after *propositum* should be a comma; *quomodo* here = *sicut*. *Inc(a)usare* is not normally deponent, and the shift in construction to *lectio* would be very harsh. *B* (unreported by BC) reads not *militiam* but *militia*; if we accept this, we need only emend to *poterit* to restore order: “[...] just as military service cannot be accused because of one lazy soldier, or reading condemned because of one unskilled reader.”

**1.430-432 (p. 106).** That Dinah fell victim to one attacker does not make her less admirable than Susanna, who outwitted two.

Nam quod praetendis numerum seniorum ad unius adolescentis personam scito plus praeualere unius adolescentis *uirtutem* quam duorum senum debilium.

Now, since you put forward the number of the elders against the person of a single youth, know that the *virtue* of a single youth is superior to that of two weak elders.

There should be a comma after *personam*, as in the English. Here *uirtus* means “strength,” not “virtue” (the latter a quality not conspicuously displayed either by Shechem or by the elders in Daniel).

**1.449-452 (p. 108).** Scripture depicts virgins as slaves to married persons.

Saepenumero uirginitati nuptiae dominantur. Nam Elias Iezabel *aufugit* et Hieremiam Iudae principes adflixerunt. Et tres pueros Babylonii uinculis conligarunt. Et *ut simul referam*: Omnes uirgines habuere dominos coniugatos.

Again and again, marriage dominates virginity. For example, Elijah fled from Jezebel, and the princes of Judah cast Jeremiah down. And the Babylonians bound the three youths with fetters. And, *as I repeat at the same time*, all the virgins had masters who were married.

Both manuscripts have *aufugit*, unreported by BC. This form is found twice in Julian of Toledo: *Hist. Wambae* 11, ed. by J. N. HILLGARTH, Turnhout, 1976 (*CCSL*, 115), p. 228 and 27 p. 242. There is also some evidence for the simplex *fugit* in the Vetus Latina (*TLL* 6.1:1475.56-58), in Cas-

siodorus's *Historia Tripartita*, and in early medieval Spanish authors (Leander of Seville and Beatus of Liébana), among others. The form here may be scribal rather than authorial, but it certainly deserves to be recorded.

The not uncommon *ut simul referam* means not “as I repeat at the same time,” but “to put the matter in a nutshell,” “to sum up.”

**1.459-461 (p. 108).** Mother tries to turn the tables on Helia.

Si in primo gradu uirginitatem ponis et in nouissimo nuptias, Dominus et Saluator nouissimis *proposuit* primos dicens: ‘Erunt primi nouissimi, et nouissimi primi.’

If you place virginity in the first station and marriage in the last, our Lord and Savior *placed* the first *after* the last by saying: ‘The first will be last and the last first.’

BC's rendering gives the required sense, but would seem to require *postposuit*. If we keep the transmitted *proposuit*, then we need *nouissimos*: “he stated that the last were first.”

**1.462-465 (p. 108).** Proper understanding of scripture.

Quid mirum, si terrena astutia habeat ignorantiae uelamentum quod carere non poteris nisi ad spiritum transiens dicas: ‘Da mihi intellectum, et praescrutabo legem tuam.’ Et illum *audire* admonentem: ‘Scrutamini scripturas, *cum* in ipsis putatis uitam aeternam habere.’

It is no wonder if worldly cunning wears a veil of ignorance from which you will be unable to free yourself, unless, passing over to the spirit, you say ‘Give me understanding, and I will search your law.’ And *hear* him admonishing, ‘You study the scriptures, since you think that in them you have eternal life.’

We need an imperative. I had proposed *audite*, with the shift to the plural motivated by its use in the quotation that follows. The referee offers a further refinement: *audi te*. In the quotation that follows, BC fail to report that *B* has not *cum* but *quoniam* (the Vulgate has *quia*).

**1.486-488 (p. 110).** “I prefer to follow God than you.”

Puto quod [...] plus ipsius sermo proficiat, qui feminam ‘uiri adiutorium’ appellauit, quam tuus *quae* te ipsam praebere uiri neglegis adiutricem. quam tuus *quae*] *Conti* quam tuus quem *AB*

I believe that the word of the very one who called woman a ‘help for man’ is more efficacious [...] than yours, *since* you *perpetually* neglect to offer yourself as a helper to man.

Conti's *quae* (parallel to *qui* above) is a satisfactory and easy correction (*que* for *quē*) of the transmitted text, but it has no causative force, and I cannot find “perpetually” in the Latin. Translate: “than yours, who neglect [...]”

**1.492-494 (p. 110).** Helpers of God.

Aut quia dixit apostolus ‘Dei sumus adiutores,’ extimas apostolos Dominum *adiuuasse*?

And since the Apostle says ‘We are the helpers of God,’ do you think that the apostles *helped* the Lord?

There is no such form as *adiuuasse*. The apparatus lists no variants, but both manuscripts have *adiubisse*, i.e. *adiuuisse*.

**1.497-498 (p. 110).** Scriptural examples prove marriage a superior state.

Rebecca dum uirgo *esset*, aquam more *baiulabat* ancillarum, dum sortitur uirum, opulens dominatur.

When Rebecca *was* a virgin, she *carried* water in the manner of servants; when she received a husband, she had dominion in her wealth.

BC note that *B* has *baiulat*, but not that it also has *est*. This is the first of a series of before-and-after examples, and in each case Mother uses the present indicative for the initial *dum* clause: 1.510 *Iacob, dum uirgo est [...]*; 524 *Ioseph dum coniugium non sortitur [...]*; 537 *Moyses dum uxori minime sociatur [...]*; 549 *Dauid dum sponsus non est [...]*; 556 *Salomon dum nuptias non celebrat [...]*.

**1.499-500 (p. 110).** Helia catches Mother out.

*Sic quae tunc scripta sunt* ‘non sibi sed nobis’ procul dubio ‘ministrabant,’ tuis sermonibus *circumdaris*.

*So you constrain* with your words what was written then, which they undoubtedly ‘provided for us and not for themselves.’

Passive *circumdaris* can hardly mean “you constrain.” Read *si*: “If those things that are written they ‘provided,’ as they undoubtedly did, ‘for us and not for themselves,’ you are trapped by your own utterances.” *B* in fact has *siq(ue)*, though BC do not record it.

**1.506-509 (p. 112).** God confers intellectual, not literal, riches.

Ceterum sanctorum animae antequam Christo Domino copulentur uiles sunt, et egentes dum eius amplexibus potiuntur audiunt: ‘In omnibus ditati estis in Christo in omni uerbo et omni scientia *et dictatu*’ (1 Cor. 1.5) ‘in omnibus diuitiis plenitudinis et intellectus’ (Col. 2.2).

*dictatu Conti ditatu AB*

But the souls of the saints, before they are united to Christ the Lord, are of little value, and when, being needy, they receive his embraces, they hear: ‘In all things you have been enriched in Christ, in every

word and every knowledge *and teaching*, ‘in all the riches of fullness and intellect.’

The comma after *uiles sunt* should be deleted and a semicolon inserted after *egentes*: “before the souls are united to Christ they are worthless and needy; when they receive his embraces (etc.).” The citation of 1 Cor. 1.5 actually ends at *scientia*. Conti’s *dictatu* introduces by emendation a very rare word, and one that does not elsewhere have the meaning he attributes to it (cf. *TLL* 5.1:1005.31-40). Also unclear is why the author would have felt the need to supplement Paul’s statement with an additional term. The transmitted *ditatu* obviously requires correction, but surely just to *ditati*, making a bridge between the two quotations.

**1.515-517 (p. 112).** The role of shepherd is an honorable one.

Nam inter cetera uirtutum uocabula quibus *esse* Dominus uocari dignatus est, etiam pastoris uoluit censeri uocabulo dicens: ‘Ego sum pastor bonus.’

Indeed, among all the names of virtue by which the Lord deigned to be called, he wanted also to be distinguished by the name of shepherd, saying, ‘I am the good shepherd.’

The translation does not render *esse*, which has no construction or sense. Read *sese*. The two words are often confused, e.g. Caes. *Civ.* 1.14.4; Liv. 21.50.10; Plin. *Epist.* 6.18.3; Gell. 11.17.4; Just. 16.2.9.

**1.534-535 (p. 114).** The virgin Joseph’s misfortunes were no reflection on him.

Denique quod in Ioseph uirgine criminari *distracto* scilicet a germanis, ad praerogatiuam illius profecit claritatis.

Finally, what you blame in the virgin Joseph, who was, to be sure, *abducted* by his siblings, benefitted the privilege of his renown.

*Distracto* here means not “abducted” but “sold” (*OLD* s.v. *distrabo* 4). Helia goes on to explain: *Beatus namque est qui cum Christo uenditur a germanis*.

**1.559-560 (p. 114).** Solomon’s many marriages were no credit to him.

Quid mulieri adhaerendo gloriosiore praedicat Salomonem, quando illius ruinae interitum *causa* mulierum procurauit?

Why do you declare that Solomon becomes more glorious by joining with a woman, when he brought about the disaster of his own ruination *on account of* women.

BC’s assumption that Solomon is the subject of *procurauit* is not easy to reconcile with *illius*. The subject must be *causa mulierum*, but in that case *causa* can hardly be right. What brought about Solomon’s ruination was his excessive *love for* or *devotion to* women. Read *cura*. The confusion of the two words is extremely common: cf. e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.12.17; *Fast.* 1.55;

Tac. *Dial.* 37.4; Vict. Vit. 2.44, ed. by C. HALM, Berlin, 1879 (*MGH AA*, 3.1), p. 23; Greg. M. *Epist.* 9.28, ed. by D. NORBERG, Turnhout, 1982 (*CCSL*, 140A), p. 589. The author might have liked the mild wordplay in *cura [...] procurauit*.

**1.575-578 (p. 116).** The prophetic spirit finds many outlets.

Nam ipse Spiritus Dei, nunc per prophetas, nunc cum apostolis centum uiginti replet. Nunc credentium aliquos Iudeorum, nunc gentilium, nunc subito totum mundum, et idem ipse permanens nec de paucis defectum, nec a pluribus suscipit ampliamentum.

per] *om. B*

For the Spirit of God itself, at one time through prophets, at another time with apostles, fills one hundred twenty people; *it fills* some among the Jewish believers at one time, at another time some among the Gentiles, while at yet another time suddenly the whole world *is filled*; and remaining the same itself, it is neither diminished by smaller numbers, nor does it receive an increase from greater numbers.

The Spirit is only recorded as having filled a hundred and twenty people on one occasion (cf. Acts 1.15; 2.1-4), so the comma after *Dei* should be deleted. Either we should delete *per*, with *B* (perhaps as a false start for *pro-*), or a verb such as *loquitur* has dropped out after *prophetas*: “For that same Spirit of God <speaks> at one time through the prophets, and at another fills the one hundred twenty, together with the apostles [...]” At first glance it is tempting to change the period after *replet* to a comma (in which case deleting *per* seems best). But *nunc credentium [...]* begins a new series (prophets, pentecost; Jews, gentiles, whole world). It is awkward to supply *replet* across either a period (with BC’s text) or a semicolon (with their translation). Should we perhaps retain the period after *replet* and write *totum mundum <impl>et*?

**1.579 (p. 116).** (cont.)

Nam et hic sol eadem plenitudine pauciora uasa replet *quam* plurima.

For this sun, too, fills fewer vessels with the same fullness *as* more numerous vessels.

“This” sun presumably means the physical sun, to be distinguished from the *sol iustitiae*, Christ. For *quam* we should read *qua*. But there is a larger problem with the sentence. The sun does not fill vessels; water or other liquids do. Since *sol* does not seem obviously corrupt or easily emended, I suspect a line has dropped out in the archetype, something like: *nam et hic sol <eadem claritate super paucos et multos fulget, et aqua> eadem plenitudine pauciora uasa replet qua plurima*. Helia will make a similar point at 609-611 below: *Si enim isti soli corporeo oculorum diuersitas non auget nec*

*minuit claritatem, quanto magis humana societas nihil potest Deo uel adicere uel auferre.*

**1.580-583 (p. 116).** The married Jael and Judith are superior to Jephtha's daughter.

Iahel sortita coniugium superbissimum Sisaram iugulauit. Iudith cognita uiro terribilem interfecit Holofernem. Et uirgo filia Iephte non solum hostium nullum occidit, sed nec se ipsam a morte *uoluit* liberare.

Jael, after marrying, slaughtered the very arrogant Sisera. Judith, after knowing a husband, killed the terrible Holofernes. But the virgin daughter of Jephtha not only killed no enemies but *did not want* to free herself from death either.

Both manuscripts actually have *ualuit*; the married heroines are being praised for their efficiency and vigor in killing others, while Jephtha's daughter could not even manage to keep herself from being killed. BC's *uoluit* is no more than an error taken over from Antolín.

**1.584-586 (p. 116).** You are hoist by your own petard, Mother.

Quae aliis foueam praeparas altiolem secundum scripturam, ne prius in eam incidas non ueris? Calumnia quam obicis *ante* te nodis insolubilibus conligauit, dum claruit adsertio ueritatis.

Do you, who prepare a deep pit for others, not fear to fall into it first, in accordance with Scripture? The false charge that you have made has *previously* tied you with inextricable knots, while the affirmation of truth has been made clear.

If *ante* is sound it must mean "has tied you *first*," i.e. before you could tie others with it. But I wonder if we should not read *arte* (a confusion found also, e.g., at Liv. 36.11.9 and Prop. 2.3.42): "has tied you tightly with inextricable knots."

**1.591-593 (p. 116-118).** Jephtha's daughter was superior to Jael and Judith.

Illae aduersariorum sanguinem *superarunt*, in huius sanguine uictoria constitit Israelis. Illae per dolum, haec per innocentiam superauit.  
superauit] triumphauit B

Those women *shed* the blood of their adversaries, whereas the victory of Israel was secured in the blood of this one. Those women triumphed through deception, this one through innocence.

BC's translation gives good sense, but *superarunt* does not mean "shed." Read *sanguine*. In the next sentence the choice between *superauit* and *triumphauit* is not easy, but *triumphauit* offers welcome variation and *superauit* might be explained as a perseveration error.

**1.595-596 (p. 118).** Virgins too have been victorious in war.

Nam *et* noueris caelibes clariores triumphos saepe de hostibus peregisse.  
Quis sicut Dauid adhuc uirgo tam famosae uictoriae laureis sublimatur?

For *you should also have acknowledged* that celibates have often obtained more glorious triumphs over enemies. Who, like David, is elevated by the laurels of such an illustrious victory when still a virgin?

*B*, unremarked by *BC*, reads *ut*, which renders their contorted translation unnecessary. The period after *peregisse* should be a comma: “For – so that you may recognize that virgins have often obtained glorious victories over enemies – who, like David, [...]?”

**1.611-613 (p. 118).** Why was only one of the disciples a virgin?

Quod<sup>24</sup> uero inter duodecim Iohannes unus eligitur uirgo, adsertio nobis *tabentibus* fauet, Dominus in Iohanne uirginitatis raritatem ostendit.  
[*tabentibus*] *tacentibus* *A*

If among the twelve John is the only virgin chosen, this declaration favors those of us *who are dwindling away*: the Lord showed in John the rarity of virginity.

The comma after *fauet* should be a colon, as in the English. I cannot find parallels for the application of *tabere* to virginity; with its overtones of putrefaction and corruption, it seems an unlikely choice of word. More superficially appealing is *A*’s *tacentibus*: the numbers speak for themselves. But one would really expect Helia to be saying “us virgins.” Perhaps *abstinentibus*?

**1.613-614 (p. 118).** Rareness confers prestige.

Omni enim *abundantiae* pretiosior paucitas sicut in palatio principum rara est sublimior dignitas.

For paucity is more precious than any abundance, just as in the palace of princes a higher dignity is rare.

Read *abundantia*. In this context *dignitas* means “office.”

**1.616-618 (p. 118).** (cont.)

Nam temporibus Salomonis cum templum Domino dedicasset, non tantum *exuberat* aurum, cum uelut sicomora abundaret argentum.

For at the time of Solomon, when the temple was dedicated to the Lord, gold *was not so abundant*, while silver was as plentiful as sycamores.

<sup>24</sup> Preserving the scribes’ *quot* is unnecessary and misleading.



The present *exuberat* seems odd. Since gold has always been rarer and more valuable than silver, the author presumably means that it was not so abundant *on the temple*. Read *exuberabat*, with *B* (unreported by BC).

**2.3-6 (p. 120).** Mother turns from biblical exempla to Paul.

Ubi [...] locum suis non *inueniat* decipulis, apostolum producit in medium, de quo putabat obtinere suae subplantationis commenta quatenus disputationibus supradictis, nihil se ipsam cognouerat *peregisset*.  
inueniat *B* (*sec. Conti*) inuenti *A*

When she *could not find* any place for her snares, [...] the mother introduced the apostle into the midst of the debate; from him she believed she might acquire the fabrications of her own hypocritical deceit, since she had thought herself *to have accomplished* nothing in the aforementioned disputes.

*Ubi* in this use does not normally take a subjunctive, and both manuscripts in fact read *inuenit*.<sup>25</sup> The comma after *supradictis* should be moved back to follow *commenta*. Syntax requires *peregisse*, and that is what *B* has, though BC fail to report it; *A*'s *peregisset* is a perseveration error.

**2.7-13 (p. 120).** Paul had no commandment from the Lord concerning virgins.

Apostolus uirginitatis iura a Domino sibi negauit iniuncta dicens: 'De uirginibus praeceptum Domini non habeo'; tu quomodo propositum nequaquam diuinitus promulgatum nefaria praesumptione niteris profiteri? Nam *et sic* secutus adiunxit: 'Consilium autem do,' non ad auctoritatem continuo pertinebit quod infertur consilio non praecepto. Aliud est praecepto constringi, aliud consilio praemoneri.

The apostle denied that the laws of virginity were imposed on him by the Lord, saying: 'I have no command of the Lord concerning virgins.' How do you try to profess with unlawful conceit a way of life that was never divinely decreed? For he went on to add, 'But I give counsel.' What is introduced by counsel, not command, will not always extend to the authoritative. It is one thing to be constrained by a command, another to be admonished with counsel.

Better: "The apostle denied that laws (etc.)." BC do not translate *et sic*, which has no obvious function. Paul's *consilium autem do* is not further confirmation of Mother's view (as "For he went on to add" might suggest), but a potential objection she needs to talk her way around. The argument would be clearer with *et si*: "For *even if* he went on to add [...]". The sen-

<sup>25</sup> The *-it* ligature in *A* is the same as that used for, e.g., *potuit* at 2.111 (p. 126). I do not know whether BC took their *inuenti* from Antolín or made the same mistake independently.

tence should then be punctuated as in the Latin, with a comma after *do*, not as in the English.

**2.34-37 (p. 122).** Different commandments for different times.

Inconueniens enim erat ‘amplexandi tempore’ uirginitatem insinuari populo per apertum. Sed eo tempore quo conuenit ‘longe fieri ab amplexu’ ordo poscebat sanissimus, ‘non primum quod spirituale sed quod animale, postea quod spirituale est’ *celebrare*.

For it was unfitting, in the ‘time of embracing,’ that virginity be recommended to the people openly. But at that time which was fitting, a very salutary order required one ‘to be far from an embrace,’ *to celebrate* ‘first not what is spiritual but what is natural, later what is spiritual.’

This incomprehensible passage becomes clear once the period after *aper-tum* is moved to follow *amplexu*. “For it was unfitting in the ‘time of embracing’ that virginity be recommended to the people openly, but rather (that it be recommended) in this time, when it is fitting ‘to be far from an embrace.’ A very salutary order required that there be celebrated (etc.).” (I translate, and would print, *B*’s *celebrari*, which goes unmentioned by BC.)

**2.37-40 (p. 122).** (cont.)

Decebat enim nascentem mundum fetibus cumulari et senescentem sub-  
ole tenuari, ut sicut tunc numerositate *coniugum* partubus augebatur, ita  
nunc paulatim multitudine uirginum minuat.

coniugum] coniugium *B*

For it was proper that the newborn world be abundantly filled with children and in old age reduced with respect to offspring, so that just as humanity then increased with births through the great number of *marriages*, so now it is gradually diminished by the multitude of virgins.

I suspect *numerositate coniugum* means not just “multiplicity of *marriages*” (BC’s rendering is perhaps unconsciously influenced by the rejected reading in *B*), but “multiplicity of *wives*,” an allusion to the polygamy practised by many of the patriarchs. This also delivers a more exact balance with *uirginum*.

**2.41-43 (p. 122).** Our forefathers could tolerate only the shadow of virginity.

Carnali enim plebi non conueniebat haec *perfecta* euidenti-  
us intimare, nec populo sub umbris et imaginibus constituto rei proprietas lucidius  
explanari

perfecta] *Conti* perfecte *A B*

Indeed it was not suitable that *these counsels of perfection* be broadcast more plainly to the carnal masses, nor that the appropriateness of this thing be explained more clearly to a people placed under shadows and images .

Conti's *perfecta* is possible, but one might also consider *perfecte* <et> *evidentius*. Cf. Prosp. *Sent.* 239, ed. by M. Gastaldo, Turnhout, 1972 (CCSL, 68A), p. 313 *perfecte deus evidenterque monstravit quantum sit bonum oboedientia*. In the next clause, *proprietas* means not "appropriateness," but "true nature." The adverbs *evidentius* and *lucidius* have no comparative force; as often in later Latin prose the form is chosen for rhythmical reasons.

#### 2.46-49 (p. 122).

Lac enim cibus *uel potus* est *eliquatus*, sed hoc paruulis illud grandiusculis conuenit. Quamuis utrique uitalibus epulis *sustentatur*, tamen pro mensura uniuscuiusque aetatis *ut infantibus liquefactae capacioribus integrae alimoniae dispensentur*."

For milk is food, *or if you will, a flowing drink*, and it is suitable for very small infants, while more solid food is suitable for bigger ones. Although each *is sustained* by lifegiving meals, it is nonetheless in accordance with the measure of the age of each one, *so that liquefied whole foods are dispensed to infants of greater capacity*.

Helia employs a familiar comparison (inspired by 1 Cor. 3.2 and developed by Origen), likening Old Testament allegory (or here, marriage) to the milk upon which infants are fed and Christ's message (or here, virginity) to solid food. Drink is liquid by definition, so the specification "flowing" would be redundant; the passive *eliquatus* in any case means "strained" or "purified." Translate: "Milk is puréed food or drink." There should be a comma after *paruulis*. *Quamuis* in this text normally takes a subjunctive, and has done so only two lines previously at 2.44 *quamuis matres [...] tribuant alimenta*. B has *sustentetur*, unmentioned by BC, and that should be adopted.<sup>26</sup> Finally, we need a comma after *liquefactae*: "so that liquefied foods are dispensed to infants, (and) whole ones to those of greater capacity."

#### 2.55-59 (p. 122-124). Certain practices were reserved for Christ's arrival.

Nam *contentus* saeculi mortificatio corporis martyrii dignitas et huiusmodi similia uelut officia quaedam et comites clariores, ut inclitus imperator inusitatis ordinibus procederet regnaturus, *ut noua progenies et nouis insignibus coruscaret, quod illud uaticinium conpleretur, post se omnem hominem traheret*.

traheret] traet A

<sup>26</sup> Similarly at 2.372 (p. 144) *quamuis improbum uidetur*, BC fail to note that B has *uideatur*.

Now, *let contempt* for the world, mortification of the body, the dignity of martyrdom, and other similar things *draw every person after him* like officials and illustrious retainers, so that the renowned emperor who is about to reign may move forward with his extraordinary ranks, and *a new generation* may shine with new insignia, because that prophesy [*sic*] is fulfilled.

As the translation suggests, *contentus* should be *contemptus* (both manuscripts in fact have *contentus*, unreported by BC). It is surprising to see the imperfect *traheret* translated as a hortatory subjunctive. BC have evidently missed the allusion to Job 21.33: *post se omnem hominem trahet*. This is the *uaticinium* referred to, and we should read *quo* for *quod*: “whereby that prophecy might be fulfilled, that he would draw every man after him” (or, with *A*’s *tra(h)et*: “that prophecy [...] ‘he will draw every man after him’”). In the first part of the sentence we have to supply (or insert) *sunt*: “are, as it were, various officials and illustrious retainers.”

*Ut [...] procederet regnaturus* echoes Psalm. 44.5, *procede et regna*. Also worth noting is the Vergilian tag *noua progenies*, alluding to the Messianic interpretation of *Ecl.* 4.7, *iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto*.<sup>27</sup> Finally, the variant version in *B*, *et noua progenies nouis insignibus coruscaret* gives better parallelism with what precedes and is, I think, to be preferred. (BC report the omission of *et* before *nouis*, but not *et* for *ut* before *noua*.)

**2.61-62 (p. 124).** Please excuse the length of the speech I am about to give.

Fastidio non sit si proferre documenta plurima *cupientem* sermo latius extendatur.

Let it not be a reason for annoyance if my speech is copiously extended, *as I desire* to put forward many examples.

I do not see how *cupientem* is to be construed. Read *cupientis* or *cupienti*.

**2.62-63 (p. 124).** The Old Testament speaks allegorically of virginity.

Nonne uirginitas in illis mysteriis uelabatur in quibus iuuenca necdum iugum patiens *admonita* sacrificiis cedebatur?

Was virginity not veiled in those mysteries in which a heifer who had not yet endured a yoke *was urged on* and given in sacrifice?

The editors cite two biblical passages (Deut. 21.3-4; Num. 19.2-5), but neither of them refers to the heifer being “urged on.” BC’s *admonita* is an error taken over uncorrected from Antolín. Both manuscripts read *admota*,

<sup>27</sup> The Vergilian passage is adapted in fuller form (and again goes unrecognized by BC) at 3.67 (p. 156): *Iam rediit uirginitas. Iam noua progenies ex alto ueniens caelo aulam incoluit uirginalem*.

for which cf. Rufin. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.8.3, ed. by T. MOMMSEN, Leipzig, 1903 (GCS, 9.1), p. 217: *in eadem quoque festiuitate uitula sacrificiis admota et aris adsistens [...] enixa est agnam*. It is not clear from BC's rendering whether they realize that *cedebatur* = *caedebatur*.

**2.79-82 (p. 124).** Jeremiah 31.27 must be interpreted allegorically.

Et iterum: 'Ecce dies ueniunt dicit Dominus, et seminabo domum Israel et domum Iuda semine hominis, et semine iumentorum.' Quod ad litteram non stabit, nisi ad uirginitatis intelligentiam deriuaris. *Numquid* in domo Iuda illis diebus semen hominum et iumentorum non fuerat?

And again, 'Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of humans and with the seed of beasts of burden.' This will not hold up literally unless you refer it to the understanding of virginity: had there been no seed of humans and beasts of burden in the house of Judah in those days?

BC's *numquid* has been taken over unchecked from Antolín. Both manuscripts have *numquidnam*, a form plentifully attested in later and patristic Latin.

**2.86-88 (p. 126).** The fruits of virginity were reserved for Christ's appearance.

Nec non et plurima his similia, in ueteri testamento inuenies. Si requiras *quae* non passim primitus prodebantur, quia Christo Domino seruabantur.

And you will find many other examples similar to these in the Old Testament. If you ask *why* these examples did not initially appear everywhere, it is because they were saved for Christ the Lord.

The comma after *similia* should be deleted. In the next sentence the word required is *qua(r)e* (as the English suggests). The indicative *prodebantur* suggests that the question is direct speech: If you ask 'Why did they not initially appear everywhere?' (it is) because [...]

**2.91-92 (p. 126).** Allegories of things to come.

Denique *quae* de uirginitate *recitabimus* documenta de futuro paene omnia recensentur, ut unigenito uirginitatis gloria seruaretur.

And thereupon, almost all examples of virginity that *we shall recite* about the future are mustered, so that the glory of virginity might be saved for the Only-Begotten.

Helia has been listing Old Testament passages she interprets as allegories of virginity, whose fulfillment is reserved for Christ's appearance. Accordingly we should read *recitauimus*.

**2.95-97 (p. 126).** The spread of virginity awaited Christ's arrival.

Ergo si rex tunc in suo recubitu quiescebat [...] quid mirum si sileretur uirginitas et tunc demum passim et copiosius uulgaretur, cum rex *prae-cederet* et regnaret.

Therefore if at that time the king was resting in his bed [...] there is no reason to be surprised if virginity keeps silent and it is spread everywhere abundantly precisely at the time when the king reigns *supreme*.

Read *procederet*. BC overlook the echo of Psalm. 44.5, *procede et regna*, already invoked at 2.55 (p. 124).

**2.100-102 (p. 126).** The three types of eunuchs refer to virginity.

Nam si hoc non significabat sermo dominicus, quid ad utilitatem pertinet *animarum* eunucorum genera recensere?

And if the discourse of the Lord did not signify this, what is the use in examining the characters of the eunuchs' *souls*?

As BC note, the reference is to Matthew 19.12: *sunt enim eunuchi qui de matris utero sic nati sunt, et [...] qui facti sunt ab hominibus, et [...] qui se ipsos castrauerunt propter regnum caelorum*. But that passage says nothing about the eunuchs' souls. *Animarum* depends on *utilitatem*: "how does it conduce to the benefit of souls to list the types of eunuchs?"

**2.103-107 (p. 126).** The good Samaritan.

Quid enim signabatur quod stabulario Samarites commendat, ut quicquid commendato supererogasset infirmo ipse redderet cum rediret? Quam uirginitatis professio quae praecepto non imponitur sed offertur '*nec*' continentiae 'bonum uelut ex necessitate esset sed ex uoluntate,' quia super praecepto est mandatorum.

And what did it signify that the Samaritan promised the inn-keeper that upon his return he himself would pay back whatever extra funds the inn-keeper might have spent on the injured man entrusted to him? The profession of virginity is not imposed by a command but offered, '*nor* is the goodness' of continence 'as it were from necessity, but rather from free will,' because it is above the imposition of orders.

The question mark after *rediret* should be moved down to the end of the next sentence: the initial *quid* = *quid aliud*: "What (else) did the Samaritan's affirmation to the inn-keeper, that he would pay back (etc.), signify, but the profession of virginity, which [...]?"

In the quotation of Philemon 1.14 that follows, both manuscripts have *ne continentiae* (unreported by BC). This is also the reading of the biblical

model and is needed to motivate the subjunctive *esset*: “in order that the good’ of virginity ‘not be as it were from necessity, but (etc.).” BC’s *nec* is an error taken over from Antolín.

**2.112-116 (p. 126).** Virginity’s glory is that it is freely chosen, not ordered.

Quae uirginitas propterea non recapitulatur in numero mandatorum, quia inutilis est qui complet *opus* quod iubetur. Mirabilis uero est qui facit quod non exigitur. *Quia* itaque uirginitas inter gradus reliquos habetur mirabilis et praeclara merito: non contenta est legibus subiacere, sed legem potius praeuenire.

opus] *Conti*, opere *A B*

Thus virginity is not listed in the number of the commandments, since one who fulfils a task because it is prescribed is useless; however, one who does what is not required is admirable. Virginity is considered admirable and glorious among all other statuses with good reason: it is not satisfied to be subject to laws but rather seeks to surpass the law.

The period after *iubetur* should be a comma or semicolon (as in the English). The referee notes the echo of Luke 17.10 *cum feceritis omnia quae praecepta sunt uobis dicite ‘serui inutiles sumus: quod debuimus facere fecimus.’* The transmitted *opere* should be retained: “who fulfills by his actions what is enjoined.” *Opere complere*, “to accomplish,” is a common idiom in Jerome and other late antique authors.

*Quia* is not accounted for in BC’s translation; it should be *quae*, as in the sentence above.

**2.119-120 (p. 128).** Sacrifices too are not mandatory.

Nam et sacrificia *quemadmodum* et caelibatus non sunt offerentibus imperata.

For neither sacrifices *of any sort* nor celibacy are imposed on those who offer them.

Rather: “Sacrifices, *like* celibacy, are not imposed (etc.)”

**2.133-134 (p. 128).** The Israelites at Sinai were ordered to abstain from sex.

Et populus non *ante* meruit uocem saltem audire dominicam, nisi a mulierum amplexibus temperaret.

ante] *om. B*

[...] and *previously* people did not even deserve to hear the voice of the Lord if they did not abstain from their wives’ embraces.

As BC note, the reference is to Exodus 19.15. But the placement of *ante* (if we accept it) makes their interpretation unlikely; *non ante [...] nisi* is



equivalent to *non ante [...] quam*. Translate: “they were not found worthy even to hear [...] until they abstained.”

**2.137-138 (p. 128).** Comparison of Adam and Christ proves virginity’s superiority.

Nuptiae in Adam, uirginitas *dicatur* in Christo. Nuptiae homicidam, uirginitas genuit Saluatorem.

Marriage *is made known* in Adam, virginity in Christ. Marriage generated a murderer, virginity a Savior.

BC posit a use of *dicare* (*OLD* s.v. 1 “to indicate, show”; *TLL* 5.1:964.3-7 “i.q. nuntiare, indicare”) that is attested with certainty only in Lucilius. The actual intended meaning probably lies somewhere between “is consecrated” (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2; *TLL* 5.1:964.8-965.21) and “is granted,” “is assigned” sc. *nobis* (*OLD* s.v. 4; *TLL* 5.1:965.52-966.22).

**2.143-144 (p. 128).** Comparison of Eve and Mary.

In partu Euae dolores et gemitus ampliatur. In partu uirginis, angelorum militia *congregantur*.

In Eve’s childbirth, pains and groans are increased; in the Virgin’s childbirth, the hosts of the angels *are gathered*.

I cannot see any reason for the second verb to be subjunctive, and *B* in fact has *congregantur* (not reported by BC). The plural, if sound, is of the type sometimes found in English with collective bodies (“the committee are”), but it is tempting to correct to *congregatur*.

**2.145-147 (p. 128-130).** (cont.)

Ibi terra protulit uepre, hic germinat Saluatorem. Ibi totius saeculi condemnatio, *nam* in partu uirginis totius mundi redemptio.

There the earth brought forth brambles; here it produces the Savior.  
There the condemnation of the entire world occurred, *but* in the childbirth of the Virgin there is redemption for the whole world.

“But” is not a natural rendering of *nam*, and it will be noted that the Latin has nothing corresponding to “occurred.” Both problems can be solved if we emend *nam* to *nata* and move the comma to follow it.

**2.151-156 (p. 130).** Mother objects that Paul contradicts the Old Testament.

MATER DIXIT: Ergo apostolus praeceptis dominicis aduersatur et diuinorum ut uideo destructor est mandatorum, qui uocem dominicam audeat uacuare.

VIRGO DIXIT: Aduersitas nulla est quae cum conuenientia temporis dispensatur. Neque enim si hieme pellem iubearis inducere et hanc praeciparis deponere per aestatem, *nudacitas* uidetur interesse.

THE MOTHER: The apostle, who dares to erase the voice of the Lord, therefore opposes the precepts of the Lord and is, as I see, a destroyer of the divine commandments.

THE VIRGIN: Opposition that is arranged in conformity with the times is insignificant. For example, if you are ordered to wear a leather coat in winter and then are instructed to take it off in summer, *your nudity* has no importance.

Neither *nudacitas* nor its presumed root *nudax* is found elsewhere, and the sense assumed is murky at best. Read *audacitas*, picking up Mother's *audeat*: "no presumptuousness is involved." This would be (probably) the earliest attestation of this form (vs. classical *audacia*), but there are later examples (cf. *DMLBS* s.v.) and the formation is not problematic. This would not be the only case where the *Vita* represents a word's first attestation: others are *sponsalitas* 1.526 (p. 112), next attested in Paschasius Radbertus, and *adlateratus* 1.550 (p. 114), attested only once or twice in much later authors.

**2.160-163 (p. 130).** As the end of days grows near, virginity is in order.

Ergo dum tempus breue non erat dicitur: 'Non est bonum hominem sic esse.' Dum predicatur *tempus breue est*, infertur 'bonum est homini sic esse.' Tunc dictum est: 'Maledicta sterilis,' modo dicitur: 'Beata sterilis.'

Therefore, when time was not short, it was said, 'It is not good for a person to be so'; when it is preached *that time is short*, it is concluded that 'it is good for a person to be so.' Then it was said, 'Cursed is the barren one'; now it is said, 'Blessed is the barren one.'

The phrase *tempus breue est* should be marked as a quotation (1 Cor. 7.29), which is then the subject of *predicatur*: "when 'Time is short' is preached." As BC note (p. 188), the phrase *maledicta sterilis* is not found in scripture, but our author is not the only one to quote it as if it were. BC cite three examples from Jerome. A number of others are collected by N. ADKIN, "An Unidentified Latin Quotation of Scripture related to Is. 31,9", *Revue Bénédictine*, 93 (1983), p. 123-125. The earliest instance found by Adkin is in Origen, but the ultimate source remains uncertain.

**2.164-166 (p. 130).** God is not opposed to change.

Numquid quia ipse Dominus naturam mutauit aquarum, contra sui fecit ordinem constituti qui rem suam non *alienam* sed in facturam propriam commutauit?

Because the Lord himself changed the nature of water, did he act against the order of his own institution, he who transformed something of his own into a created work not *alien* but proper to him?

With the text printed the reader initially takes *alienam* in opposition to *suam* until *sed* makes clear that it is actually opposed to *propriam*; we must then supply *in* as well as *facturam* backwards. This is perhaps not impossible, but I am tempted to write *non* *<in>* *alienam*.

**2.175-178 (p. 130-132).** Christ himself changed with the circumstances.

Quia non uno modo dispensatio Christi completur: aliter patientia morientis, aliter gloria resurgentis, aliter triumphus in caelo perficitur mirabiliter; *consedentis* resurrecturi potentia passionis tempore tegebatur, et resurgendi tempore ludibria oportuerat discedere passionum.

For the dispensation of Christ is not brought to fulfilment in a single manner: in one manner, the suffering of the one who dies, in another, the glory of the one who is resurrected, in yet another, the triumph in heaven is accomplished wondrously. The power of the one who was *seated with God* and was to be resurrected was hidden in the time of suffering, and in the time of resurrection the mockeries inflicted with the sufferings had to pass away.

The asyndeton would be troubling (BC's "and" is not in the Latin). The semicolon belongs after, not before, *consedentis*. This simultaneously creates parallelism in what precedes (*morientis [...] resurgentis [...] consedentis*), and balance in what follows (*resurrecturi [...] passionis ~ resurgendi [...] passionum*).

**2.179-181 (p. 132).** Procreation was appropriate before Christ's birth.

Tam diu permansit uox illa saeculi primitiui: 'Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram,' quamdiu corruptione generante uirginitas nec dum genuerat Saluatorem.

For as long as that voice of the first age persisted, 'Increase and multiply and fill the earth,' virginity did not give birth to a Savior through the generativity of corruption.

This has *tam diu [...] quam diu* backwards. *Corruptione generante* is an ablative absolute: "That instruction of the first age [...] remained in force so long as there was engendering by corruption and virginity had not yet given birth to the Savior."

**2.187-189 (p. 132).** Helia remonstrates with Mother.

Aut *qua uerecundia* superponis uirginitati coniugia? Sufficit tibi quod filii saeculi sunt, qui nubentur et nubent, et filii resurrectionis qui concubitus non nouerunt.

Or is it *out of some shame* that you place marriage above virginity? It is sufficient for you that those who will be given in marriage and marry are children of the world and those who have not known intercourse are children of the resurrection.

BC's English renders <ali>*qua* or *qua*<dam> *uerecundia*. The transmitted (and correct) *qua uerecundia [...]*? means "how dare you," "how do you have the face to [...]" Cf. Ambr. *Virginit.* 10.56, ed. by E. CAZZANIGA, Torino, 1954, p. 26: '*Quomodo induam illam, hoc est qua uerecundia, quo pudore, qua postremo memoria?*'

**2.190-192 (p. 132).** Mother, out of other ammunition, invokes Eph. 6.1.

Quatenus *lectioni diuinae* parum erudita sermonibus non ualeo sanctae scripturae memoriam recensere, unum tantummodo eloquar *quod* omnis tuae uelocitatis sagacitas eneruetur.

Since I am insufficiently educated in the words *of the divine reading* and cannot recount the narrative of the holy scripture, I will cite only one example, *so that* all the keenness of your rapid style may be weakened.

BC's own rendering seems to assume *lectionis* and *quo*, which should be restored.

**2.196-198 (p. 132).** Helia reprehends Mother's handling of scripture.

Omnis *circumstantia* lectionis dum non recapitulatur ad integrum confundit et obnubilat intellectum. Imperfecta *prosecutio* tua acie mentis obtunsa prauae intelligentiae tibimet umbras *intemperat*.

Any *aspect* of the reading, when it is not recapitulated in its entirety, confounds and fogs the intellect. Since the sharpness of your mind is blunted, your incomplete *argument* *augments* the shadows of your depraved intelligence.

Helia's complaint is that Mother has quoted part of Eph. 6.1, *fili oboedite parentibus uestris*, but not the two words that follow: *in Domino*. In this context *circumstantia* means "context," while *prosecutio* means not "argument" but "continuation," "follow-up." *TLL* 7.1:2108.81 lists *intempero*, on the basis of a doubtful entry in a glossary, as a back-formation from *intemperatus*, apparently meaning "to be intemperate." It is hard to see how it could mean "augment," or anything else that would make sense in this context, particularly since it is merely a misreading in Antolín; both manuscripts have *intemptat*. This is a well attested verb and its basic sense, "brandish" coheres well with the metaphor in *acie [...] obtunsa*. Translate: "Since the sharpness of your mind is blunted, your incomplete quotation brandishes (only) the shadows of mistaken interpretation." I would not

call this a wholly successful image, but I think the author was trying for a negative version of something like Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 40.7, ed. by W. VON HARTEL, Vienna, 1894 (*CSEL*, 29), p. 348 *discussa nube tenebrarum inluminabitur noster interior [...] ut inter huius saeculi tenebras acutam aciem defecatae (defectae var.l.) mentis intendat.*

**2.205-207 (p. 134).** Mother rebukes Helia.

*Vere quia* in multiloquio non effugies peccatum. Scientia tua in hoc proficit, ut praecepta *dominica* sibi faciat discordare. *Ignoras* quia dum male superare contendis, contra te militans superaris?

*Because you truly* will not escape sin, your loquacity notwithstanding, your knowledge only succeeds in making the precepts of the Lord disagree with each other. *Do you not know* that when you strive to conquer by evil means, you wage war against yourself and are conquered?

Here it is the Latin that is correctly punctuated, and the English wrong. *Vere quia* means “Truly” or “Yea, verily,” as it does at 1.116 (p. 88) and 3.279 (p. 170). Here it introduces a quotation of Proverbs 10.19 (unnoticed by BC): “Verily, ‘in multitude of words you shall not escape sin.’” *B* has *domini*, not *dominica*, and *ignorans*, not *ignoras*, both possibly right and neither recorded by BC.

**2.208-212 (p. 134).** Helia argues that circumstances alter cases.

Dum non es contenta morigerari praeceptis apostoli dicentis: ‘Nolite ante tempus quicquam iudicare,’ praeuenis sententiam sermonibus imperitis, uisa sum tibi discrepantiam facere praeceptorum, *ignorans* ‘tempus pacis et tempus belli.’ Vtique praecepta temporis pacis aduersa uidentur tempore belli, *cum in suo ordine salubria cognoscantur.*

While you are not content to comply with the commands of the apostle who says, ‘Do not judge anything before the time,’ you anticipate the verdict with your unskilled words: I seem to you to create a discrepancy in the commands. *You do not know* that there is ‘a time of peace and a time of war.’ Certainly the commands of the time of peace appear to be opposed to the time of war, *if salutary things are recognized in their context.*

The comma after *imperitis* should be a period (preferable to the colon in the English). Since *ignorans* cannot be taken with *tibi*, we need *ignoras*, as well as a period (not comma) after *praeceptorum*; BC’s English already implies this. (Alternatively we might assume an anacoluthon, with *uisa sum tibi* mentally reconstrued as *me putas*.) The final sentence means: “The commands of peacetime seem counterproductive in a time of war, although in their own place they are found to be beneficial.”

**2.216-217 (p. 134).** (cont.)

Quod si in *aduersitate* temporum *unimodo* insinuaretur praeceptum, non uitam sed periculum generaret.

For if in *opposing* times a command *of a single time* were issued, it would produce not life but danger.

The editors cite no variants for this passage, but *B* has *diuersitate* and *unimodum*, both of which seem improvements. The very rare adj. *unimodus* also appears at 1.182 (p. 92), *non unimoda sed triplicia [...] coniugia*. I have found only three earlier or contemporary uses: Apul. *Plat.* 2.5; Prud. *Psych.* 768; Mart. Cap. 8.855. This is a small indication of the author's stylistic ambitions.<sup>28</sup>

**2.225-228 (p. 134).** Helia's resistance only enrages Mother further.

Cumque mater tanta testimoniorum frequentia uelut illi populi qui contra Iosue *confluxerunt*, quibusdam grandinibus caelitus *caederentur*, acrius inflammata his conuiciis filiam efferatur [...].

caederentur] *Conti*, caederetur *A B*

And like the people who contended against Joshua *and were assailed* by hailstones from heaven, the mother was the more fiercely inflamed by such an abundance of testimonies and attacked her daughter savagely with the following insults [...].

The editors do not note that *B* has *confluxerunt* (subsequently corrected to *-ant*, perhaps by the same hand). This has some appeal in light of Ios. 10.6 *conuenerunt enim aduersum nos omnes reges Amorreorum*. *Conti*'s correction of *caederetur* to the plural is misguided; the subjunctive is motivated by the preceding *cum*, and Mother is the subject.

**2.229-232 (p. 134).** Mother warns Helia.

Quatenus salubritatem *maternis* sermonis *respicere* noluisti, et inoboedientia praeualente maxillas tuas *super lapidem* indurasti, sed et consulentia nostra monita penitus contempsisti, in affectione cordis tui *dimissa* uelut nauis sine remigio protinus submergeris.

As you did not want to respect the salubrity of our maternal discourse and, with your disobedience prevailing, you not only hardened your jaws *upon stone* but also utterly scorned our considerate

<sup>28</sup> I take the opportunity to note two other items of potential interest to lexicographers: 2.2 (p. 120), *argumentatrix*, otherwise attested only at Tert. *Spect.* 2.2, ed. by E. DEKKERS, Turnhout, 1954 (*CCSL*, 1), p. 228; 3.146 (p. 162) *imputribilitas*, attested at Apponius, *In Cant.* 8.49, ed. by B. DE VREGILLE and L. NEYRAND, Turnhout, 1986 (*CCSL*, 19), p. 201 and in a few twelfth-century passages. A thorough search would probably uncover more such items.

admonitions in the *forsaken* affection of your heart, you will be immediately submerged like a ship without rowers.

Read *materni*, the reading of *B* (not noted by BC, though already implied by their translation). *B* also has *resipiscere* (again unremarked by the editors). This would entail emending to *salubritate*, but accidental addition of *-m* would be easy enough before *materni*, while corruption of *resipiscere* to *respicere* seems easier than the reverse.

*Maxillas tuas super lapidem indurasti* feels like a scriptural echo, but I have not found a source closer than Job 41.15, *cor eius indurabitur quasi lapis*. BC seem to be envisioning the stone as a whetstone, but hardening is different from sharpening; I think the Latin must mean “you have hardened your jaws beyond (the hardness of) stone.” BC have also overlooked a more certain scriptural echo: *in affectione cordis tui dimissa* looks to Psalm. 80.13 *et dimisi eos secundum affectiones cordis eorum* (so Aug. in Psalm. 80.17, ed. by E. DEKKERS and J. FRAIPONT, Turnhout, 1956 [CCSL, 39], p. 1130; the Vulgate has *illos secundum desideria*). This confirms that *dimissa* is nominative: “given over to the longings of your own heart.”

### 2.232-236 (p. 134). Mother calls for silence.

Iam stultiloquia tua non patiar intonare. De cetero conticesce. Non sustineam te ex hoc *mutilare* uerbosam diuinarum legum sacrilegam, maternis monitis contumacem, beneficii nostri immemorem, rebellem, temerariam [...] inconsideratam, *stultiloquiam*, effrenatam.

I will not allow your foolish sayings to thunder forth. For the rest, be silent. From now on I will not endure the damage you do – verbose girl, profaner of the divine laws, insolent towards maternal admonitions, oblivious of our favors, rebellious, reckless [...] inconsiderate, foolish-talking, and unrestrained.

As the translation suggests, there should be a comma after *uerbosam*. The transmitted *mutilare* is difficult. Who or what is being mutilated? Read *mussitare*, “grouse” or “grumble.” The word is sometimes spelled with a single *-s-* (cf. *TLL* 8:1707.24-26), as indeed it is at prol. 18 (p. 76), so *musitare/mutilare* is virtually an instance of anagram corruption. In the final list of insults, *stultiloquiam* is the abstract quality; we need the adjectival form, *stultiloquam* – and that is what *B* has, though the editors fail to report it.

### 2.237-239 (p. 134-136). Mother experiments with corporal chastisement.

Tantis itaque conuiciis *inrogata*, uirgis quam pluribus artus lacerat delictatos, atque hiemis tempore sub ethere pruinoso iussit statui lineatam, sperans quod spiritum quod feruebat niuiferae noctis *algor* posset extinguere.

inrogata] inrogatam *Antolin*      algor] *Conti*, algore *A B*



And thus, after *inflicting her* with such grave insults, she mangled her delicate limbs with many switches and in winter ordered her to stand under the frosty sky in a linen dress, hoping that *the cold* of the snow-bearing night might extinguish her glowing spirit.

BC's rendering violates English idiom; one inflicts insults "on" persons, not persons "with" insults. Since Latin *irrogare* takes the same construction (and is not deponent), the Latin is equally problematic. In reality *inrogata*, which BC imply is the reading of both manuscripts, is the reading of neither. *A* has *inrogatam*, which they wrongly attribute to Antolín, while *B* has the form needed: *inrogatis*. I cannot see that the transmitted *algore* requires any change: "hoping that she could extinguish by means of the cold (etc.)."

**2.241-243 (p. 136).** Helia is unmoved by her mother's maltreatment of her.

*Illa uelut petra solidissima, quae undis circumlatrantibus non mouetur, immobilis et imperturbabilis permanebat.*

The girl remained immovable and imperturbable, like a very solid rock that is not shaken by the waves raging around it.

BC offer no comment on the "unshaken rock" image. Some other examples of this topos are collected and discussed by G. LOZZA, "Come scoglio immoto resta", in *Ricordando Raffaele Cantarella*, ed. by F. CONCA, Milan, 1999, p. 227-237. It provides another indication of the author's high stylistic ambitions.

**2.243-246 (p. 136).** ... but apprehensive of further assaults.

*Praesentibus quidem fortiter persistebat. Futura quidem sollicita metuebat, credens ne quid fraudis aduersus uirginem carnalis animus moliretur. Non enim desisteret absconsis decipulis supplantare quam apertis machinis deicere festinabat.*

Indeed, she bravely endured the present circumstances, *but* she was anxious and feared the future, *believing* that the carnal mind would plot some deception against the virgin. For the mother would not cease tripping her up with hidden traps, *and* she hastened to destroy her with unconcealed plots.

BC's "but" for the second *quidem* gives the required sense, but that cannot be extracted from *quidem*, an obvious perseveration error. Read *autem*. In the next clause, both context and syntax require a verb of fearing, which *credens* is not. Of the obvious candidates, *uerens* seems perhaps slightly superior palaeographically to *timens* or *pauens*.

The rendering of *Non enim desisteret*, etc. misses the point (and there is no “and” in the Latin). Translate: “For the mother would not (be likely to) cease from tripping up with hidden traps the girl whom she was hastening to destroy with unconcealed plots.” The same point is made at 247-248 below, with the point of view reversed: *Verebatur enim ne occultis insidiis uinceretur, quae publico certamine triumphabat*.

**2.247 (p. 136).** Helia girds herself for further combat.

*Ex hoc* non cibum sumere, non somnum *contempta* capere.

*For this reason* the abject girl neither consumed food nor slept.

*Ex hoc* means “from this time forward.” Nothing in the context justifies the description of Helia as “abject,” and *capere* has no construction (the author does not elsewhere employ historical infinitives.) Read *contenta*, sc. *fuit*: “she was unwilling to accept food or indulge in sleep.” Virtually the same error has occurred at 2.116 (p. 126) and 2.279 (p. 138); in both places Conti has corrected the manuscripts’ *contemta*. At 2.55 (p. 122) *contemptus* has been corrupted to *contentus* (see above ad loc.).

**2.249-251 (p. 136).** Helia was right to be cautious.

Nouerat enim solidissimos muros quos *duris ueris* non quassauerat, uerba lenia deiecisse.

*duris ueris*] *Conti*, duros ueris *B*, duris ueries *A*

For she had known that soft words might knock down the very solid walls that she had not shattered *with hard weapons*.

The perfect of *noscere* has present force, so *nouerat* means simply “she knew.” There are various objections to BC’s version of what follows: the sudden shift in subject from Helia to Mother (who has not been mentioned for several lines), the rendering of the perfect infinitive *deiecisse* as “might knock down,” and the apparent interpretation of *ueris* as the ablative plural of *ueru*, though second-declension forms of this word do not appear to be found outside Plautus. A *ueru* is a sharp, pointed weapon, such as a sharpened stake or javelin. As such it is ill-suited to making very solid walls “tremble.” For that one needs a battering ram. Read *durus aries*. (*A*, I think, has *aeries*, not *ueries*.) The idea that deception can succeed where brute force fails is conventional, e.g. Justin, *Hist. Phil.* 3.5.1 *cum uirtute non possent, per insidias expugnantur*; Milton, *Paradise Lost* 5.242 f. ‘By violence, no, for that shall be withstood, / But by deceit and lies.’<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Another possibility, suggested to me orally by J. HOWE, is *uer(b)is*. I find this less appealing: it does not explain the corruption as well and entails a slight awkwardness in that *muros* has to refer first to Helia’s chastity (which Mother has not shaken) and then to the

**2.251-253 (p. 136).** An appeal to the Bishop.

Igitur quodam die a supradicto monetur presbytero, *quo ualeret industria*, eiusdem ciuitatis episcopo praesentari, si forte posset interuentu sacerdotali a sancta uirgine matris pertinaciam prohibere.

Therefore, on a certain day she was advised by the aforementioned presbyter to be introduced to the bishop of that same city, *so that her diligence might prevail* if he were perhaps able, through a priestly intervention, to avert the obstinacy of the mother from the holy virgin.

BC have taken over Antolín's *quo* without checking it; both manuscripts have the correct *qua*. The phrase means "as energetically as he could." Cf. Columella 6 praef. 6: *hanc quoque partem rei rusticae [...] quanta ualimus industria [...] posteritati mandauimus*.

**2.253-255 (p. 136).** Helia persuades the portress to let her out by night.

Illa multis precibus ostiariae suadebat, ut sibi orandi gratia copiam tribueret exeundi. Quae primo cunctata post precibus emollita *puella* tribuit quod petebat.

With many entreaties she urged the portress to grant her the opportunity to go out in order to pray. And after having at first hesitated, *the girl* was softened by her entreaties and granted what she asked.

Portress does not seem like a job to be entrusted to a *puella* (one pictures something more like the elderly concierge once found in Parisian apartment buildings). The portress is in any case already designated by *quae*. Read *puella*⟨e⟩: "she granted to the girl what she asked."

**2.262-267 (p. 136).** Helia makes her way to the bishop's palace.

Vespere itaque consummato [...] ad basilicam properabat, ubi supradictae urbis episcopus commanebat. Quo praedictus presbyter de industria *residebat*. *Quaeritur* enim Helia *per plateas et uicos*, per excelsa montium et praerupta per inuia nemoraque siluarum *nec inuenitur* a nuptis, quia in uirginitatis arcem transtulerat eam Deus.

When the evening had ended, [...] she hurried to the basilica where the bishop of the aforementioned city lived; the aforesaid presbyter *stayed with him diligently*. Helia was sought *through the streets and villages*, through the high and rugged places of the mountains, through the trackless and wooded places of the forests, *and she was not found* by the married, because God had transported her to the fortress of virginity.

chastity of others (which gentle words have destroyed in the past). The repetition *uerbis/uerba* also seems weak.

*De industria* is found once previously in the *Vita*, also of the presbyter, at 1.81 (p. 84): *lectiones congruas de industria praeeparabat*. But *de industria residere* seems to me more awkward, as “reside energetically” would be in English.<sup>30</sup> I suggest *quo*⟨*d*⟩ ... *reticebat*. A dozen lines previously the presbyter had urged *qua ualeret industria* that Helia flee to the bishop (for *qua* cf. on 1.251-253 above); now he exerts himself similarly to conceal her flight. This would also provide justification for *enim* (left untranslated by BC) in the next sentence. Confusion of *quo* and *quod* is also found at 2.291 (p. 138: discussed below) and 2.306 (p. 140). The incorrect *residebat* may have been unconsciously influenced by the preceding *commanebat*, or might even have originated as a gloss on it, subsequently taken for a textual correction.

In the next sentence there should be a comma after *praerupta* (as the English implies). The editors do not note the adaptation of Cant. 3.2: *per uicos et plateas quaeram quem diligit anima mea; quaesiui illum et non inueni*. Also biblical are *excelsa montium* (4 Reg. 19.23; Psalm. 94.4) and *translulerat eam Deus* (cf. Gen. 5.24).

## 2.270-272 (p. 138). Helia led before the Bishop.

*Illa mox ingressa est pedes eius prostrata obortis lacrimis irrigauit, opem atque auxilium flagitans sacerdotis. Cui fas erat matrem de tanto negotio compellare.*

She *immediately entered and*, having thrown herself down at his feet, watered them with her welling tears, while she implored the succor and help of the priest. For it was proper for him to rebuke her mother for such a grave matter.

Rather: “As soon as she entered, having thrown herself down at his feet, she watered them.” For this use of *mox* see *TLL* 8:1553.1-25. The period after *sacerdotis* should be a comma.

In view of the work’s stylistic coloring it may be worth noting that *obortis lacrimis* is markedly poetic (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.492; Ov. *Met.* 1.350); the only classical prose writer in whom it is at all frequent is the stylistically pretentious Quintus Curtius.

## 2.274-275 (p. 138). Helia complains that Mother is waging war on her.

*Bellum mihi domesticum, o uenerande pater, religiosa mater indicit. Atque aduersus propria pignora intestinīs propriis insolescit.*  
insolescit] *crescit B<sub>2</sub> in marg.*

<sup>30</sup> I should note that the referee does not share my discomfort with it and would retain the transmitted text.

My devout mother, O venerable father, declares a domestic war against me. And she has grown insolent against the children *of her own womb*.

The period after *indicit* would be better away. I do not think *intestinis propriis* can sustain BC's translation of it. It would more naturally mean "she grows insolent in her own vitals." But in that case what is the point of *propriis*? (She could hardly grow insolent in someone else's vitals). If BC's rendering is the intended sense, the easiest way to produce it would be *propria pignora* <orta> *intestinis propriis*. But I think we should consider emending *propriis* to *proeliis*, a variation on the preceding *bellum* [...] *domesticum*: "and she swells with internecine conflicts against her own offspring." For *proelia intestina* cf. Ambr. in *Psalm*. 45.21.2, ed. by M. PETSCHEINIG, Vienna, 1919 (*CSEL*, 64), p. 344, *proelia intestina sedata sunt*; Rufin. *Hist. Eccl.* 8.1.7, ed. by T. MOMMSEN, Leipzig, 1908 (*GCS*, 9.2), p. 739, *aduersum nosmet ipsos intestina proelia commouemus*; Jerome *Epist.* 54.15.3, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (*CSEL*, 54), p. 482, *domestica pugna, intestinum proelium*. Corruption to *propriis* would be easy enough after the preceding *propria*.

The marginal gloss *crescit* in *B* might at first glance appear to better fit *inolescit*, but *inolescere* is sometimes found in this sense, by contamination with *inolescere* and/or analogy with *intumescere* (*TLL* 7.1:1932.54-69).

## 2.276-278 (p. 138). (cont.)

Plurimo comitatur exercitu, conductas agit acies, cohortes trahit, *innumeras* hinc *gentem* libidinis, hinc uiolentiae turmas, hinc furoris agmina rapiens. Iam iam interemptura *uirginitas* acies minitatur.

She is accompanied by a large army, leads assembled troops, draws cohorts together, seizing here countless *people* of desire, there hordes of violence, and there bands of fury. Already *virginity* is about to be destroyed, while her army threatens.

Clearly the plural *innumeras* cannot modify the singular *gentem*; the comma preceding *innumeras* should instead follow it. (This is how the text is articulated in *B*.) This gives *cohortes* an epithet to match *exercitu* and *acies*, and simultaneously restores parallelism in the triad that follows. For *cohortes* [...] *innumeras* cf. Stat., *Theb.* 5.21 *innumerae* [...] *cohortes*. The use of *gens* in the sense "host" of soldiers is poetic; cf. *TLL* 6.2:1851.29-41. Also poetic is *agmina rapiens*: cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12.450; Lucan 1.228 with ROCHE's note.

Since *interemptura* in the second sentence means "about to destroy," not "about to perish," BC's rendering is impossible to extract from the Latin. Read *uirginita*<ti>s: "Already she threatens to destroy the troops of virginity."

**2.280-283 (p. 138).** Helia appeals to the Bishop.

Surge, age sanctorum eximie [...] 'accingere gladio' uerbi Dei 'potentissime circa femur' *et uirginitatis cohortes impetu Iordanis abstento ad promissionis terram inconcusse atque impauide gradientur.*

Come, rise up, most excellent of saints [...] 'Gird the sword' of the word of God 'about your thigh, O most powerful one,' and may the cohorts of virginity proceed resolutely and intrepidly to the land of promise after the force of the Jordan has been held back.

B, unreported by the editors, has *ut*, and this seems preferable as establishing a more direct relation between the bishop's support and the triumph of virginity. Apart from this passage, the formula *surge, age* is exclusively poetic (first at Verg. *Aen.* 3.169).

**2.288-289 (p. 138).** (cont.)

Respondens pro me *iudica* causam meam, expugna impugnantem me.

*Judge* my case by responding in my favor, and defeat the one who is assailing me.

*Respondens pro me* most naturally means "responding on my behalf," so the transmitted text asks the bishop to be at once defence attorney and judge. Better would be *uindica*. Cf. Boethius in *Cic. Top.* 1.10, ed. by J. C. ORELLI and J. G. BAITER, *Ciceronis opera* 5.1, Zürich, 1833, p. 291: *uindex igitur est, qui alterius causam suscipit uindicandam*. Helia will refer to the bishop as her *uindex* at 2.317 (p. 140) below: *tu testis, tu uindex, tu aduocatio mea*.

**2.289-292 (p. 138).** Helia reminds the Bishop of his reward for helping her.

Adesto castimoniae praedicator, ueni uirginitatis adsertor [...] per futurae promissionis beatissima munera, per 'nouum nomen' *quod* humilitate sumus Christi censiti.

quod] quo B

Be present, preacher of chastity; come, protector of virginity [...] by the most blessed rewards of the future promise, and by the 'new name,' *because* we are numbered with the humility of Christ.

B's *quo* is surely right: cf. 3.61 (p. 156) *nomine Christi censimini*; also Rufin. Orig. in *Num.* 12.4, ed. by W. A. BAEHRENS, Berlin, 1921 (*GCS*, 30), p. 104, *sub Christi nomine censori*; Jerome in *Osee* 3.11, ed. by M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1969 (*CCSL*, 76), p. 121 *Christi nomine censebantur*; Aug. *Diuers. Quaest.* 59.3, ed. by A. MUTZENBECHER, Turnhout, 1975 (*CCSL*, 44A), p. 113, *Christi nomine censori*; Isid. *Eccl. Off.* 2.26.2, ed. by C. M. LAWSON, Turnhout, 1989 (*CCSL*, 113), p. 106 *ut Christi nomine censeamur*. Trans-



late: "By the 'new name' (sc. *Christiani*) under which we are registered through the humility of Christ."

**2.292-295 (p. 138).** (cont.)

Si te locupletatum beatis meritis, gaudeamus, si profectum totius gregis multiplicem honorem spiritualium recipias coronarum<sup>31</sup> meritis adequatum iudicium sedis tribunalis sortiariis. Si in conspectu omnipotentissimae Trinitatis laetus<sup>32</sup> dicas: 'Quos dedisti mihi, nemo ex eis periit.'

adequatum] *Conti*, -atus *A*, -atur *B* tribunalis] *Conti*, tribuna-  
lia *A B*

Let us rejoice if you are enriched with blessed rewards; if you receive the increase of the entire flock as a manifold ornament of spiritual crowns; if you receive a judgment from the throne of the tribunal equal to your merits; if before the almighty Trinity itself you say joyfully, 'No one of those whom you gave me perished.'

Conti's emendations are an improvement, but the punctuation needs adjustment and the *si* clauses are problematic. Read:

Si<c> te locupletatum beatis meritis gaudeamus, si<c> profectum totius gregis. Multiplicem honorem spiritualium recipias coronarum, meritis adequatum iudicium sedis tribunalis sortiariis. Si<c> in conspectu omnipotentissimae Trinitatis laetus dicas: 'Quos dedisti mihi, nemo ex eis periit.'

"So may we rejoice to see you enriched, ... (etc.)." *Si* as an orthographic variant of *sic* is found in inscriptions and late texts of a vulgar character: see J. B. HOFMANN and A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, Munich, 1965, p. 658; P. STOTZ, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters. Dritter Band. Lautlehre*, Munich, 1996, p. 196. But here it seems more likely scribal than authorial. For copyists' confusion of the two words see, e.g., Colum. 3.3.10; Juv. 8.196; Calp. *Decl.* 7; [Quint.] *Decl. mai.* 6.10; 11.7; Juvenc. 3.141, ed. by J. HUEMER, Vienna, 1891 (*CSEL*, 24), p. 85; Cassiod. *Inst.* 1.15.1, ed. by R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxford, 1937, p. 42. For another example of this confusion in the *Vita* see above on 2.7-13 (p. 120).

**2.298-300 (p. 138).** "Bring me to my bridegroom."

'Adduc regi uirginem [...],' ut inueniens animam meam, *quem uero* teneat nec dimittat.

uero] quero *B*

'Bring this virgin to the king [...],' so that, after finding my soul, he may keep it and never leave it.

<sup>31</sup> I see no need to preserve *A*'s *choronarum* (*B* has *coron-*).

<sup>32</sup> I regularize the manuscripts' *letus*, preserved by BC.



BC's rendering ignores *quem uero* – understandably, since it is meaningless. B's *quem qu(a)ero* is surely correct: "so that, finding my soul, the one I seek may hold it and not release it." The wording echoes Cant. 3.1, *quaesiui quem diligit anima mea; quaesiui illum et non inueni*. For the absorption of a nominative pronoun by the relative cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 667 *sed quem quaero optume eccum obuiam mihist*. But it is not inconceivable that *is* or *hic* has dropped out.

**2.303-304 (p. 140).** The good and faithful servant (Matth. 25.21).

'Euge bone serue et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra *multam* te constituam.'

'Well done, good and faithful servant. Because you have been faithful over a few things, I will set you over *many things*.'

"Many things" is *multa*, the unreported (and of course correct) reading of B.

**2.305-306 (p. 140).** Helia exhorts the Bishop.

'Exurge in occursum mihi et uide,' tu mihi princeps pugnae, tu egregius *campi doctor*, neque enim *tibi unum* est telum, quo aduersarius elidatur.

'Rise up to meet me and look,' O you my leader in battle, O you my distinguished *drill sergeant*; and in fact you do not have *just one* weapon with which the enemy may be crushed.

As BC note (p. 190), *tu mihi princeps pugnae* echoes Verg. *Aen.* 10.254. The use of *campi doctor* here should be added to the examples collected by J. F. DOMÍNGUEZ DOMÍNGUEZ and R. MANCHÓN GÓMEZ, "Recherches sur les mots *campidoctor* et *campiductor*: De l'antiquité au moyen âge tardif", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 58 (2000), p. 5-44.<sup>33</sup> The idiom in *neque [...] unum* (where *unum* = *unum tantum*) is paralleled at e.g. Quint. *Decl.* 247.15 *neque <enim> unum promittendi genus est*; *Inst.* 11.3.161 *neque enim uno modo dicuntur exordia*. The choice between A's *tibi unum* and B's *unum tibi* (the latter not recorded by BC) is a nice one. It might be argued that B's version places the emphasis more effectively on *unum*, but the sequence *enim-unum-tibi-telum* is very jerky. The interlacing effect of A's version seems to me more elegant, and this carries some weight in a text as stylistically ambitious as this one.

**2.307-308 (p. 140).** (cont.)

Defer mihi de armamentario Christi spiritualia tela, nunc precibus castis, nunc sacerdotali censura, nunc *lenitate* maternas acies dissipato.

Bring me spiritual weapons from the arsenal of Christ; you shall demolish my mother's troops at times with chaste prayers, at times with priestly censure, at times *with gentleness*.

<sup>33</sup> I owe this reference to the referee.

The comma after *tela* should be a semicolon (as in the English) or period. The bare *lenitate* seems slightly lame as a third and (one would have expected) climactic element. Various epithets are conceivable, but ⟨*paterna*⟩ would make a nice contrast with *maternas acies*, and would help explain the omission. Cf. Aug. *Epist. ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae* 4.5.1, ed. by J. DIVJAK, Vienna, 1981 (CSEL, 88), p. 28, *ut [...] ipsos [...] pastorali digneris diligentia et paterna lenitate ... corrigere*. The image of the *armamentarium Christi* is also found at Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 24.14, ed. W. VON HARTEL, Vienna, 1894 (CSEL, 29), p. 214 *habeo armamentarium Christi de quo arma lucis usurpem*.

### 2.308-310 (p. 140). (cont.)

Numquid pontificalis animus, muliebres turmas, poterit *formidare*? In te inclinata uirginitatis cura recumbit.

Can a pontifical mind not *terrify* womanly hordes? The care of virginity leans and rests on you.

The commas after *animus* and *turmas* should be deleted. Since *formidare* means “fear,” not “frighten,” we should translate: “It cannot be, surely, that a pontifical mind fears womanly hordes?” In the next sentence BC have overlooked an echo of Verg. *Aen.* 12.59 (Amata to Turnus) *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit*.

### 2.310-315 (p. 140). (cont.)

Si matris mentem durissimam *senseris*, potes spirituali conamine sicut ‘portas aereas contere, et uectes ferreos dissipare.’ Si clausos animos *uideris*, ‘habes clauem David,’ *quo* omnis reseratur abstrusio. Si inoboedientem *agnoueris*, habes apostolicam uirgam qua inuito audiens, castigetur. Si *perspexeris* blasphemantem, habes potestatem ‘tradere Satanae, ut discat non blasphemare.’

quo] quia B

If you *have discerned* the extremely hard disposition of this mother, through spiritual exertion you can ‘destroy’ it like ‘bronze gates and demolish’ it like ‘iron bars.’ If you *have seen* closed minds, you have the ‘key of David,’ by which any concealment is disclosed. If you *have recognised* disobedience, you have the apostolic rod with which the one who is unwilling to listen is punished. If you *have observed* a blasphemer, you have the power to ‘hand him over to Satan, so that he may learn not to blaspheme.’

The verbs are all future perfect, best translated as present in English: “If you discern, [...] if you see, [...] (etc.).” Since *clauis* is feminine, *quo* should be *qua*, and that is in fact the form found in A; *quo* is an error in Antolín, taken over by BC.

**2.327-329 (p. 140).** (cont.)

Redime me a maternis calumniis [...] *Potes namque* potes, et potenter potes.

Release me from the slanders of my mother [...]. In fact, you can, and you can, and you absolutely can!

There should be a comma after *namque*. The phrasing and the postponement of the word are typical of poetic prayer language: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 17.45 *et tu, potes nam, solue me dementia*; Verg. *Aen.* 6.117 *potes namque omnia* (imitated by Sedul. *Carm.* 4.194); 365-366 *terram / inice (namque potes)*.

**2.329-331 (p. 140-142).** (cont.)

In ore enim tuo iudicium portas et in sermonibus uictoriam. Verbum tuum acutum est, omni gladio *uis acuto*, de quo castimoniae inimicos extinguas.

acutum est] est acutum *B*          gladio] gladii *A*

For in your mouth you carry judgement and in your speeches victory. Your word is sharp, *a force* for any *sharp* sword, and with it you destroy the enemies of chastity.

The opening phrase echoes a pre-Vulgate version of Prov. 31.26 as found e.g. at Primasius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* 5.19, ed. by A. W. ADAMS, Turnhout, 1985 (*CCSL*, 92), p. 267 '*legem et misericordiam in lingua portat, tamquam iudicium et misericordiam*'. BC's report that *B* has *est acutum* is false; it has *āu//tum est* (probably corrected from *auctum est*) As they note, the comparison looks to Hebr. 4.12: *uiuius est enim Dei sermo et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti*. Here, clearly, we should read *bis acuto*, which is equivalent to *ancipiti*: cf. e.g. Aug. in *Psalms*. 149.12, ed. by E. DEKKERS and J. FRAIPONT, Turnhout, 1956 (*CCSL*, 40), p. 2185, *sermo [...] dei, gladius bis acutus*. We still need a comparative, however. Perhaps simply <*penetrabilius*>, though this is a long word to fall out for no obvious reason. So perhaps <*acutius*> *omni gladio bis acuto* (or read *acutius* for *acutum*?). For other examples (mainly Greek) of this sort of cognate or tautologous comparative ("taller than a tall man," etc.) see R. RENEHAN, "The Early Greek Poets: Some Interpretations", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 87 (1983), p. 22-23.

**2.331-334 (p. 142).** (cont.)

Sermo tuus super carmina Aegyptiorum preualet sapientium, quo uenatas et pestiferas linguas coherceas, *quo* fugatis uelut quibusdam hostibus et tyrannis 'sub uite et *ficus*' suauis continentiae 'requiescam.'

Your speech prevails over the incantations of Egyptian sages, and with it you restrain poisoned and baleful tongues, so that when they

have been put to flight like some enemies and tyrants ‘I may rest under the vine and *the fig-tree*’ of sweet continence.

The apparatus fails to mention that both manuscripts (and Antolín) have *qui*; BC’s *quo* is their own conjecture. Another possibility would be *qui*⟨*bus*⟩; *requiescam* would then be future, not subjunctive. In the quotation we should surely read *ficu* with 3 Reg. 4.25 *unusquisque sub uite sua et sub ficu sua*.

### 2.334-336 (p. 142). (cont.)

Neque enim te ut conducticium Balaam aduenire deprecor, sed ut Petrum qui sicut *tu uitam* de matris faucibus uelut de quibusdam inferni recessibus extrahens tristitia uiuifices mortuam.

For I do not pray that you come like the hired Balaam, but like Peter, so that by drawing me *alive* from my mother’s jaws as if from some recesses of hell you may vivify me, I who am dead with sadness.

The reference, as BC note, is to Peter’s raising of Dorcas, also known as Tabitha, at Acts 9.36-41. The transmitted *qui sicut tu* leads us to expect that Peter will be the subject of what follows, an expectation thwarted by *de matris faucibus* and the second-person *uiuifices*. BC’s “alive” would render *uiuam*, not *uitam*. Read *Tabitam*. Both manuscripts in fact have *taui-tam*; BC’s *tu uitam* is an error taken over from Antolín.

### 2.339-344 (p. 142). Various listeners react to Helia’s speech.

Ille fremebat aduersus pertinaciam matris. Iste de constantia uirginis gaudebat, *huius sermo* sapientiae *sale conditus* Christi famulam roborabat. Alter contemnendam matrem exemplis dominicis testabatur, nec debere concidere pro qua sponsus Dominus Iesus Christus proeliaretur *uictricibus*. Unusquisque secundum uirium *quantitate* spiritualia *uerba munera* uirgini conferebat.

One raged against the obstinacy of the mother. Another was pleased by the constancy of the virgin, *whose* speech, flavored with the salt of wisdom, confirmed the handmaid of Christ. Another proved with examples from the Lord that the mother was to blame, and that the girl ought not to fail, since the Lord Jesus Christ the bridegroom was joining battle *with the conquering forces* on her behalf. Each according to the extent of their powers conferred spiritual *words* on the virgin *as gifts*.

BC’s rendering would require *cuius*. Since *Christi famulam* can only be Helia, I think *huius* must refer to a separate bystander, and we should insert a period after *gaudebat* (as already in Antolín); BC have also overlooked the echo of Col. 4.6 *sermo uester [...] sale sit conditus*.

I cannot make any sense of *uictricibus* (it can hardly refer to Mother and her allies as BC suppose). I think an accompanying noun must have fallen out before *proeliaretur*, e.g. *armis* or *telis*: cf. 1.401 (p. 104) *cuius uictricibus telis nequaquam [...] expugnata*. *Secundum* normally takes an accusative, and we should read *quantitatem* with *B*, unreported by BC. They also fail to tell us that *B* omits *uerba*, which we could well dispense with; it might have arisen as a gloss on *munera*.

**2.353-359 (p. 142).** The Bishop hides Helia away for the moment.

Interea sacerdos optimus [...] iussit sub diligenti custodia feminarum<sup>34</sup> in basilicae cameram uirginem reseruari, talem sine dubio eligens locum quem non posset scrutantis *inuenire* suspicio quoad usque *materni animi* peruideret et cum propheta diceret *qui* contemptis humilibus et terrenis: 'Fortitudo mea Dominus, et constituet pedes meos in consummatione et super altitudinem imponet me ut uincam claritatem eius' (Heb. 3.19).

*inuenire A repperire B*

In the meantime [...] the excellent priest ordered the virgin to be kept in a room in the basilica under the careful custody of women. He undoubtedly chose such a place because it could not *be found* through the suspicion of the searching *maternal mind*, until she might see and say with the prophet, having despised lower and earthly things: 'The Lord is my strength, and he will set my feet unto the end and will place me upon the heights so that I may surpass his brightness.'

We should perhaps read *camera*, the *-m* having arisen by dittography before *ui-*. The unintelligible *qui* should, I think, be *qu(as)i*. That *materni animi* depends on *suspicio*, despite the intervening *quoad usque*, seems to me impossible. I think that *scrutantis* is substantivized and an accusative has fallen out before or after *materni animi*. If the bishop is the subject of the verbs that follow, then perhaps *⟨naturam⟩ maternae mentis*: "until he could discern the temper of the mother's mind." But it seems more likely that the triumphalist passage from Hebrews is spoken by Helia, who must then be the subject not only of *diceret* but of *peruideret*. In that case we need a reference to Mother's defeat or humiliation, e.g. *submissionem*. Translate: "until she could behold ⟨the humbling⟩ of the mother's spirit and say with the prophet, discarding, as it were, lower and earthly things, 'The Lord is my strength (etc.).'"

BC print *A's inuenire* over *B's repperire*. The latter is found twice elsewhere in the *Vita* (1.223 [p. 94], in a scriptural quotation; 3.1 [p. 152], in authorial narrative) against thirteen instances of *inuenire*. It thus has some

<sup>34</sup> I correct BC's *foem-*.

claim to be the *lectio difficilior* – also because it is the more elegant of the two: see E. LÖFSTEDT, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala, 1911, p. 232-234.

**2.369-371 (p. 144).** Bishop remonstrates with Mother.

Quanto magis non condecet fructum tui uteri *minorare*, quamlibet pretiosissimam dotem filiae praepares, nihil conferre poteris uirginitate nobilius.

Now, how much more improper it is to *threaten* the fruit of your womb: whatever very precious dowry you are preparing for your daughter, you cannot confer on her anything nobler than virginity.

BC appear to have mistaken *minorare* (“depreciate,” “detract from”) for *minari* (“threaten”). The comma after the word should be a semicolon, a colon (as in the English), or a period.

**2.377-378 (p. 144).** Mother pretends to crave instruction.

Cui pontifex uenerandus quaestionis huius edisserens rationem *uiuae* doctrinae patefacit archana.

And the venerable pontiff, unfolding the logic of that question for her, disclosed the mysteries of the *living* doctrine.

I have not found parallels for *uiuae doctrina*, though a defence could perhaps be mounted on the basis of passages like John 11.25 *ego sum resurrectio et uita* or 2 Cor. 3.6 *spiritus autem uiuificat*. Should we consider *ueruae*? For other possible examples of this confusion see W. S. WATT, “Notes on Latin Epic Poetry”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 31 (1984), p. 166; “Notes on Statius’ *Thebaid*”, *Eranos*, 85 (1987), p. 50.

**2.381-384 (p. 144).** Both marriage and virginity have their place.

Cum omnium substantiam epularum a Deo noueris procreatam quare despectis uilioribus cibis opimorum cupis excolentiam ferculorum? *Itaque sicut praeiudicii non est facilioribus escis repositis nobiles delectari*, ita peccati non est nuptiis declinatis uirginitatem conseruare uel tenere.

Since you know that the substance of all foods has been created by God, why do you scorn meaner victuals and desire the refinement of sumptuous dishes? *For just as it is not harmful for noble people to enjoy a table laid with simpler meals*, so it is not a sin, having turned aside from marriage, to preserve or keep virginity.

BC have misunderstood the comparison. The sumptuous dishes are virginity, the meaner victuals marriage. The answer to the question in the first sentence is “Because they are tastier.” The italicized words mean “So, just as it is not harmful to enjoy noble foods, setting aside the more accessible ones (etc.).” With *nobiles* supply *escas* from the preceding *escis*.



**2.385-386 (p. 144).** Bishop rejects Mother's question ("Marriage: right or wrong?")

Quamuis articulus tuae interrogationis quo tendat *agnoscat*, tamen perabsurdum est parem *nos* obicere quaestionem.

Although the point of your interrogation *may know* where it aims, it is nonetheless wholly inappropriate *for us* to launch a similar inquiry.

BC's rendering, like the Latin, makes little sense. It is not questions but questioners and addressees who understand the point of questions. And what "similar inquiry" could the Bishop launch? Read *agnoscam* and *<in> nos*: "Although I know where the point of your inquiry is directed, yet it is quite absurd for you to hurl such a question at me." The aberrant *agnoscat* will be a perseveration error after *tendat*; *in* fell out by haplography after *parem*.

**2.396-399 (p. 146).** Hierarchy is discernible in all things.

Certe corpus in unoquoque homine unum est. Et in uno *eodemque* corpore quantam esse nosti distantiam. Ut caput eminentiore polleat dignitate, pedes longe *inferioribus dignitatis* existant.

ecodem] eadem *B*

Certainly the body in each human being is a unity. And you know how much difference there is in one and the same body. As the head is valued for its higher dignity, so the feet appear in much *inferior degrees of dignity*.

*A* also has *eadem*, so Antolín should be credited with the obvious correction to *eodem*. The period after *distantiam* should be a comma, as the English implies. There is nothing in the Latin corresponding to BC's "degrees." Read *inferioris*.

**2.399-401 (p. 146).** (cont.)

Itaque si in uno ut diximus corpore disparem gratiam agnouisti, quid mirum si *uno iustitiae nomine* diuersae sunt gloriae dignitatum uirginitatis uidelicet et nuptiarum?

If you therefore recognized, as we said, an unequal grace within a single body, why should we be surprised if *within the single name of justice* there are different ranks of dignity, namely, virginity and marriage?

BC's rendering seems to assume *si in uno iustitiae nomine*; this is the reading of *B*, though they do not record it. There should be a comma after *dignitatum*.



**2.404-406 (p. 146).** (cont.)

Immo omnis ordinis positura erroribus aduersatur, quoniam *ubi ordo non est inter homines, dico, confusio generatur.*

On the contrary, the formation of any order opposes errors, because *where there is no order among human beings, confusion is produced*, I say.

The last phrase has a proverbial feel to it (as the parenthetical *dico* perhaps also suggests). I have found several later versions of it: Aelredus Rievallensis, *Serm.* 48.1, ed. by G. RACITI, Turnhout, 2001 (CCCM, 2B), p. 17 *ubi ordo non est, ibi confusio*; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 6.11, ed. by C. C. I. WEBB, Oxford, 1909, vol. 2, p. 27 *ubi ordo non est, confusio locum habet*; Nicholas of Cusa, *De concordantia catholica*, 3.30.503, ed. by K. GERHARD, *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia*, 14.3, Hamburg, 1959, p. 436 *ubi non est ordo, est confusio*. None of these seems likely to have been influenced by our passage, so there may be an earlier source I have not located.

**2.425-427 (p. 146).** The virgin Christ outweighs the married David.

Si enim unus homo Dauid *per* decem milibus computatur, Christus Dominus pro quantis extimes numeretur?

For, if the one man David ‘is reckoned *as* ten thousand,’ as how many do you think that the Lord Christ should be counted?

BC fail to record that *B* has *pro*, which is surely the correct reading and is confirmed by the source text, 2 Sam. 18.3 *quia tu unus pro decem milibus computaris.*

**2.435-436 (p. 148).** That celibacy is a new practice is no argument against it.

Omnis paene scriptura testamenti utriusque *ueteribus segregatis* noua canit nouisque fructibus.

Almost all the scriptures of both testaments, *with the exclusion of the oldest ones*, sing of new things with new fruits.

The Bishop has already protected himself with *paene*: why should he go out of his way to undercut his own point? *Veteribus segregatis* goes with what follows: “sings new things and sets old things aside.” A similar formulation appears at 3.91-92 (p. 158), *debeo ueteribus sequestratis esse emula nouitatis.*

The construction of *nouis [...] fructibus* is less than transparent. I think a verb has dropped out, e.g. *nouisque* <*abundat*> *fructibus.*

**2.436-439 (p. 148).** Examples of “new” things in scripture.

‘Deus,’ inquit, ‘canticum nouum cantabo tibi.’ Et *renouauit* illam Dominus ‘sicut lux matutina.’ Et ‘cantate Domino canticum nouum,’ et ‘Sion *innouauit* te Dominus’ [...] et ‘in *nouitate* ambulemus.’

‘O God,’ he says, ‘I will sing a new song to you.’ And the Lord *will renew* it ‘like morning light.’ And ‘sing a new song to the Lord,’ and ‘the Lord *will renew* you, Zion.’ [...] and ‘in *newness we shall walk*.’

Read *renouabit* and *innouabit*, as the English already implies. (Both manuscripts have *renobabit* and *B* also has *innouabit*, neither recorded by BC.) *Ambulemus* is subjunctive, “let us walk,” not “we shall walk” (which would be *ambulabimus*). *B* has *nouitate uite*, which restores the reading of Rom. 6.4; the omission in *A* is easily accounted for as a quasi-haplography after *-uitate*.

#### 2.440-443 (p. 148). Marriage and Virginitas should respect one another.

Sicut ‘amplexandi tempore’ nequaquam uirginitas nuptiis inuidebat, ita et ‘tempore quo disceditur ab amplexu’ uirginitati *praedicare* non debent nuptiae. Gemmarum enim diuersitas monilibus non praestat turpitudinem sed *decus*.

decus] *Conti*, decorem *A B*

As virginity never looked askance at marriage in the ‘time of embracing,’ so also in the ‘time for giving up the embrace’ marriage should not *preach* to virginity. For a diversity of gems does not give jewelry baseness but *beauty*.

We need a verb corresponding in sense to *inuidebat*, which *praedicare* does not supply. Read *praeiudicare* – which is in fact the reading of *B*, unreported by BC. The verb recurs at 447 below: *bono non praeiudicat optimus, sed immo*<sup>35</sup> *expectat ut crescat in melius* (ironically, *B*, unrecorded by BC, reads *predicat* there). In the next sentence I cannot see any reason to reject the transmitted *decorem* (from *decor*).

#### 2.449-451 (p. 148). The parable of the talents.

Denique paterfamilias tribus seruis imparem numerum dederat talentorum. De quibus per opera bona pro mensura pecuniae commoda *sustinebat*.

Finally, the householder had given his three servants an unequal number of talents; with these, *each* through good efforts *sustained* profits according to the amount of money.

There is no “each” in the Latin. Unless we emend to *-bant*, the subject of *sustinebat* must be the master. It is his money the servants are investing, and the profits too are his. *Commoda sustinere* is an unusual phrase, but presumably the verb is used by analogy with *damna sustinere*.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> I see no virtue to printing *imo* here.

<sup>36</sup> Since BC do not mention it I record here that *B* has *su’ti-tinebat* split across two lines, with the second *s* added *supra* by (I think) the original hand.

2.456-457 (p. 148). There are degrees of virtue.

Unde scriptum est: 'Ambulabunt de uirtute *in uirtute*.'  
in uirtute] *scr. B<sub>2</sub> sup. lin.*

Therefore it is written, 'They shall go from virtue *to virtue*.'

I see no reason not to correct to *in uirtute*⟨*m*⟩, following Psalm. 83.8.

2.461-462 (p. 150). Bishop exhorts Mother to look on the bright side.

Plus enim laetareris quod filia tua fruitur diuinis amplexibus, quam tristareris quod *uoluntate* non fruitur talamorum.  
*uoluntate*] *uoluntatem A<sup>37</sup>*

Truly, would that you rejoiced more that your daughter enjoys divine embraces than you would grieve that she does not enjoy *the desire* for a marriage-bed!

The phrase needed to match *diuinis amplexibus* is clearly not *uoluntate* (*B* actually has *uoluntate*) but *uoluptate talamorum*. *Voluntas* for *uoluptas* is one of the commonest of all corruptions. The paradox is could be defended only on the assumption that *uoluntate* is here used with the force of *uoluptate*: cf. J. SVENNUNG, *Orosiana*, Uppsala, 1922, p. 133-136; S. BLOMGREN, *Studia Fortunatiana*, Uppsala, 1933, p. 148-149.

Two similar cases are worth mentioning: 3.88-89 (p. 158) *ex uoluntate* (*uolupt- B*) *et sanguine prolem parare suadetis*; 3.93-94 (p. 158), *dignum est ut et Adam iam non nouerim secundum corporis uoluntatem* (*uolupt- B*). These instances immediately follow a quotation of John 1.13 *non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate* (*uolunt- B*) *carnis ... sed ex Deo nati*. BC are probably right to print *A*'s *uolunt-* in each case, but *B*'s *uolupt-* could be defended as the *lectio difficilior*, and patristic writers sometimes employ it in paraphrasing the passage in John: cf. Hil. *in Psalm*. 118 phe 8, ed. by A. ZINGERLE, Vienna, 1891 (CSEL, 22), p. 511, *non secundum corporis uoluptates, sed secundum eloquia Dei*; Trin. 1.10, ed. by P. SMULDERS, Turnhout, 1979 (CCSL, 62), p. 10, *neque ex conceptu sanguinis neque ex corporum uoluptate [...] natos* (this follows a quotation of the passage with *uoluntate*); Ambr. *in Psalm*. 48.5.1, ed. by M. PETSCHENIG, Vienna, 1919 (CSEL, 64), p. 364, *ex sanguine concretus et ex carnis et uiri uoluptate generatus*.

2.466-468 (p. 150). (cont.)

Si tristaris quod corpus illius syriiis non induitur uestimentis, exulta quod singularitate angelica uestiatur. Si angeris quod *saeculo non fruatur tripudia* ⟨...⟩ quod caelestibus deliciis amoenetur.  
*lacunam post tripudia statuit Conti*

<sup>37</sup> *A* actually has *uolūtātē*.

If you grieve because her body is not clothed in Syrian dresses, exult because she is dressed in angelic singleness. If you are distressed because she does not *enjoy the celebrations of the world*, [*be glad*] because she is pleased with heavenly delights.

*Fruor* normally takes an ablative, and so it does here (*saeculo*). *Tripudia* is not neuter plural but an imperative, parallel to *exulta*. Nothing is missing, except a comma after *fruatur*: “If you are distressed because she does not enjoy the world, celebrate because she is adorned by heavenly delights.”

**2.469-471 (p. 150).** (cont.)

Si *scires* quia ‘super aurum et argentum est gratia bona,’ numquam te *taederet* filiam tuam in hoc propositum peruenisse. ‘Exuere stola luctus et induere gloriae uestimentis’ quae *Christum generum meruisti*.

If you *know* that ‘good favor is above gold and silver,’ never *be offended* if your daughter has come to this way of life. ‘Put off the garments of mourning and put on the vestments of glory,’ you who *deserved Christ as your son-in-law*.

*Si scires [...] numquam te taederet* is an ordinary contrary-to-fact condition and means “If you knew [...], you would never be offended.” The image of Christ as son-in-law reverses Jerome’s notorious compliment to Paula in *Epist.* 22.20.1, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (*CSEL*, 54), p. 170 *socrus dei esse coepisti*.

**2.474-477 (p. 150).** Mother protests that she is looking after Helia’s best interests.

Nullatenus enim est genetrix tam crudelis quae uelit partum sui uteri *funestare nec ipsa patitur matrem esse erga filios inclementem*. Vel auium doceamur exemplis quae nidos suos omni sollicitudine fouent, si humanitatis consideratione caremus.

There by no means exists a mother so cruel that she would want to *dishonor* the offspring of her womb, *or a woman who would endure being a mother unmerciful towards her children*. But if we have no consideration for humankind, let us be instructed by the examples of birds, which look after their nests with every care.

*Funestare* is stronger than “dishonor”; it means to pollute or stain with blood. BC’s rendering of *nec ipsa [...] inclementem* seems intolerably lame, and would also require *mater [...] inclemens*. The words most naturally mean “nor does she herself allow a mother to be unmerciful to her children.” But who is “she”? Read *nec ipsa natura* – which is in fact the reading of *B*, unmentioned by BC. The appeal to nature is a familiar standby of declamatory rhetoric and leads nicely into the sentence that follows.

**2.477-479 (p. 150).** She is motivated only by motherly love.

Non odii erga filiam gero studium, sed studium *seu* amoris *in* benedictione diuina. *Nolo mea pignora defraudari, quod dictum est: 'Crescite et multiplicamini.'*

quod] quia *B*

I bear no zealous animosity toward my daughter, but a zealous love for the divine blessing: *I do not want to be deprived of my descendants, since it is written, 'Increase and multiply.'*

BC do not translate *seu*, which indeed seems senseless here. I had initially considered *sen<tio>*, comparing Greg. M. *Epist.* 13.27, ed. by D. NORBERG, Turnhout, 1982 (CCSL, 140A), p. 1028, *adeo ut neque ecclesia [...] neque monasteria [...] erga se dilectionis studium sentiant*. But it seems better to delete *studium seu*, as a dittography of *studium sed*. BC fail to report that the two words are absent in *B*. They also fail to report that *B* omits *in*. We should follow it here too, and place a period after *amoris*, allowing *benedictione diuina* to supply the expected ablative with *defraudari*. Read, then:

Non odii erga filiam gero studium, sed amoris. Benedictione diuina nolo mea pignora defraudari, quod dictum est: 'Crescite et multiplicamini.'

I bear no zealous animosity toward my daughter, but a zealous love. I do not want her to be deprived of the divine blessing, since it is written, 'Increase and multiply.'

(I keep *A*'s *quod dictum est*, but *B*'s *quia* deserves consideration.)

**2.482-484 (p. 150).** "I would not ask you to approve anything unlawful."

Si contra iura diuina filiam illicitum facere coegissem, *ausum profanatus* te decuerat non implere.

If I were forcing my daughter to do anything illegal against the divine laws, it would be proper that you did not second such *an unholy enterprise*.

Neither *TLL* nor *DMLBS* recognizes a fourth declension noun *profanatus*. Perhaps *profanantis*.

**3.2-4 (p. 152).** Helia's aunt raises troops in her support.

Ea tempestate amita uirginis cum occulte fraudis decipulam reperisset, ad neptis auxilium *sumptis* tribus milibus rusticorum armatorum, qui tunc ad dicionem illius pertinebant.

At that time, when the virgin's paternal aunt had secretly discovered the snare of deception, in support of her niece *she gathered* three thousand armed peasants who then belonged to her jurisdiction.

The sentence lacks a main verb, e.g. *ad neptis auxilium <uenit>*.

## 3.5-6 (p. 152). (cont.)

Forum adiit *terribilem*, ne ullum laqueum cateruis praesentibus iudex praemonitus moliretur.

She approached the *dreadful* forum, so that the judge, having been forewarned, would not try any trick in the presence of the troops.

*Terribilem* is an odd epithet for *forum*, both semantically and (since *forum* is neuter) also grammatically. Possibly something has dropped out e.g. *forum adiit* <*uultum praeferens*> *terribilem*.

## 3.11-14 (p. 152). The judge upbraids Helia.

Qui enim iuris transgreditur statuta sentiat necesse est legum censuram, aut quam te putas religionis reuerentiam custodire quam materno contemptu commaculas, non bene Domino famulatur quae nequaquam parentum uoluntatibus obsecundat.

For the one who transgresses the decrees of justice must experience the censure of the laws, *and with your contempt towards your mother you defile the respect for religion that you believe you observe*: she who never complies with the will of her parents does not serve the Lord well.

The comma after *censuram* should be a period, and the comma after *commaculas* a question mark: “Or what kind of respect for religion do you imagine you observe when you defile it with disobedience of your mother?”

## 3.48-49 (p. 154). As a virgin, Helia will be the bride of Christ.

Si filia cuiuslibet uiro tradenda est sapienti, quis erit sapientior Christo qui ‘Dei uirtus est Deique sapientia,’ cum eos talamos consecrauit?  
eos] *B* eo *A* consecrauit] “scr. cum *B*” *Conti* consecraui *A*

If someone’s daughter must be handed over to a wise man, who will be wiser than Christ, who is the ‘virtue of God and the wisdom of God,’ when he has consecrated these marriage-beds?

Christ’s status as the “virtue and wisdom of God” (1 Cor. 1.24) is not in fact dependent on his consecrating these, or any other, marriages-beds. In printing *consecrauit* *Conti* claims to be following *B*. But *B*, like *A*, has *consecraui*. In fact, *A*’s *cum eo* [...] *consecraui* gives perfectly good sense, as long as we move the question mark back to follow *sapientia* and set *cum eo* [...] off as a separate sentence: “It is with him that I have contracted holy matrimony.”

## 3.50-51 (p. 154). (cont.)

Itaque gaudeant mecum parentes, tali me tradi coniugio. Gaudeant, non obsistant. Quod si usque nunc haec latebat sententia, tibi iudici doceantur.  
tibi] *Conti*, te *A B*

Let my relatives therefore rejoice with me that I am handed over to such a union. Let them rejoice, not resist. And if this thought was concealed up to now, let *these things* be taught to you who are the judge.

*Haec sententia* refers to Sirach 7.27, *trade filiam [...] et homini sensato da illam*, or to Helia's tendentious reinterpretation of it. The corruption of *tibi* to *te* is not an obvious one, and the addition of *iudici* would seem pointless. A more serious problem is that BC's "these things" is not in the Latin; the natural – indeed, only possible – subject of *doceantur* is *parentes*. *B* has not only *te*, as BC record, but *iudice* and that would give satisfactory sense: "let them be instructed with you as judge," i.e. by your judgment in my favor.

**3.52-55 (p. 154-156).** Helia argues that 1 Cor. 7.9 does not apply to virgins.

Quod uero scriptum dicis 'nubere melius esse quam uri': non omnibus id est non sacris uirginibus, sed nubere uolentibus conicit uerbum istud. Quia unusquisque gradus suis legibus, alteri gradui non *succedet*. Quomodo lex mulieribus promulgata masculos non constringat?

succedet] *Conti*, succenset *A B* constringat] -it *B*

You say that it is written that 'it is better to marry than to burn.' This saying applies not to everyone, that is, not to the holy virgins, but to those who want to marry. For each rank *follows* its own laws and not *those of* the other rank: how does a law decreed for women not constrain males?

BC's "those of" is not in the Latin. Better, I think to retain the *paradosis* (either *A*'s *succenset* or *B*'s *succenset*, the latter ignored by BC), and assume that a word has fallen out earlier: *unusquisque gradus suis* <subiectus> *legibus alteri gradui non succenset*. The final question makes no sense as printed: why *should* a law promulgated specifically to women apply also to men? In fact, this is not a question: *quomodo* here = *sicut*, as e.g. at 1.428 (see above). *B*'s *constringit* is preferable to *A*'s *constringat*. "For each rank, being <subject> to its own laws, feels no resentment toward another rank, just as a law promulgated to women does not constrain men."

**3.55-59 (p. 156).** (cont.)

Si uri uellem, tunc melius *iudicasses nubere*, sicut illi cui proponitur optio: melius est seruum fieri quam occidi. [...] Porro cui nulla est necessitas seruiendi sed in libertatem uocatus est, nefas est *enim* libertate contempta seruitutem uoluntarie profiteri.

iudicasses nubere] nubere iudicasses *B*



If I wanted to burn, then you would judge it better that I marry. It is as if this choice is proposed to someone: it is better to become a slave than to be killed. [...] But for the one who has no necessity to be a slave, but has been called to freedom, it is wrong to despise freedom and embrace slavery voluntarily.

*B's nubere iudicasses* is clearly superior on rhythmical grounds. In the sentence below, correct *enim* to *eum*. For this easy confusion cf. Petron. 44.9; Tac. *Ann.* 4.35.2 (both by conjecture).

**3.59-64 (p. 156).** Why do you inflict slavery on those who are free?

Si enim conuenit equitati promereri bonos famulos libertatem, quomodo decuit liberos in *condicionem* uobis compellentibus deuenire? [...] Haec tyrannidis est *consulatum*. Hic mos est Pharaonis, non diuinus.

For if it was appropriate to justice for good servants to earn freedom, how was it fitting for free people to come into *this condition* because you compel them? [...] This is the *consulate* of tyranny. This is the custom of Pharaoh, not a divine one.

There is no “this” in the Latin; *condicio* here has the specialized late Latin meaning “slavery,” “servitude” (*TLL* 4:133.39-53). The “consulate of tyranny” would be a bizarre image, and *consulatus* is in any case masculine. Both manuscripts have the correct *consultum*. (BC’s *consulatum* is taken over unchecked from Antolín.)

**3.77-78 (p. 156).** “My ambitions are heavenly, not earthly.”

Ego semen in Sion habere dispono, unde beatitudinis dona capessam.  
capessam] *Conti* capescam *AB*

I choose to have my seed in Zion, whence I will take hold of the gifts of blessedness.

The form *capesco* is sufficiently well attested in late Latin that it should perhaps be retained here: cf. *TLL* 3:309.71-78.

**3.81-84 (p. 156).** Virginity must build cities of its own.

In qua pace uirginitatis aedificandae sunt urbes, circumducendi continentiae muri, turris sanctimoniae statuenda, de qua non *periculosa* Bethsabée *ad libidinem uideatur*, sed unde Abimelech uoluptatis signifer occidatur.

And in that peace the cities of virginity should be built, the walls of continence drawn around, the tower of sanctity erected, from which no Bathsheba, *dangerous to lust, is seen*, but whence Abimelech, the standard-bearer of pleasure, is killed.

Bathsheba is not “dangerous to lust” but dangerous because she *inspires* lust. BC note the source of the story (2 Sam. 11.2), but not the echo of

Matth. 5.28: *quoniam omnis qui uiderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam iam moechatus est eam in corde suo*. Translate: “from which no dangerous Bathsheba is viewed for lustful ends.”

**3.90-92 (p. 158).** Helia expostulates with the judge.

Quae cum *ista* sint, cur hominem Deo praefertis, quae ‘in nouitate ambulo’ debeo ueteribus sequestratis esse emula<sup>38</sup> nouitatis?  
emula] imitari uel inimica *B<sub>2</sub> in marg.*

And when matters are *so*, why do you prefer a human to God? Since ‘I walk in novelty,’ should I be an enemy of novelty after the old things have been removed?

There is no “so” in the Latin as printed; we should restore *ita*, standard in this resumptive formulation. The comma after *praefertis* should be a question mark (as the translation implies). BC’s rendering of *debeo [...] nouitatis?* is not impossible, but I should prefer to replace the question mark with a period and translate “I ought to be a practitioner of novelty.” Cf. *OLD* s.v. *aemulus* 3, “a diligent imitator, zealous practitioner (of activities or qualities).” The gloss in *B* shows awareness of the ambiguity (*imitari* is perhaps the copyist’s misreading of *imitans*).

**3.107-108 (p. 158).** My ‘offspring’ is superior to the ordinary kind.

Partus meus nec de corruptione *conquiritur*, nec expectat longa tempora, quando fiat, sed cotidie celebratur, quia cotidie renouatur.

My childbirth does not *complain of* corruption and does not wait for a long time for the moment when it shall come to be, but it is celebrated daily because it is renewed daily.

BC appear to have confused *conquiro* and *conqueror*. The Latin means “my childbirth is not attained by corruption” (i.e. through sexual intercourse).

**3.110-112 (p. 158).** Your proposals are perverse.

Cum omnium mortalium studia soleant *facere de necessitate uirtutem*, quae peruersitas, quaeue dementia uelle necessitatem fingere de uirtute.

Since the exertions of all mortals usually *make a virtue of necessity*, what perversity or what madness to want to make a necessity of virtue!

For this proverbial expression see A. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 241; R. HÄUSLER, ed., *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim, 1968, p. 76, 241, 281. The earliest examples

<sup>38</sup> This should of course be *aemula*.

appear to be in Jerome: *Adversus Rufinum* 3.2, ed. by P. LARDET, Turnhout, 1982 (CCSL, 79), p. 74 and *Epist.* 54.6.4, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (CSEL, 54), p. 472. Another Hieronymian borrowing by the *Vita*'s author?

**3.124-126 (p. 160).** Helia sings the praises of her 'husband,' Christ.

Dicam et ego *cui oculos interioris hominis reserauit*. 'Numquid et uos uultis eius fieri' sponsae? Quod si placet me maledictis pluribus *exprobare*, addite maledictum.

I too will speak to him, *who opened the eyes of the inner human*. 'Do you want to become his' brides 'too?' If it seems right to *reproach* me with many curses, add a curse.

BC rightly identify *Numquid [...] fieri* as an adaptation of John 9.27. The context there is relevant. The speaker is the blind man whose sight Jesus has restored. Interrogated by the Jews, he asks: *numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri?* The reaction is unfavorable: *maledixerunt ei*. Here Helia puts herself in his position: "I too, whose interior eyes he has opened, shall say, 'Do you not want (etc.)?'" The period after *reserauit* should be replaced with a comma or colon. In the sentence that follows, BC print *A*'s *exprobare*, which is meaningless, while correctly translating *B*'s *exprobrare*, which they do not report.

**3.127-129 (p. 160).** The judge accuses Helia of presumptuousness.

Quomodo diuinarum legum gnara immemor es apostolici dicti: 'Nolite prudentes fieri apud uosmet ipsos'? Prophanisque excessibus temetipsam *a* tantis patriarchis superponis?

How, being acquainted with the divine laws, are you oblivious to the words of the apostle, 'Do not become clever in your own eyes'? With your impious excesses, do you place yourself *above* such great patriarchs?

The question mark after *ipsos* should be deleted; *prophanisque* (etc.) is part of the previous sentence. With *superponere* the thing placed on top is put in the accusative, and the thing it is put on top of in the dative. So delete *a*, which is already absent in *B* (unrecorded by BC).

**3. 130-132 (p. 160).** Helia rushes in where patriarchs feared to tread.

*Hoc quod tu disponis adgredi*, [...] puto *tam* praecipui uiri adsequi studuissent, si istud propositum melius iudicassent.

What you *array your forces to attack* [...] I believe that distinguished men would have striven *just as hard* to achieve, if they had judged this way of life to be better.

Despite earlier military imagery, BC's "array your forces to attack" seems to me an overtranslation; *tam* is also mishandled. Translate: "What you pro-

pose to undertake, I think, such distinguished men [sc. as the patriarchs] would have striven to achieve, if (etc.).” There should be a comma after *puto*, which is parenthetical.

**3.133-136 (p. 160).** That some patriarchs married does not oblige everyone to.

Numquid sapientior es Daniele, qui *professor nostrae* fuerat *disciplinae*? Quod in suggillationem nostri *patris* adducis, quasi nobilitas personarum, condemnationem poterit uniuscuiusque praestare proposito. Numquid aliquis poterit proximo de suo praeiudicare uocabulo?

Are you wiser than Daniel, who was *the professor of our discipline*? What you adduce as an affront to our father, as if it concerned the excellence of their persons, can be offered as condemnation of each and everyone’s way of life. Will anyone be able to injure their neighbor on their own word?

A clearer rendering of *qui professor [...] disciplinae* would be “who was an exponent of our practice,” i.e. celibacy. What follows is difficult to make sense of as it stands. BC fail to report that *B* has *patres*, which is the correct reading. We should also delete the comma after *personarum*, and replace the period after *proposito* with a comma or colon. “As to the fact that you adduce the patriarchs as a rebuke to us, as if the excellence of persons can supply a condemnation of everyone’s way of life: can anyone sit in judgment on his neighbor on the basis of his own designation?” Apart from one instance in Tertullian, *in suggillationem* is found only in our text (also 1.169) and seven times in Jerome. For *in suggillationem nostri* cf. *Commentarii in Daniele* 4.11, ed. by F. GLORIE, Turnhout, 1964 (CCSL, 75A), p. 932 *haec ille in suggillationem nostri artificam sermone composuit; Epist.* 60.5.5, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1910 (CSEL, 54), p. 555 *quamquam et haec in suggillationem nostri breuiter dicta sint*.

**3.136-143 (p. 160).** More divergences between the patriarchs.

Numquid Abraam proscribere poterat *ad* Isaac, quia non sicut ipse de superborum regum spoliis triumphauit? Aut Isaac poterat praeiudicare Iacob, *quare* non ordea serens sicut ipse centuplicia colligebat, *quomodo* nec ipse aliis succensebat, *quare* non officio pastoralis operam impendebant? Quia unusquisque in sua uocatione perambulans alterum uocationis alterius non condemnabat, *quamobrem*, *quia* unus sic, alius sic, *tamen* noueris quod memorati patres fructum proprii temporis adtulerunt [...].

Could Abraham cast aspersions on Isaac because he did not have triumphs with the spoils of proud kings like himself? Or could Isaac judge Jacob *because* he did not sow barley and gather a hundred-

fold like himself, even as Jacob himself did not grow angry at others because they did not devote their activity to the pastoral duty? Since each one, walking in his vocation, does not condemn the different vocation of another, *for this reason, since* one is this way, another that way, you should know that the aforementioned fathers bore the fruit of their own times [...].

*Proscribere ad* is a very unusual construction. At 3.26 (p. 154) Conti has emended the transmitted *proscriptionem* to *praescriptionem*, and similarly we might consider reading *praescribere* here: “could Abraham issue injunctions to Isaac ...?” The author construes the verb with the dative at 3.96 (p. 158), *deuotio mea nulli praescribit*, but the use of *ad* here might be motivated by a desire for clarity; for the tendency of indeclinable biblical names to attract prepositional support see B. LÖFSTEDT, “Zu Hieronymus’ Jesaias-Kommentar”, *Orpheus* n.s. 5 (1984), 198-199. I am more tempted, however, to retain *proscribere* and bracket *ad* as a quasi-dittography after *-at*. This would give a more satisfactory sense, and would also yield more perfect parallelism with what follows (*aut Isaac poterat praeiudicare Iacob ...?*)

In the next sentence, as BC have seen, *quare* = *quia*: for this use cf. OLD s.v. *quare* 4b; E. LÖFSTEDT, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala, 1911, p. 323-324; *Late Latin*, Oslo, 1959, p. 179-180. Proper punctuation of what follows *colligebat* depends on whether we follow BC in taking *quomodo* as equivalent to *sicut*, a usage found elsewhere in the text, or interpret it as *cur*, a use found as early as Seneca; see J. B. HOFMANN and A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, Munich, 1965, p. 649. I assume the latter. The mysterious *tamen* is a typo in Antolín, perpetuated by BC. Print, then:

Quomodo nec ipse aliis succensebat quare non officio pastoralis operam impendebat? Quia unusquisque in sua uocatione perambulans alterum uocationis alterius non condemnabat. Quamobrem? Quia unus sic, alius sic. Tamen noueris quod memorati patres fructum proprii temporis adtulerunt [...].

Why did he himself not resent others who did not exert their efforts on pastoral duties? Because each one, pursuing his vocation, does not condemn another for his different vocation. Why? Because one lives this way, another that way. Yet you should know that the aforementioned fathers bore the fruit of their own age.

**3.144-147 (p. 160-162).** Things with different qualities are not necessarily opposed.

Nec ficus praeiudicat cedro quia fructibus non turgescit, nec cedrus praeiudicat ficui quod et odore et sublimitate et imputribilitate et for-

titudine simili non ualescit. Nam hiemps *succedet* aestati, quare ipsa frigore torpeat et illa *frigoribus* excandescat.

succedet] *Conti*, succenset *A*, suscenset *B*

And the fig-tree does no injury to the cedar because it does not swell up with fruits, nor does the cedar do injury to the fig-tree because it does not grow with a similar perfume and height and incorruptibility and strength. For winter follows after summer, so that the latter may become numb with the cold, and the former may grow hot after the cold.

The rendering of *quare* as “so that” seems dubious, and it is hard to extract “after the cold” from *frigoribus* on its own. Surely we should retain *succenset* and instead emend *nam* to *num* (another Visigothic *a/u* error), punctuating as a question. The problematic *frigoribus* must be a perseveration error after *frigore*; we need a word appropriate to summer heat, such as *ardoribus*, *caloribus*, or *uaporibus*. “Does the winter resent the summer because it is sluggish with cold and the other blazes with (heat)?”

**3.148-150 (p. 162).** The age of the Patriarchs was a different time.

Qui memoras patres quare taces illius saeculi qualitatem? Quod autem illo tempore uirginitatis professio necdum passim exuberans abundabat. Paucis si aduerteris intimabo.

Why do you, who mention the fathers, say nothing about the nature of that age? At that time the profession of virginity was not yet vigorously abundant everywhere. If you attend, I will make them known in a few words.

It is unclear how BC interpret *quod*, or what “them” refers to (the fathers?). The period after *abundabat* should be (at most) a comma: “That at that time the profession of virginity was not yet vigorously abundant everywhere I will explain in a few words, if you grant me your attention.”

**3.161-165 (p. 162).** It is God who sows my field.

Quid molesti estis terrae meae ubertatis tantae copiam *praeferenti*? Terram meam non homo serit sed Deus. Virgine etenim seminante uirginitas necesse est pullulare: iam nequaquam *terrae* uim infligitis *adserenti*. Illi placuit humum *meum* tali seminare semente, de quo dicitur: ‘Spiritus ubi uult spirat.’

nequaquam - adserenti] ne uim infligitis sed serenti *B*

Why are you troublesome to my land, which *produces* an abundance of such great fruitfulness? Not a human but God sows my land: for truly, when a virgin sows, virginity must sprout. Now you by no means inflict force *on the sower of the land*. To him about whom



it is said, ‘the Spirit blows where he chooses,’ it was pleasing to sow *my* soil with such seed.

In the first sentence BC’s “produces” translates not *praeferenti* but the correct reading of *B*, *proferenti*, which they do not record. (*A* is heavily stained at this point and I cannot tell from the photograph whether it has *pre-*, as Antolín read it, or *pro-*.) What follows is more problematic. BC’s rendering would, I think, require *terram*. The text in *A* could perhaps be retained if we take *terrae* as dative with the verb and *adserenti* as a dative of disadvantage. But the prefix is puzzling; *adserere* normally means “to plant (something) near (something else).” And the variation in *B* suggests textual disturbance. *A*’s *adserenti* and *B*’s *sed serenti* could be reconciled if we move the period back to follow *infligitis* and read *At serenti illi placuit* (etc.). This leaves us with *Iam nequaquam terrae uim infligitis*. As it stands, this must mean “Now you are by no means inflicting injury on the land.” But by Helia’s own account, this is precisely what the judge and his cronies *are* doing. One obvious remedy – to punctuate as a question – does not seem viable. (“Are you not inflicting violence?” would be tolerable but not “Are you on no account inflicting violence?”) I think, therefore, that a word must have dropped out, e.g. *nequaquam* <*sterili*> *terrae*. Finally, since *humus* is feminine, we should read *meam* with *B*, unreported by BC. (*A* has *nīm*, but Antolín was probably right to transcribe this as *meum*.) Print, then:

Virgine etenim seminante uirginitas necesse est pullulare: iam nequaquam  
<sterili> terrae uim infligitis. At serenti illi placuit humum meam tali  
seminare semente, de quo dicitur: ‘Spiritus ubi uult spirat.’

The sentence would then elegantly vary the rhetorical question above: *molesti estis ~ uim infligitis*; *terrae ~ terrae*; *ubertatis tantae copiam proferenti ~ nequaquam* <*sterili*>.

**3.169-171 (p. 162).** Helia expresses her aspirations in Pauline terms.

Utinam et *abscindamini* qui turbatis innuptam. ‘Ego autem in libertate uocata sum, tantum ne *libertate*’ continentiae ‘in occasionem deputem’ nuptiarum.

abscindamini] abscidamini *B*    libertate] -em *B*

Oh, that you, who agitate an unmarried girl, *were cut off!* ‘I have been called into freedom, only in order that, *through the freedom*’ of chastity, ‘I might not be destined for the occasion of’ marriage.

BC recognize an allusion to Galatians 5.12-13: *utinam et abscindantur qui uos conturbant; uos enim in libertatem uocati estis, fratres, tantum ne libertatem in occasionem detis carnis*. This guarantees *abscidamini*, which is in fact the reading of both manuscripts; *abscind-* is found only in Antolín. For



*autem* read B's *enim* (which BC report but mistakenly refer to the *autem* a line above); this again brings the text into line with its Pauline model. The second *libertate* should be *libertatem*, as in Galatians and *B*. Translate: "I have been called into freedom; only let me not direct that freedom' of chastity 'to the occasion' of marriage."

**3.176-177 (p. 162).** Helia admonishes her adversaries.

O homines, uos qui estis qui Domino resistatis? Quid uas meum, libidini quaeritis mancipare?

Who are you, O people, to oppose the Lord? Why do you seek to deliver my vessel up to lust?

BC tell us to compare Rom. 1.24 and Eph. 4.19, but neither passage bears more than a glancing resemblance to this one. The real allusion is to Rom. 9.20-21: *o homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? [...] an non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem uas in honorem, aliud uero in contumeliam?* The comma after *meum* should be deleted.

**3.179-182 (p. 164).** (cont.).

Quid *ignis* quaeritis augmentare? *Sufficit* corpori *malitia sua*, *tantum ne dormiatis* ut tantorum clamorem non audiat, qui conclamant per prophetam: 'Propter timorem tuum, Domine, concepimus in utero [...]'

Why do you seek to increase the *fire*? *Its evilness is sufficient* for the body, *only in order that you not sleep*, so that you may not hear the clamor of so many people, who cry out through the prophet, 'Because of the fear of you, Lord, we conceived in the womb [...]'

Read *ignes* (as in *B*, unreported by BC) or insert an accusative, e.g. *ignis* (<*uires*>). BC overlook the echo of Matth. 6.34, *sufficit diei malitia sua*. The comma after *sua* should be a period. *Tantum ne* + subjunctive is a negative command, as at 3.171 (quoted above): "Only do not sleep, lest you not hear (etc.)."

**3.184-185 (p. 164).** Virginity allows (metaphorical) fertility to all.

Felix partus quo et uiri et feminae<sup>39</sup> et senes et infantuli fecundantur, quia non tam per coitum quam per *abstinentia* propagantur [...].

Happy is that childbirth with which both men and women, both elders and children, are made fruitful, because they are increased not through intercourse but through *abstinence* [...].

Read *abstinentiam* with *B* (ignored by BC).

<sup>39</sup> I correct BC's *foeminae*.

**3.186-187 (p. 164).** Helia's devotion to chastity is absolute.

Ego *autem* non solum uirginitatem *nubere*, sed mori parata sum propter ipsam.

nubere] *Conti*, nouere *A B*

I am ready not only to *marry* virginity but also to die for it.

*B's enim* (unrecorded by BC) seems preferable to *A's autem*. The discourse of virginity is full of paradox, and the idea of "marrying virginity" is not in itself impossible, even if Helia normally speaks of "marrying" Christ. A bigger problem is that *nubere* normally takes a dative. The transmitted reading is more simply accounted for by reading *uouere*.

**3.202-203 (p. 164).** To oppose me is to oppose Paul.

Ut abominabilem refutatis, si meum culpatis praepositum, culpatis apostolum dicentem: 'Estote imitatores Dei.'

You oppose it as abominable, if you disapprove of my preference.

You disapprove of the apostle too, who said, 'Be imitators of God.'

The first sentence of BC's rendering is virtually a tautology. I have argued above (on 1.101-102) that we should read *propositum* here (with *B*, unmentioned by BC). Whether we read *pro-* or *prae-*, *abominabilem* can hardly modify a neuter: it needs its own object. Read *abominabilem* <*me*>. The comma after *refutatis* should be a period or colon: "You oppose me as abominable: if you disapprove of my choice of life, you disapprove of the apostle too."

**3.214-215 (p. 166).** Helia apostrophizes Christ.

*Sponsus spiritus* tu mihi es. Dicam ut dilectissima coniux: 'Neque mors neque uita [...] poterit me a caritate Dei separare.'

You are *the Spirit my bridegroom*. Like a most beloved wife I will say, 'Neither death nor life [...] will be able to separate me from the love of God.'

Rather: "You are the bridegroom of the spirit to me" (as opposed to a fleshly bridegroom). At 220 below Helia quotes Exod. 4.25, *sponsus sanguinum tu mihi es* and comments, *quanto magis cum dixero 'sponsus animae tu mihi es,'<sup>40</sup> sponsi uirtute saluabor*, where BC correctly render "you are the bridegroom of the soul to me."

**3.217-219 (p. 166).** Marriage with Christ is everlasting.

Hoc est enim habere coniugium quod mors non separat sed adunat, quod exitus non dirimit sed coniungit. Aut si mors societatem *tribuit*, quid iam uita *praestauit*?

<sup>40</sup> BC do not mark these words as direct speech.

For this is to have a wedlock which death does not separate but unites, which dying does not break up but joins. Now, if death *granted* fellowship, what *did* life *offer*?

Surely *tribuit* is present tense and we should read *praestabit*? (So *B*, for what it is worth, though in choosing between *-bit* and *-uit* the evidence of the manuscripts is of little weight.) “If death grants fellowship (with my husband), what will life (with him, sc. as a virgin) offer?” *Aut* should perhaps be *at*.

**3.225-232 (p. 166).** No girl would reject even a human emperor, let alone Christ.

Si cuidam uirgini aliquis diceret imperator ‘sponsabo te mihi in sempiternum [...]’ nonne refutatis omnibus, contemptisque parentibus uerecundiae immemor illius coniugium appetisset? *Si illa humanis uocibus conuocata, cunctis reluctantibus non tardaret?* Ego audio imperatore Christo dicente: ‘Audi filia [...] quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam.’ Quomodo uobis prohibentibus impedibor?

If some emperor said to a virgin, ‘I will marry you forever [...]’ would she not reject everyone and disregard her parents, oblivious of her modesty, and strive after a union with him? *If she were summoned by human voices, would she not hold back, resisting everything?* I hear the emperor Christ who says, ‘Listen, daughter, [...] because a king desired your beauty.’ How will I be stopped by your prohibitions?

BC’s rendering makes no sense: the girl proposed to by a human emperor would not “hold back” but would accept his proposal with alacrity; how much more so Helia with her divine bridegroom. The comma after *conuocata* should be deleted. The question mark after *tardaret* should be a comma, as also the period after *tuam*. I had initially proposed to bracket *audio* as an anticipation of *audi* below, but the referee’s *audi*<*t*>*o* seems preferable. Read, then:

Si illa humanis uocibus conuocata cunctis reluctantibus non tardaret, ego audito imperatore Christo dicente: ‘Audi filia [...] quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam,’ quomodo uobis prohibentibus impedibor?

Translate: “If she, summoned by (merely) human words [...] would not hold back [...], how shall *I* be prevented when Christ is heard to say (etc.).”

**3.240-242 (p. 166).** Beware of stealing Christ’s bride.

Si quispiam *alacrissimo* uiro auellere niteretur uxorem, ut eam alteri sociaret, nullatenus interitum euasisset.

If someone tried to tear a wife away from a *very ardent* husband in order to unite her to another, he would by no means escape destruction.

The correct reading is surely *B's a clarissimo*, unrecorded by BC.

**3.243-245 (p. 166-168).** Beware God's wrath.

*Si hominis dimissam uxorem moechatur*<sup>41</sup> *si quis acceperit?* Si quis sumpserit sponsam Domini non dimissam, cui *criminis* subiacebit?

*If someone receives a man's dismissed wife, does he commit adultery?*  
But if someone lays hold of the Lord's spouse, who has not been dismissed, to what *charge* will he be subjected?

The question mark after *acceperit* should be a comma: "If it is the case that a man commits adultery if he receives a man's dismissed wife, then what charge will someone incur if he lays hold of the Lord's spouse?" In place of *A's criminis* read *B's crimini*, not recorded by BC.

**3.247-248 (p. 168).** The judge upbraids Helia.

Tui sensus ignauia, blasphemia ac mendacio plena, et scripturarum uiolat iura et in *nostrammet* consurgit iniuriam.  
nostrammet] nostram *A*

The baseness of your thought, full of blasphemy and falsehood, both violates the laws of the scriptures and rises to insult *us*.

BC print *B's nostrammet*, presumably as the *lectio difficilior*, which it would certainly be. But I confess to some scepticism about this form. Elsewhere the author has the unremarkable *mihimet*, *tibimet* (twice), *sibimet* (twice) and *uosmet* (in a citation of Rom. 12.16), as well as two instances of *temetipsa*, but no other examples of *-met* with a possessive adjective.<sup>42</sup> The latter is an extremely rare usage in itself (cf. *TLL* 8:862.66-69), and virtually unexamplified with *noster* or *uester*. Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati* 8T (*De pronomine*) 6, ed. by B. LÖFSTEDT, L. HOLTZ and A. KIBRE, Turnhout, 1986 (*CCCM*, 68), p. 105 gives a full declension that includes *nostrammet*, but this is plainly a grammarian's construct and not reflective of actual usage. I wonder if we should not read *nostram et*: "both violates the laws of the scriptures and *even* ventures on insult to ourselves." That the judge should view Helia's defiance of him as a greater offence than her alleged rejection of the scriptures would be a nice piece of characterization. The wordplay *iura/iniuriam* is a familiar one, from Plaut. *Rud.* 1069 *iurene anne iniuria* to Greg. M. *Epist.* 2.44, ed. by D. NORBERG, Turnhout, 1982 (*CCSL*, 140), p. 136 *quia mihi iniuriam facio, si fratrum meorum iura perturbo*.

<sup>41</sup> I see no need to preserve the manuscripts' *mecatutur*.

<sup>42</sup> The Brepols *Library of Latin Texts* has somehow created an *eamet* at 2.71 (p. 124), where BC correctly have *eam et*.

**3.255-258 (p. 168).** The judge and his allies offend against God.

Vos ipsi quid patiemini qui sacrilegium publice suadetis, *quod iam facinus apud uos erit illicitum* qui in Christi *conubium* diuortium fieri *docetis*? [...] non ita *didicistis* Christum.

What will you suffer, who openly encourage sacrilege? *What will be a notorious crime for you*, who teach that there should be divorce in the *marriage* of Christ? [...] ‘You did not learn this from Christ.’

Rather: “What crime will you regard as off-limits?” The comma after *suadetis* should be a question mark, as the English implies. *B*’s *conubio*, unrecorded by BC, seems superior to *A*’s *conubium* on grammatical grounds, and its *edocetis*, likewise unrecorded, on rhythmical ones. In the quotation from Eph. 4.20, *A*’s *didicistis* is a non-form. Read *didicistis* with *B*, unreported by BC.

**3.259-260 (p. 168).** Desirability of Christ’s embraces.

Si ‘beati qui expectant Dominum,’ quanto magis qui eius *patiuntur* amplexibus?  
*patiuntur*] *locruntur* *B*<sub>2</sub> *in marg.*

If ‘those who wait for the Lord are blessed,’ how much more are those who *experience* his embraces?

*B*, unreported by BC, has *potiuntur*. This is confirmed by syntax (*potior* takes an accusative), by the gloss *locrantur* (i.e. *lucruntur*), mistranscribed as *locruntur* by BC, and by two parallels earlier in the *Vita*: 1.507 (p. 112) *dum eius amplexibus potiuntur*; 1.556 (p. 114) *dum mulierum potitur amplexibus*. *A*’s *patiuntur* may have been influenced by *patiemini* at 3.255, a few lines above.

**3.262-263 (p. 168).** I am closer to Christ than you will ever be.

Quem uos aspicere concupiscitis eminus, huius *ergo* fruor contubernio *facultatem*.

You long to observe him at a distance; I enjoy *the possibility* of living with him.

To answer *uos* in the relative clause we need not *ergo* (*A*) but *ego* (*B*, unreported by BC). BC’s rendering of the last five words requires two unlikely constructions: *furor* + acc. and *contubernio* in place of *contubernii*. Since *fruor contubernio* is good Latin, the problem probably lies with *facultatem*. We might expect an adverbial expression meaning “face-to-face” or the like, but nothing obvious presents itself, and close proximity is anyway implicit in *contubernio*. I would simply delete the word, though I do not know how it intruded.

**3.263-265 (p. 168).** I would have been better off in pagan times.

Si essem temporibus paganorum, et uellem deae Vestae seruire, nullus auderet meum propositum impedire, ne ut putabat *diuino flumine* deperiret.

If I were in the times of the pagans and wanted to serve the goddess Vesta, nobody would dare to prevent my way of life, lest he perish *in the divine river*, as it was thought.

I am not sure that *esse temporibus* + (gen.) is good Latin for “be alive in the days of X.” B’s *temporum*, unreported by BC, seems no easier. I wonder if something has fallen out, e.g. *si* <*uirgo*> *essem*. BC are rightly puzzled by *diuino flumine*, which suggests to them only the rivers of the underworld: “Perhaps Helia references [*sic*] general Roman notions of punishment in the afterlife” (p. 193). I had wondered if *flumine* might conceal some reference to the goddess’s sacred flame (*flamma*), the extinguishing of which would bring disaster to Rome. But the referee correctly and economically restores *fulmine*.

**3.267-271 (p. 168).** Be warned by past events.

Illorum immemor es qui dum alios deterrebant, ne terram repromissionis intrarent interfectionis diuinae<sup>43</sup> sensere uindictam qui nobis exempla terribilia prae-buerunt *in quo* finis saeculorum obuenerit, quia ad nostram correptionem conscripta sunt illa quae tunc figuraliter gerebantur.

You forget those who, while they deterred others from entering the promised land, experienced the revenge of the divine killing and supplied us with terrifying examples *in which* the end of the world is at hand, because what was presented in figures at that time was described for our correction.

BC do not identify “those who [...] deterred others from entering the promised land”; presumably the reference is to the ten faithless spies of Numbers 14.36-37. There should be a period after *uindictam*. BC translate as if the antecedent of *quo* were the neuter plural *exempla*, which can hardly be right. In any case, *quo* is a slip of Antolín’s, taken over unchecked by BC; both manuscripts have *quos*, which looks back to *nobis*: “supplied terrifying examples for us, upon whom the end of the world impends.”

**3.273-274 (p. 168).** The judge upbraids Helia.

Quae salutem tuam spernis, *cui es alii consultura?*

*Who else will you consult*, you who despise your salvation?

Rather: “For whom else will you show concern?” See *OLD* s.v. *consulo* 6.

<sup>43</sup> I regularize BC’s *diuine*.

**3.280-282 (p. 170).** “You cannot properly understand Scripture.”

Si regnum Dei scripturae diuinae sunt, quomodo tu cum sis caro poteris eius mysteria conspiciari?

If the kingdom of God is the holy scripture, how will you be able to get sight of its mysteries, when you are flesh?

BC offer no comment on this. It may be worth noting the appearance of the idea in Jerome, e.g. in *Matth.* 21.43, ed. by D. HURST and M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1969 (*CCSL*, 77), p. 198 *aliquotiens dixi regnum dei scripturas sanctas intellegi*.

**3.283-284 (p. 170).** Salvation for women does not rest only on childbearing.

Si ita est, quomodo *e contrario* Rachel et nurus Heli in filiorum partibus moriuntur?

*e contrario*] *econtra* *B*

If this is so, how, *on the contrary*, did Rachel and Eli's daughter-in-law die while delivering their children?

*B*'s *econtra* (recorded in BC's apparatus) is found also at 2.203 (p. 132) in both witnesses. By contrast, *e contrario* does not seem to appear elsewhere in the *Vita*. (The two terms seem to be about equally common in general.)

**3.284-288 (p. 170).** Perverse consequences of the judge's view.

Restat itaque ut quanto quisque fuerit lasciuior et petulantior, tanto salutis *cumulum* mereatur. [...] Ergo omnes uirgines noui ac *ueteri* testamenti exclusi sunt a salute, quia nequaquam subolem genuerunt.

Thus it is left that the more lascivious and wanton one was, the more he or she deserves a *surplus* of salvation. [...] Therefore, all the virgins of the New and *Old* Testament were excluded from salvation because they never generated any offspring.

*Restat ut [...]* means “it follows that [...].” *Cumulus* here is equivalent to *culmen* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *cumulus* 4), so not “a surplus of salvation” but “the crown of salvation.” In the sentence below, grammar demands *ueteris* (so *B*, unreported); *A*'s *ueteri* is unconsciously influenced by *noui* and/or *testamenti*.

**3.301-303 (p. 170).** What the apostle meant by ‘children.’

Sed ut intellegas quos filios apostolus signare uoluerit, ait *enim*: ‘Salua erit per filiorum generationem, si permanserit in fide et dilectione [...]’

But in order that you may understand what children the apostle wanted to signify, he says, ‘She will be saved through the generation of children, if she remains in faith and devotion [...]’



Read *etiam*. For this confusion cf. e.g. Cic. *Nat.* 1.113; Plin. *Epist.* 4.9.7; 6.7.1; also by conjecture at Cic. *Att.* 8.14.3; Tert. *Nat.* 1.7.14, ed. G. J. P. BORLEFFS, Turnhout, 1954 (*CCSL*, 1), p. 19. The reading of *B* is unavailable here due to a tear that affects the last lines of the work.<sup>44</sup>

**3.304-306 (p. 170).** On 1 Tim 2.14-15, *mulier [...]* *salua erit per generationem filiorum*.

Mulierem animam *signifari* frequentius scripturae testantur. Cum enim omnis fructus in fide et dilectione *permanserit*, *salutem animae profligabunt*.

*permanserit*] *Conti*, -int *A*, *uerbi finis illegib. in B*

The scriptures attest that woman quite often *symbolizes* the soul, for when every fruit *remains* in faith and devotion, *the souls will conquer their salvation*.

The non-word *signifari* is an error in Antolín, perpetuated by BC. *A* has the correct *significari*, while *B* clearly has *signific*<...> with the ending lost in the tear. Rather than making *permanserit* singular, we should emend *omnis* to *omnes*. The subject of *profligabunt* is not *animae* (genitive sing. with *salutem*), but *fructus*: “when all its fruits persist in faith and devotion, they will bring about the salvation of the soul.”

### ***Laus eiusdem Virginis***

Both manuscripts include a short coda to the life in cadenced prose, not necessarily by the same author as the *Vita*.

**4-7 (p. 172).** The rewards of virginity.

Audiui dominum *quae sequi debeam*,

Quanta sit praemia uirginitati

*posita alta promissio*, non huius temporis

sed immortalitas ad caelum pertinens.

*I who should follow the Lord* have heard

How numerous are the rewards of virginity

*Established by lofty promise*, not of this time

But immortality extending to heaven.

In line 4, *quae* is neuter plural, not feminine singular; *audiui dominum* is construed as if it were *audiui a domino* or *audiui dominum dicere*. In line 6

<sup>44</sup> BC's apparatus (“col. latus dextrum deletum uidetur”) is unclear here, if not outright misleading. The right side of the column has been torn away (*dereptum* or *abscissum*), and there is no seeming about it.

there should be a colon after *posita* (both manuscripts mark a pause here). Translate: “I have heard the Lord (as to) what commands I should follow, (and) how many rewards have been established for virginity: a lofty promise, not of this time, but [...] (etc.)”

## 12-13 (p. 172). What awaits the faithful.

Nec dubium quod qui casti perseuerunt  
et uirgines ‘angeli dei’ efficiantur ‘aequales.’

Nor is there any doubt that those who have remained chaste  
and virginal are made ‘equal to the angels.’

Grammar requires *angelis*, the unreported reading of *B*.

Burrus and Conti deserve thanks for redirecting the attention of scholars to this neglected and interesting text. One hopes that the series editor and publisher might encourage them to produce a revised edition of it.<sup>45</sup>

\*

## APPENDIX I: *Fontes et similia*

I add here some unnoticed biblical and other echoes not discussed above.

1.23 (p. 82): *coepit cogitare non praesentia, sed futura*: cf. Jerome in *Is.* 14 praef., ed. by M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1963 (CCSL, 73A), p. 552 *nequaquam praesentia cogitans, sed futura*; in *Ier.* 5.38.3, ed. by S. REITER, Vienna, 1913 (CSEL, 59), p. 324 *nequaquam praesentia mala, sed futura bona animo cogitantes*; Asterius ad *Renatum* 6.14, ed. by R. JAKOBI, Berlin, 2011, p. 6 *futura potius quam praesentia cogitare*; Cassiod. in *Psalm.* 118.71, ed. by M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1958 (CCSL, 98), p. 1087 *non praesentia cogitans, sed futura desiderans*.

1.30 (p. 82) *non magnopere cupiendum [...] quod caducae naturae [...] ut eliquata glacies defluens euanescit*: for *caducae naturae* cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 108.27.3, ed. by I. HILBERG, Vienna, 1912 (CSEL, 55), p. 346 *o mortalium fragilis et caduca natura*. The melting-ice image may look to Sap. 16.29 *ingrati enim fides tamquam hibernalis glacies tabescit*.

<sup>45</sup> In case such a revision should materialize, it may be useful to list some typos: introduction, p. 45, line 21 for “2.2-5” read “3.2-5”; 1.156 (p. 90) for *uirigininitatis* read *uirigininitatis*; 1.200 (p. 92) for *Vnum* read *Unum*; 1.223 (p. 94) *uir* should be italicized, as part of the quotation; 1.258 (p. 96) n. 75 should be attached to *interemptus*, not *Scito*; 1.264 (p. 96) for *appelatur* read *appellatur* (so *AB*); 1.293 (p. 98) in the apparatus “scr. cum B” should be italicized; 1.311 (p. 100) for *sardinio* read *sardino* (the reading of both manuscripts); p. 120 line numbers for 10 and 15 are missing; 2.36 (p. 122) for *spirituale* read *spirituale*; 2.71 (p. 124) in the apparatus, for *cornonaberis* read *coronaberis*; 2.399 (p. 146) in the apparatus, *uno* should not be italicized; 3.154 (p. 162) for *Vnde* read *Unde*; Works Cited (p. 195) under Jerome, for *Jovinium* read *Jovinianum*.

- 1.35-36 (p. 82): *ut [...] sponsi uocem audiret*: cf. John 3.29 *amicus autem sponsi qui stat et audit eum gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi*.
- 1.76-77 (p. 84): *sciens quia non sine causa retia tendantur piscibus*: cf. the pre-Hieronymian version of Proverbs 1.17 cited at Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 40.9, ed. by W. VON HARTEL, Vienna, 1894 (CSEL, 29), p. 350 *scriptum est enim, quia non sine causa tenduntur auibus retia*.
- 1.541-542 (p. 114): *indiciu sit meriti [...] persecutionem propter iustitiam sustinere*: cf. Matth. 5.10 *beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam* (quoted below at 1.545).
- 2.285-286 (p. 138): *Ascendens cito libera ferque praesidium*: not italicized by BC, but this continues the quotation from Jos. 10.6.
- 2.286-287 (p. 138): *Eleua manus tuas [...] in superbia matris in finem*: cf. Psalm. 73.3 *leua manus tuas in superbias eorum in finem*.
- 2.407 (p. 146): *Obstrue aures tuas ne audiant conloquia miserorum*: cf. Sirach 28.28 as quoted at *Opus imperf. in Matthaeum* 51, PG 56, col. 924 *obstrue aures tuas spinis, ne audias uerba maligna*.
- 2.407-408 (p. 146) *qui nec ad palatia uirginitatis introeunt nec alios intrare permittunt*: cf. Matth. 23.13 and/or Luke 11.52, as quoted at Aug. *Serm.* 22D.24 (= 341 auctus), ed. F. DOLBEAU, *Augustin d'Hippone, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique* (Paris, 1996), p. 576 *uae uobis qui habetis clauis regni caelorum, nec uos intratis nec alios intrare permittis*.
- 2.422-423 (p. 146) *Si oculos cordis aperias*: cf. Ephes. 1.18 *inluminatos oculos cordis uestri*.
- 3.118 (p. 160): *Ipse docet omnem hominem scientiam*: cf. Col. 1.28 *docentes omnem hominem in omni sapientia*.
- 3.168 (p. 162): *Nonne portabitis iudicium qui uirginem conturbatis?* cf. Gal. 5.10, *qui autem conturbat uos portabit iudicium*.
- 3.235-236 (p. 166): *dura est uirginitas, quis eam potest sufferre?* cf. John 6.61, *durus est hic sermo, quis potest eum audire?*

## APPENDIX II: Punctuation

As already noted, BC's punctuation of the Latin is frequently unhelpful or plainly wrong. I list here some instances not discussed above. (In many of these cases the translation already reflects the punctuation needed in the text).

- Prol. 26-28 (p. 78): *Vt cui [...] dictionem* is part of the previous sentence. (The English also needs correction).
- 1.33 (p. 82): the period after *strenua* should be a comma (the English has a dash).
- 1.121 (p. 88): the period after *informor* should be a comma (adjust the English accordingly).
- 1.136 (p. 88): delete the comma after *obiectis* (as the English implies).
- 1.171 (p. 90): delete the comma after *nostram* (as the English implies).
- 1.175 (p. 90): the period after *instruere* should be a comma (as the English implies).
- 1.242 (p. 94): the period after *secretarum* should be a comma (as the English implies).

- 1.324 (p. 100): the period after *Christum* should be a comma (and the English corrected accordingly).
- 1.334 (p. 100): the comma after *traduntur* should be a semicolon (the translation inserts a “but”).
- 1.519 (p. 112): insert a period or colon after *uisionis* (as the English implies).
- 1.525 (p. 112): the period after *uenundatur* should be a comma; the comma after *defoedatur* should be a semicolon. (The English has semicolon and period respectively.)
- 1.545 (p. 114): the question mark after *caelorum* should follow *transeatur* in 548. *Quia scriptum [...]* ‘*regnum caelorum*’ is parenthetical. (The English also needs correction.)
- 1.574 (p. 116): delete the comma after *splendore* (as the English implies).
- 1.593 (p. 118): the period after *superauit* should be a comma (the English also needs correction).
- 1.598 (p. 118): the question mark after *triumpharunt* belongs after *praeifulgebant* in 600 (and correct the English accordingly).
- 1.615 (p. 118): the period after *senatorum* should be a comma (the English should be similarly corrected).
- 2.5 (p. 120): the comma after *supradictis* should be moved back to follow *commenta* (as the English implies).
- 2.11 (p. 120): the comma after *do* should be a period (as in the English).
- 2.20 (p. 120): delete the comma after *Pauli* (as the English implies).
- 2.24 (p. 122): delete the comma after *declaratum* (as the English implies).
- 2.51 (p. 122): the period after *pascebatur* should be a comma, or perhaps a colon. (The translation ignores the initial *Quod*, which means “As to the fact that ...”).
- 2.54 (p. 122): the period after *seruabantur* should be a comma (as the English implies).
- 2.66 (p. 124): the question mark after *posterum* should be a comma, or the one after *punitur* in 67 a period. (BC’s “is he not punished ...?” renders a *nonne* not present in the Latin.)
- 2.78 (p. 124): the period after *in ea* should be a comma (as the English implies).
- 2.108 (p. 126): the period after *seruis* should be a comma or semicolon (as in the English).
- 2.109 (p. 126): the period after *imponit* should be a comma or semicolon (as in the English).
- 2.131 (p. 128): insert a comma after *Christo* (as the English implies).
- 2.135 (p. 128): the period after *perimuntur* should be a comma (as the English implies).
- 2.142 (p. 128): insert a comma (as in the English) or semicolon after *terra*.
- 2.172 (p. 130): the comma after *nouimus* should be a period (as the English implies).
- 2.319 (p. 140): the comma after *materna* should be a period (as in the English)
- 2.348 (p. 142): the comma after *antistes* should be a question mark (as in the English).
- 2.365 (p. 144): the period after *decus est* should be a comma (as the English implies).

- 2.372 (p. 144): delete the comma after *nostram* (as the English implies).
- 2.374 (p. 144): the comma after *studio* should be moved back to follow *fabulari* (as the English implies).
- 2.424 (p. 146): the comma after *ueritatem* should be a question mark (as the English implies).
- 2.429 (p. 148): the comma after *nouam* should be a period (as in the English).
- 2.489 (p. 150): delete the comma after *genetrix* (as in the English).
- 3.20-21 (p. 152): the period after *corpus* should be a comma; likewise the period after *iudicabo*. (The English also needs correction).
- 3.36 (p. 154): the comma after *censuistis* should be a semicolon or colon (as in the English).
- 3.66 (p. 156): the period after *uirginem* should probably be a question mark. (The sentence is punctuated as a question in *B*).
- 3.75 (p. 156): the comma after *impleatur* should be a colon (as the English implies) or a period.
- 3.104 (p. 158): there should be a comma after *puto*, which is parenthetical. (The English should be adjusted accordingly.)
- 3.108-109 (p. 158): *quod mireris* is parenthetical ("a thing to marvel at!") and should be followed (and perhaps also preceded) by a comma.
- 3.192 (p. 164): the question mark after *comitatur* should be a comma (as the English implies).
- 3.207 (p. 164): the comma after *doleatis* should be a colon (as the English implies).
- 3.233-234 (p. 166): the paragraph break after *tardaret* is unhelpful; *uos [...] me* balances *parentes illam uirginem* in the previous sentence.
- 3.245 (p. 168): delete the comma after *religio* (as the English implies).
- 3.300 (p. 170): the period after *filios* should be a question mark (and the English similarly corrected).
- 3.307-308 (p. 170): *Praestante [...] AMEN* is part of the previous sentence. (Correct the English similarly.)

### APPENDIX III: Glosses

Both manuscripts contain glosses, many if not all of which must go back to a common ancestor. BC's presentation of these is problematic in various ways. They employ a single apparatus which indiscriminately and confusingly mixes glosses with textual variants. They have also mis-transcribed a number of glosses and/or attributed them to the wrong lemma. Rather than attempt to correct individual instances I have thought it simplest to re-edit the glosses, dividing them into two groups:

- 1) Lexical glosses, consisting of a word synonymous (or taken to be synonymous) with the word in the text. The bulk of these are in *B*, though a few are also found in the early folios of *A*. These are normally keyed to the lemma by a *signe de renvoi* placed over the relevant word and repeated in the margin. There are a number of glosses that appear to be misplaced, in that they do not map onto

their lemma morphologically or semantically (e.g. 2.5 *commenta: prestanti<s>simus. precipuus*).

- 2) Marginal notations that do not gloss individual words but rather summarize content, usually by repeating a key word in the margin or using the formulas *de* \_\_\_\_ or *ubi* \_\_\_\_\_. I include in this category the word *adtentius* (sc. *lege* or *legendum*), identification of rhetorical features (e.g. *comparatio*), a few speaker indications (*mater; uirgo*), and notes of readerly appreciation (*pulcre dictum* and the like). In *A* these notes are typically preceded by a mark like a capital Greek gamma with the upper shaft extended. In *B* they often have penwork extending down below the note, to indicate that the note refers not to a single word but to a longer passage. Since these glosses are keyed to the text only by proximity I place the (deduced) lemma in parenthesis.

Like BC I designate all the glosses in *B* as  $B_2$ , but they are in fact in at least two hands. One, perhaps identical with that responsible for the main text, is a dark, straggly hand, often glossing at a slight angle to the text. The second (thinner, paler and neater than the first) makes a clear effort to keep its notes parallel to the column. The first hand is responsible for most of the lexical glosses, while the second is mainly responsible for the summary-type glosses. However, the division of labor is not perfect.

In a few cases where the text is too rubbed or extends too far into the margin to be read with certainty, I have indicated the approximate number of missing letters with dots.

## 1. Lexical Glosses

Ref.	Lemma	Gloss
pr. 3	indolem	ingenio $A_2$
pr. 15	suppetat	constat $A_2$
pr. 19	insolens	inprudens $A_2$
pr. 19	pridem	ante $A_2$
pr. 25	nugas	inu..l. $A_2$ ( <i>fortasse</i> inutilia)
1.2	emolumenta	fructu uel lucri premium $B_2$
1.4	profligare	adunare $A_2$ profligare adunare $B_2$
1.5	questuosa	lucra $B_2$
1.6	dictionis	potentiae nostrae $A_2$ potestatis $B_2$
1.12	cessi	recessi $B_2$
1.19	praesidiis	necessaria $B_2$
1.22	generosis (orta natalibus)	nobilis $B_2$
1.24	oblectari	delectari $B_2$
1.25	monilia	ornamenta capitis mulieris $B_2$
1.26	ambitum	circuitu uel potentia $B_2$
1.33	strenua	fortis. sapiens $B_2$
1.34	probitate	sanctitate $B_2$
1.34	gestu	actu. habitu $B_2$
1.35	morigera	mores conposita $B_2$
1.48	lolio	malus terre spine $B_2$
1.51	gestiens	gaudens $B_2$
1.53	angebatur	sollicitat $B_2$
1.55	suggerenti	monstrante $B_2$
1.68	exemptam	liberata $B_2$

1.69	compos	composita $A_2B_2$
1.81	de industria	ingenium $B_2$
1.84	nec clanculo	non oculte $B_2$
1.85	spiritualis	uigor $B_2$
1.99	accelerans	festinans $B_2$
1.100	refutatur	negat $B_2$
1.102	coeptum	inquoatum $B_2$
1.107	nutibus	ante uisa $B_2$
1.129	insolentior	instabilitas $B_2$
1.129	missilia	⟨h⟩astilia $B_2$
1.130	telis	armis $B_2$
1.131	ambages	circuitus uerborum $B_2$
1.133	obiciat	oponat $B_2$
1.138	indagare	inquisitio $B_2$
1.159	in propatulo	in medio $B_2$
1.167	argumentatur	studia. astutia $B_2$
1.167	censor	iudex qui recte iudicat $B_2$
1.167	libram (libra)	causa equalis $B_2$
1.168	lancem (lance)	pondere $B_2$
1.169	suggillationem	reprehensio. suffocatio $B_2$
1.173	differt	demonstrat $B_2$
1.178	artabit	adflixit $B_2$
1.185	compago	coniunctio $B_2$
1.202	adsentior	iudico $B_2$
1.202	censetur	statuetur $B_2$
1.210	temeraria	polluere $B_2$
1.216	luculentius	lingua clarus $B_2$
1.233	tributum	perpetua et felicitatis filias beati petri apostoli $A_2B_2$
1.245	glomeras	coniungit $B_2$
1.290	priuilegio	dignitas $B_2$
1.320	deriuas	in alium ducit partem $B_2$
1.335	interpolasti	dixisti $B_2$
1.342	didracmatis	sex scripule dragme uel .ii. measure $B_2$
1.391	serpente	serpente eneo $A_2$
1.401	uictricibus	femina uictor $A_2$
1.401	telis	sagittis $A_2$
1.402	machinatis	mala cogita $A_2$
1.402	insolenter	stultitia $B_2$
1.403	fula	auxilia $B_2$
1.405	diastemate	ornamentum $B_2$
1.498	opulens	diues $B_2$
2.5	commenta	prestantissimus. precipuus $B_2$
2.10	promulgatam	patefacta $B_2$
2.10	nefaria	scelera $B_2$
2.61	latius	latius ( <i>sic</i> ) $B_2$
2.81	diriuaris	detrais uel deducis $B_2$
2.195	praetendit	ostendit. punit $B_2$
2.237	conuiciis	iniuriis. litis $B_2$
2.241	consopire	co...gu...e $B_2$ ( <i>fort.</i> constringuere uel coarguere)
2.275	insolescit	crescit $B_2$
2.430	angere	cruciare. lacerare $B_2$
2.430	mulcere	placare $B_2$
2.433	potissime	meliore $B_2$



2.472	illa	mater $B_4$
3.56	optio	arbitrium $B_2$
3.92	emula	imitari uel inimica $B_2$
3.225	arrabonem	arram uel anolum $B_2$
3.256	diuortium	separatio $B_2$
3.260	potiuntur	locrantur $B_2$
3.285	petulantior	iactantia uel luxuria $B_2$
3.285	cumulum	plenitudo $B_2$

## 2. Summary Notes and Other Reader Aids

Ref.	Lemma	Marginal Comment
1.34	(Erat namque ...)	quante fuerit excellentie $B_2$
1.37	(Speciosa ...)	de eius pulcritudine $A_2 B_2$
1.42	(Euae)	de eua $A_2 B_2$
1.61	(In isdem diebus ...)	de quoddam presbitero $A_2 B_2$
1.73	(Hic iam omnem ...)	ubi confessa est deuotionem suam sancto presbitero $A_2 B_2$
1.80	(et hoc ...)	quantum a beato presbitero fuerit (-at $A_2$ ) instructa $A_2 B_2$
1.84	(Per idem ...)	de eius mater $B_2$
1.87	(Quid, inquit ...)	ubi ei obstitit mater $B_2$
1.113	(Qui enim plus sapit)	sollerter $B_2$
1.116	(Vere quia ...)	de prophetis uirginibus $B_2$
1.118	(quae uirginitatis ...)	de nouo testamen<to> $B_2$
1.131	(Mater dixit)	mater $B_2$
1.133	(Paucis ...)	de nuptiis $A_2 B_2$
1.140	(Veritas siquidem ...)	uirgo $B_2$
1.142	(Utrum uelis)	adtentius $A_2$
1.151	(Inepta garrulitatis ...)	mater $B_2$
1.157	(Sin sanctorum ...)	uirgo $B_2$
1.196	(Omnes uos unum estis ...)	de unitate $B_2$
1.220	(Denique Abraam ...)	de patriarchis uel prophetis coniugatis $A_2 B_2$
1.220	(Abraam)	abraam $A_2$ de abraham $B_2$
1.221	(Iob)	iob $A_2 B_2$
1.222	(Moyses)	moyses $A_2 B_2$
1.223	(Dauid)	dauid $A_2$ de dauid $B_2$
1.224	(Denique Iacob ...)	iacob moyse esayas miccas $A_2 B_2$
1.229	(Ad nouum ...)	de sancto petro $A_2 B_2$
1.239	(In cuius ...)	ubi uirgo exterrita a deo suffragia postulauit $A_2 B_2$
1.251	(Iosue)	de ihosue $A_2 B_2$
1.254	(Gedeon)	de iedeon $A_2$ de gedeon $B_2$
1.256	(Asam)	de asam eziopum $A_2$ de asam etiopem $B_2$
1.256	(qui decies ...)	decies ·c· milium $A_2 B_2$
1.279	(Et si Iob ...)	de iob et ihoanne baptista $A_2 B_2$
1.293	(Moysen)	de moysen et paulo $A_2$
1.300	(Sed Iohannes ...)	de ihoanne baptista et de dauid $A_2$ de iohanne euangelista et dauid $B_2$
1.306	(Daniel)	de daniel $A_2 B_2$
1.309	(Sed et Iohannes ...)	de sancto iohanne euangelista et dauid $B_2$
1.316	(Si enim Christus ...)	de christo $B_2$
1.336	(Denique quod ...)	de doctoribus $A_2$

1.344	(Stupes Petrum ...)	de sancto petro et paulo $B_2$
1.352	(genitricem)	de beata maria $A_2$ de sancta maria $B_2$
1.359	(Quis autem ...)	de elie et enoch $A_2$ de helias et henoc $B_2$
1.365	(Et quantum arca ...)	de arca testamenti $A_2 B_2$
1.368	(Quis sicut Ieremias ...)	de iheremias $B_2$
1.370	(Qui sicut Iohannes ...)	de ihoanne babtista $A_2 B_2$
1.377	(Quis super pectus ...)	de ihoanne euangelista $A_2 B_2$
1.381	(Virgo Maria ...)	de beata maria $A_2$ de sancta maria $B_2$
1.384	(Pro nobis facit ...)	( <i>nota legi non potest in B</i> )
1.391	(Legimus in Numeris ...)	de serpente <e>neo $B_2$
1.415	(Primi homines ...)	adam et eua $B_2$
1.418	(Non uirginitas ...)	de adam et eua $A_2$
1.423	(Virgo filia Iacob)	dina et susanna $A_2 B_2$
1.426	(Numquid condemnare ...)	de iuda traditore $A_2 B_2$
1.429	(uel propter)	comparatio $B_2$
1.431	(scito plus praeualere ...)	de danieli $A_2$
1.433	(quae causa fuerat ...)	de euersione iherosolime (-orum $B_2$ ) $A_2 B_2$
1.437	(Nam Hieremias ...)	iheremias $A_2$
1.449	(Nam Elias ...)	de elia $B_2$
1.450	(et Hieremiam ...)	de iheremias (-mia $B_2$ ) et tribus pueris $A_2 B_2$
1.490	(Si librum Geneseos ...)	de abraam et sarram $A_2 B_2$
1.493	(Dei sumus adiutores)	mire dictum $A_2$
1.497	(Rebecca ...)	de rebecca $A_2 B_2$
1.510	(Iacob ...)	de iacob $A_2$
1.524	(Ioseph ...)	de ioseph $A_2$
1.530	(Quid miraris ...)	de abraam et iacob $A_2$ de iacob et abraham $B_2$
1.537	(Moyses dum uxori ...)	.. moyse ..pha... $A_2^{46}$
1.549	(Dauid ...)	de dauid $A_2$
1.556	(Salomon ...)	de salomon $A_2$
1.580	(Iahel ...)	de iahel $A_2$
1.581	(Iudith ...)	iudith $A_2$
1.581	(Holofernem)	oloforne $A_2$
1.581	(et uirgo ...)	de filia gepte $A_2$
1.596	(Quis sicut Dauid ...)	de dauid $A_2$
1.596	(Quis sicut Daniel ...)	daniel $A_2$
1.597	(Quis sicut tres pueri ...)	de tribus pueris $A_2$
1.601	(Dominus et Saluator ...)	de apostolis $A_2$
2.34	(Inconueniens ...)	adtentius $A_2$
2.37	(Decebat enim ...)	pulcre dictum $A_2 B_2$
2.41	(Carnali enim ...)	preclare dictum $A_2$ preclare ualde $B_2$
2.44	(Quamuis matres ...)	( <i>nota legi non potest in A</i> ) comparatio $B_2$
2.53	(In aduentum ...)	de christo $A_2 B_2$
2.62	(Nonne uirginitas ...)	testimonia uirginitati congruentia $A_2 B_2$
2.63	(Nonne caelibatus ...)	ubi ysac sunimitis ( <i>sic recte Antolín</i> ) $A_2$ abysac sunamitis $B_2$
2.66	(Adonias)	adonias $A_2 B_2$
2.68	(propheta)	ose $A_2 B_2$
2.75	(uirgo)	de sancta maria $A_2 B_2$
2.81	(Numquidnam ...)	adtentius $B_2$
2.87	(Si requiras ...)	de christo $A_2 B_2$

<sup>46</sup> *moyes et pharao* Antolín (followed by BC). The note is faint in the photograph available to me, but I cannot see the final -s of *moyes*; *de moyse et pharao(ne)* seems more likely.

2.92	(Nam pro ...)	superiora repetit $A_2$ superiora petit $B_2$
2.95	(rex ...)	christus $A_2$
2.98	(Ad nouum ueniam ...)	de nobo instrumento $A_2 B_2$
2.103	(Quid enim signabatur ...)	de samaritano $A_2 B_2$
2.120	(Denique sic scriptum ...)	de sacrificiis $A_2$ de sacrificia $B_2$
2.130	(Audi etiam ...)	de instantia uirginum et nuptiarum $A_2 B_2$
2.134	(Madianitarum ...)	de madianitas $B_2$
2.137	(Nuptiae in Adam ...)	de adam $B_2$
2.138	(in Christo)	de christo $B_2$
2.141	(Eua in humilibus ...)	de eua et maria $B_2$
2.155	(Neque enim si hieme ...)	comparatio $A_2$
2.157	(nec annus ...)	de anni altercatione ( <i>sic</i> ) $A_2 B_2$
2.159	(Ab illo sine dubio ...)	adtentius $A_2$
2.164	(Numquid quia ille ...)	de aqua in uino conuersa $A_2 B_2$
2.167	(Non uituperandus ...)	comparatio $B_2$
2.175	(Quia non uno modo ...)	de christi dispensatione $A_2$ de christi patientia $B_2$
2.179	(Tam diu permansit ...)	adtentius $B_2$
2.182	(Et in carne ...)	comparatio $A_2$
2.185	(Denique illos ...)	de dillubium $A_2 B_2$
2.194	(Itaque contra iustitiam ...)	adtentius $A_2$
2.200	(Qui enim dixit ...)	mire dictum $B_2$
2.211	(Ignorans tempus pacis ...)	de tempore pacis et belli $A_2 B_2$
2.224	(Talibus enim ...)	satisfactio $A_2$
2.229	(Quatenus salubri ...)	ubi eam conuiciis lacesciuit $A_2$ ubi eam conuiciis lacescit mater $B_2$
2.237	(Tantis itaque ...)	ubi eam uirg[in]is cedit $B_2$
2.247	(Ex hoc non cibum ...)	ubi se abstinencia coartauit (quo- $A_2$ ) $A_2 B_2$
2.249	(Nouerat enim ...)	comparatio $A_2 B_2$
2.251	(supradicto)	quem in libro primo meminit $A_2$ quem in libro meminit $B_2$
2.253	(illa multis precibus)	de ostearia domus $A_2$ de ostiarie $B_2$
2.258	(osteariae illi dissimilis)	alia ostearia $A_2 B_2$ (host- $B_2$ )
2.263	(ad basilicam properabat)	ubi ad episcopum confugiit $A_2 B_2$
2.267	(Cumque nuntiaretur ...)	ubi de ea nuntiatur episcopo $A_2 B_2$
2.274	(Bellum mihi...)	uerba uirginis $A_2$
2.286	(Eleua manus tuas ...)	de moyse $A_2$ de moyses $B_2$
2.290	(per unius ...)	adiuratio $A_2$
2.334	(Balaam)	de balaam $A_2$
2.337	(Hoc miserabili fletu ...)	ubi commobit plurimos uerbis suis $A_2$
2.360	(Tandem congreditur ...)	ubi episcopus matrem eius audiens alloquitur $A_2 B_2$
2.377	(pontifex)	episcopus $A_2 B_2$
2.382	(Itaque sicut ...)	abtissima comparatio $A_2 B_2$
2.388	(Nubere censemus ...)	adtentius $A_2$
2.396	(Suscipe alteram ...)	comparatio $A_2$
2.410	(Ergo maledictus erat Abel ...)	de abel $A_2$
2.412	(Ergo maledictus erat Elias)	de elia $A_2$
2.421	(Denique Rachel ...)	racel $A_2$
2.425	(genetrix)	maria $A_2 B_2$
2.429	(Ecce ego ...)	de nouitate $A_2$
2.435	(Omnis paene scriptura ...)	adtentius $A_2$
2.442	(Gemmarum enim ...)	comparatio $B_2$
2.444	(Et promiscuis ...)	de sancta ciuitate $A_2 B_2$
2.449	(Denique paterfamilias ...)	de talentis $A_2 B_2$

2.451	(Nam et populus ...)	de populo israhel $A_2$
2.452	(spartum)	de spartum $A_2$
2.476	(Vel auium ...)	comparatio abium $A_2$
2.480	(Nam et Rebecca ...)	de reuecca $A_2$
3.6	(cateruis praesentibus)	cateruis congregatis $A_2$
3.9	(Cum et diuinae ...)	ubi uirgo a iudice interrogatur $A_2$
3.27	(Nam Rebecca ...)	de reuecca $A_2$
3.63	(Hic mos est Pharaonis ...)	de pharaone $A_2$
3.65	(Pharaonis filia ...)	de filia pharaonis $A_2$
3.81	(Pacem meam do uobis ...)	de pace $A_2$
3.83	(Bethsabec ...)	de uersabe $A_2$
3.90	(seruorum)	mire dictum $A_2$
3.114	(Forte deformis est?)	mire dictum $A_2$
3.121	(Si talem uirum ...)	comparatio $A_2$
3.136	(Numquid Abraam ...)	de abraam $A_2$
3.137	(Isaac)	de ysaac $A_2$

#### APPENDIX IV: Apparatus

I list here cases, in addition to those discussed in the main text above, where BC either ignore or misreport significant manuscript readings. (In the case of readings from  $A$  this sometimes appears to result from reliance on Antolín rather than the manuscript itself.)

- Prol. 3 postea] *sic A*  
Prol. 14 incohare] inquoare  $A$  (*sim. saepe*)  
Prol. 16 a caligante] acaligante  $A$   
Prol. 23 mihi] mi  $B$  (*recte?*)  
1.11 areae] haere (*ut uid.*)  $B$   
1.13 qui] que  $B$   
1.14 digerunt] gerunt  $B$   
1.62 aduentantem] aduentatem  $A$   
1.67 uoluptatis] uoluptati  $B$   
1.80 praepararet] praeparet  $A$   
1.82 crapulata] crapula  $B$   
1.87 puellam] puella  $B$   
1.89 superstitionis] *Conti ut uid.*; supprestitutionis  $A$  subprestitutionis  $B$   
1.94 transferens] transferes  $B^p$  (*ut Deut. 19.14*)  
1.95 Abraam] Abraham  $B$  (*sic semper*)  
1.95 Isaac] Ysaac  $A B$  (*sic semper*)  
1.97 coniugii] coniung-  $A$  (*sic fere semper*)  
1.110 contristata] contrita  $B$  (*ut Dan. 3.39*)  
1.115 iungis] *sic B*  
1.117 Hieremia] Iheremia  $B$   
1.132 contradictiones] *sic A*  
1.133 fraudulentius] fraudulentus (*ut uid.*)  $B$   
1.143 disputarem] disputare  $B$   
1.146 planiorem] plenior  $B$   
1.161 recte] rectes  $A$   
1.166 prodest] prode est  $A$

- 1.168 utramque] utrumque *B*  
 1.172 aedificabit] aedificant *B*  
 1.174 arenae] harena *B*  
 1.181 non *om.* *B*  
 1.194 sanguis] sanguinis *B*  
 1.200 diuersa] et diuersa *B*  
 1.203 honorabiles] *sic* *B*  
 1.205 nuptu] nupto *B*  
 1.206 quam] quia *B*  
 1.216 luculentius] loculentius *B*  
 1.231 apostolis *om.* *B*  
 1.232 fundatur] fundantur *B*  
 1.232 regni] regi *A*  
 1.232 tam] tamen *B*  
 1.235 grauitate] grauitatem *B*  
 1.241 thesauros] thesauro *B*  
 1.261 confirmas] confirmans *B*  
 1.264 praeferas] preferes *B*  
 1.273 enim est] est enim *B*  
 1.285 suo] sub *B*  
 1.285 emundabat] emendebat *B*  
 1.288 triumphauit] triumphabat *B*  
 1.315 principium] principum *A*  
 1.317 perierant] perierat *B*  
 1.335 intellectum] intellectu *B*  
 1.344 soluisset] persoluisset *B* (*recte?* cf. 1.233 persoluit tributum)  
 1.345 non miraris] et non miraris *B*  
 1.368 quis] qui *A*  
 1.370 baptista *om.* *B*  
 1.380 uirgo *om.* *B*  
 1.397 Hispanias] spanias *A B*  
 1.413 uexilla] uix illa *A*  
 1.416 prolem] solem *B*  
 1.435 uiolatae] uolate *B*  
 1.442 patientur] patiuntur *B*  
 1.445 si summorum] s{um}ummorum *B*  
 1.450 Iezabel] zezabel *A B*  
 1.454 si *om.* *B*  
 1.455 ex] *sic* *A*  
 1.462 habeat] habet *B*  
 1.484 clausurae] clusure *B*  
 1.484 coaptatam] quo abitatam *B*  
 1.499 scripta] scripte *B*  
 1.510 plebeius] plebe eis *B*  
 1.512 figuram] *sic* *B*  
 1.518 deum] dominum *B*  
 1.527 cognoueris] cognoscaris *B*  
 1.531 Cethim] cetthim *B*  
 1.531 uero in improprium] uero inproperium *A*  
 1.531 pones] ponis *B*

- 1.532 cophinum] *sic A B*  
 1.538 adfligitur] afligitur *A*  
 1.555 incipit] cepit (i.e. coepit) *B*  
 1.574 diuinitatis] diuinitates *B*  
 1.580 superbissimum] super uisum *B*  
 1.582 ipsam] ipsum *B*  
 1.588 praecepisse] precessisse *B*  
 1.595 noueris] moueris *B*  
 1.596 quis<sup>2</sup>] qui *B*  
 1.597 quis] qui *B*  
 1.599 curarent] curerent *B*  
 1.602 coniugia] coniungia *B*  
 1.604 consecrasset] congregasset *B*  
 1.611 inter *om. B*  
 1.614 principum] principium *B*
- 2.21 nominabat ... epistulam *om. B*  
 2.34 insinuari] insinari *A*  
 2.53 aduentum] aduentu *B*  
 2.58 et *om. B*  
 2.63 uerba numquid ... frumentum (2.73-74) *scribere coepit, deinde erasit B.*  
 2.69 illud] illum *B*  
 2.76 si] sic *B*  
 2.77 condemnatur] condemnatus *B*  
 2.81 intelligentiam] intellegentia *B*  
 2.81 numquid] numquidnam *B*  
 2.85 dicebat] diceuat *A*  
 2.96 et] ut *B*  
 2.111 uirginitas] uirginitatis *B*  
 2.127 solutus es] *sic A B*  
 2.136 accepit] accipit *B (recte?)*  
 2.141 in humilibus] in milibus *B*  
 2.147 aduentu] aduentum *A*  
 2.158 fructuum] fructum *B*  
 2.175 patientia morientis] *add. in marg. A*  
 2.193 parentibus] *sic A*  
 2.203 aut] et *B*  
 2.212 cognoscantur] cognoscatur *B*  
 2.214 loco suo] locum suum *B*  
 2.224 aduersus<sup>2</sup>] aduersum *B*  
 2.225 aduersus] aduersum *B*  
 2.226 testimoniorum] testimiorum *B*  
 2.231 et *om. B*  
 2.232 iam] nam *B*  
 2.233 te ex hoc] ex hoc te *B*  
 2.235 immemorem] in merore *A*  
 2.240 concreta] contra *B*  
 2.242 solidissima] solida *B*  
 2.251 deiecisse] deiecisset *B*  
 2.258 anteferet] a te ferret *B*

- 2.261 reparare] repararet *A*  
 2.267 nuptis] nuptiis *B*  
 2.286 animam] anima *B*  
 2.332 quo<sup>2</sup>] qui *B*  
 2.338 cum ea moriamur] moriamur cum ea *B*  
 2.340 famulam] famula *B*  
 2.351 est *om. B*  
 2.359 claritatem] claritate *B*  
 2.363 o *add. in marg. A*  
 2.364 nec] ne *B*  
 2.381 procreatam] procreatum *B*  
 2.390 factus] factum *B*  
 2.394 uno uocabulo] uocabulo uno *B*  
 2.417 contristaris] contristari *B*  
 2.422 Rebeccam] reueca *B*  
 2.430 debet] te debet *B (recte?)*  
 2.441 quo] quod *B*  
 2.442 turpidinem] turpitudinem *B*  
 2.456 unde] unde et *B*  
 2.458-459 ergo dum ... ad uirtutem *om. B*  
 2.463 laetatur] letaretur *B*  
 2.489 iudici] -i *in -em corr. eadem manus in B*

- 3.14 religio] religiosa *B*  
 3.17 ad quem] at quem *A*  
 3.17 extimas] existimas *B*  
 3.26 praescriptionem] proscriptionem *B*  
 3.29 unaquamque] una queque *A*  
 3.60 liberos *om. B*  
 3.61 nomine] *sic A*  
 3.77 habeant] habent *B*  
 3.83 Bethsabée] uersabe *A*  
 3.86 quotquot] quodquod *B*  
 3.87 qui] qui ei *B*  
 3.109 examina *iam B*  
 3.110 omnium] ominium *B*  
 3.113 oscula] oscucula *A*  
 3.120 imbecillis] inuecillus *B*  
 3.124 inuidetis] uidetis *B*  
 3.134 patris] patres *B*  
 3.142 condemnabat] condemnat *B*  
 3.146 ualescit] ualeret *B*  
 3.150 inclitus] inclitis *B*  
 3.170 (*not* 169) autem] enim *B*  
 3.198 humi illius] humillius *B*  
 3.200 derelinquentibus] dereliquentibus *B*  
 3.213 est *om. B*  
 3.215 angeli] angelus *B*  
 3.236 eam] eum *B*  
 3.250 probabit] *sic A*



3.263 temporibus] temporum *B*

3.264 Vestae] uestre *A*

3.280 sanguis] sanguinis *B*

3.284 ut] et *B*

3.296 generationem filiorum] filiorum generationem *B*

*Laus Eiusdem Virginis* (p. 172)

*tit. eiusdem*] *sic B (non eius de)*

9 poterunt] potuerunt *B*

13 dei *om. B*

### *Summary*

The *Vita Sanctae Heliae* survives in two tenth-century manuscripts: Biblioteca del Escorial, a.II.9 (= *A*) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 2178 (= *B*). The text was first edited by Guillermo Antolín in 1909, on the basis of *A* alone. In 2013 Virginia Burrus and Marco Conti produced a new edition and translation based on both manuscripts. This article discusses various passages for which Burrus and Conti's edition and/or translation can be improved.

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# *Quando (romani) sanctorum reliquias dant.*

## Las reliquias en la hagiopolítica de Gregorio Magno\*

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*Cognoscat autem tranquillissima domina quia Romanis consuetudo non est, quando sanctorum reliquias dant, ut quicquam tangere praesumant de corpore.* Esta frase, contenida en la carta de Gregorio enviada a la emperatriz Constantina en el 594, constituye la paradigmática justificación de la intangibilidad de los *corpora sacra* que parece haber regido la doctrina relicaria en Occidente, al menos hasta el siglo VIII. Resulta bastante conocida la argumentación en su defensa – en virtud de la cual la reliquia corporal paulina que requería la emperatriz acabó convirtiéndose en un *phylacterium* personal – y, por nuestra parte, ya hemos tratado este tema en otro lugar<sup>1</sup>. Pero, más allá de la diferencia doctrinal entre Oriente y Occidente y de las disputas subyacentes a la posesión de objetos sacros, nos interesa categorizar y cuantificar los envíos de reliquias – tanto fundacionales como personales – efectuados por el Magno con el fin de ponderar su relevancia en la hagiopolítica desarrollada por nuestro pontífice, neologismo que hemos acuñado para definir la instrumentalización de lo sacro con finalidad política, de la cual Gregorio se erige en hito fundamental. Para ello, tenemos la suerte de contar con la ingente documentación aportada por el extenso

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<sup>1</sup> P. MAYMÓ I CAPDEVILA, “*Consuetudo y sacrilegium* al respecto de la tangibilidad de los *corpora sacra* en la *ep.* 4, 30 de Gregorio Magno a Constantina”, en E. SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE y E. PÉREZ BENITO (ed.), *Lex sacra: religion y derecho a lo largo de la Historia*, Valladolid, Trotta, 2010, p. 87-96, con la bibliografía concerniente. Acerca de la epístola a la emperatriz, véase además la nota 6. Sobre la legislación civil y canónica al respecto de la intangibilidad de las reliquias, remitimos a las notas 11-13. La frase mencionada se halla en GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 4, 30, ed. D. Norberg, *CCSL* 140, p. 249 [este volumen comprende los libros I al VII del epistolario gregoriano; los restantes, del VIII al XIV más los apéndices, se incluyen en *CCSL* 140A].

epistolario gregoriano, en cuyas páginas hallamos una multitud de referencias – no siempre explícitas ni exactas – a las peticiones de *reliquiae* realizadas ante la sede romana y a su envío – o a la autorización de su uso – por toda la Romania. Contamos, igualmente, con diversos trabajos historiográficos que nos han servido de punto de partida, aun cuando creamos necesario matizar o corregir algunas de sus conclusiones. En cuanto a la metodología de este artículo, lo hemos dividido en cuatro bloques – A, B, C y D – de desigual extensión, de los cuales el D comprende las conclusiones a las que hemos llegado en el curso de nuestra investigación; como quiera que el bloque C cuenta con largas tablas y sus correspondientes comentarios, tiene una amplitud mayor y, por ello, lo hemos subdividido en tres apartados y éstos, a su vez, en diversas secciones.

### A. Tipología y función de las reliquias

Hace 40 años, se publicaba un imprescindible estudio de McCulloh<sup>2</sup> en el cual se detallaban las diferentes tipologías de reliquias presentes en el *corpus* gregoriano, cuya categorización sigue siendo válida hoy en día y constituye el origen de nuestra investigación. Es preciso distinguir tres clases principales: en primer lugar, las *reliquiae* propiamente dichas, los restos mortales del santo; en segundo, las reliquias representativas, es decir, los objetos que pertenecieron o estuvieron en contacto con el *uir Dei* en vida de éste; y, por último, las reliquias de contacto, también representativas, pero “creadas” *ad hoc* para satisfacer las demandas elevadas al episcopado – en especial, al romano – y como solución a la doctrina del *noli – sanctos – tangere* occidental. Este último grupo, el más abundante por razones obvias, está formado básicamente por fragmentos de tela que reciben muy diversos nombres según se trate de reliquias fundacionales – *sanctuarium*, *brandeum*, *pignorum*, *palliolum* – o bien personales – *beneficium*, *benedictio*, *eulogia*–, aunque, en algunos casos, la línea divisoria resulta más bien tenue.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. McCULLOH, “The Cult of Relics in the Letters and ‘Dialogues’ of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study”, *Traditio*, 32 (1976), p. 145-184, especialmente p. 153-180, quien analiza y taxonomiza de un modo sistemático por vez primera los diversos vocablos utilizados por Gregorio como sinónimos de *reliquiae* no corporales, sobre todo desde un punto de vista terminológico; su trabajo resulta simplemente esencial en la distinción relicaria y ha devenido el punto de partida inexcusable para cualquier estudio sobre la actividad gregoriana en este aspecto. Por su parte N. HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1975 (*Société d'Histoire du Droit. Collection d'Histoire Institutionnelle et Sociale* 6), p. 45, opina que las reliquias no corporales más frecuentes hasta el siglo VIII son los *palliola*, lienzos de finas telas utilizados en la celebración de la eucaristía como ornamento del altar.

Además, el contenedor de las reliquias añade una ulterior diferenciación a la categoría de estos objetos. Las *buxides*<sup>3</sup> – cajas ornamentadas – son el recipiente más habitual para los objetos sacros personales, pero también hallamos relicarios<sup>4</sup> en forma de cruz o, todavía más significativamente, de

<sup>3</sup> Si las *buxides* pueden contener indistintamente reliquias fundacionales o personales, las *claves* y las *cruces* tan sólo guardan *phylacteria* para uso individual. Sobre los diferentes tipos de relicarios, muebles e inmuebles, conocidos en la Antigüedad cristiana, remitimos a H. LECCLERCQ, “Reliques et reliquaires”, *DACL* 14/2, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1948, col. 2294-2359, col. 2324-2349. Véase asimismo la nota 6. Al decir de Susman, fue Gregorio quien introdujo la novedad de incluir limaduras de cadenas en los relicarios petrinus en forma de llave, en clara relación con la iconografía del príncipe de la Iglesia: F. SUSMAN, “Il culto di s. Pietro a Roma”, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 84 (1961), p. 1-192, p. 131-133. Asimismo, y según el mismo autor, también parece haber sido el Magno el primero en enviar cruces como contenedores de *reliquiae*, aunque esta última hipótesis puede retirarse mediante el testimonio de Gregorio de Tours, quien ya documenta una *crux in aspectu reliquiarum* portada por el mismo obispo; debemos añadir que el cronista turonense nos ofrece un dato precioso, la existencia en el Vaticano de un “depósito” de llaves áureas preparadas para convertirse en *benedictiones*, de lo cual se puede inferir la producción “en serie” de reliquias de contacto petrinus: GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib. in glor. mart.*, 10 y 27, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH srm* 1, 2, p. 45 y 54, respectivamente; véanse asimismo las notas 6, 21 y 37.

<sup>4</sup> Diversos estudiosos han cuantificado el número de relicarios de esta tipología enviadas por Gregorio: M. B. DUNN, *The Style of the Letters of St Gregory the Great*, Washington, Catholic University of America, 1931 (*Patristic Studies* 32), p. 14-19, cuenta doce llaves y dos cruces expedidas como *phylacteria* – olvida las *ep.* 9, 229 y 14, 12 –; SUSMAN, “Il culto”, p. 131-140, n. 68, suma también una docena de *claves* y eleva a tres el de *cruces* – olvidando de nuevo 14, 12 –; y McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 170-171 y n. 100 y 107, contabiliza asimismo doce llaves y añade una cruz más para llegar a cuatro; estos tres autores citados duplican el número de llaves enviadas a Recaredo porque utilizan la edición de Ewald y Hartmann que incluye – erróneamente – la mención a una *clavis alia* en el anagnóstico a esta epístula, cosa que no ocurre en la más reciente edición de Norberg. Tenemos, además, algunos trabajos más recientes: L. CRACCO RUGGINI, “Grégoire le Grand et le monde byzantin”, en J. FONTAINE, R. GILLET y S. M. PELLISTRANDI (ed.), *Grégoire le Grand. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly*, Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1986, p. 83-93, p. 87, n. 22, y especialmente EAD., “Le amicizie ‘europee’ di Gregorio Magno e la sua ‘politica delle reliquie’”, en L. G. G. RICCI (ed.), *Gregorio Magno e la Sardegna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio*, Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007 (*Archivum Gregorianum* 11), p. 11-29, p. 24-28, omite las *ep.* 11, 43 y 12, 2 – que había contemplado en su primer estudio: véase la nota 65 –, pero duplica las *benedictiones* de 7, 23, y, por tanto, reduce a diez el número de llaves al tiempo que mantiene en cuatro las cruces; C. LEYSER, “The Temptations of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great”, *EME*, 9/3 (2000), p. 289-307, p. 300, n. 51, no trata estos tipos de relicarios, sino solamente el número de reliquias petrinus con un listado sin distinción alguna, y tampoco cuenta las *ep.* 4, 30 y 14, 12; F. RIGANATI, “Relique, reliquari e cose sacre dal *Registrum epistularum Gregorii Magni*”, en L. PANI ERMINI (ed.), *L’orbis christianus antiquus di Gregorio Magno*, Roma, Società Romana di Storia Patria, 2007 (*Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 51), p. 531-576, especialmente p. 548-557, incluye equivocadamente las *ep.* 6, 58 – que es fundacional –, 11, 37 – más que dudosa – y 56 – no se envía ni autoriza reliquia alguna – y *App.*, 10 – cuya referencia a reliquias es una clara interpolación muy tardía – en un trabajo muy completo, pero algo desordenado; y, por último, G. E. DEMACPOULOS, *The Invention*

llave petrina en un claro propósito de vincular su poder con la sede de Roma. Resumiendo una larga tradición acerca de la simbología de la cruz<sup>5</sup>,

*of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, p. 151-152, n. 86, enumera 15 epístolas en las cuales se citan reliquias petrinas, pero no diferencia entre *claves* y *cruces* – aun cuando sólo se refiera a llaves –, se olvida de la *ep.* 4, 27 a Hospito y añade incorrectamente la 6, 58 a Brunilda cuando se trata de una reliquia fundacional: véase la nota 61. Las referencias epistolares para los once envíos epistolares de llaves que hemos documentado son las siguientes: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 25, 29 y 30, p. 34 y 37; 3, 47, p. 192; 6, 6, p. 374; 7, 23 y 25, p. 477-478 y 481; 8, 33, p. 559; 9, 229, p. 810; 11, 43, p. 941; y 12, 2, p. 970; de las cuales, en tres ocasiones – 1, 25; 3, 47; y 6, 6 –, se podría presumir que se adjuntó más de una llave a causa de la mención en plural de *claves* – aun cuando no parece demasiado probable, y así lo hemos considerado – y, en otra más – 12, 2 –, nos parece muy posible el despacho conjunto de tres llaves, cómputo que eleva a 13 el número de llaves expedidas. Al respecto de las cuatro cruces – dos de ellas petrinas – enviadas a modo de *phylacterium*: ID., *Reg. ep.*, 3, 33, p. 179; 9, 229, p. 810; 13, 43, p. 1049; y 14, 12, p. 1083; véanse asimismo las notas 16-19 y 22. Además, contabilizamos dos *benedictiones* remitidas con el mismo propósito que *claves* y *cruces*: ID., *Reg. ep.*, 4, 27 y 30, p. 246 y 250. Nótese la duplicación relicaria de la *ep.* 9, 229 que contamos como un solo envío. Sobre el *euangelarium in theca Persica*, remitimos a la nota 19. Véanse las secciones 2 y 3 del bloque C, donde exponemos con detalle nuestro recuento confrontándolo con otros autores con cuyos cómputos no coincidimos plenamente; cf. notas 15 y 27. Asimismo, remitimos a otros trabajos con recuentos parciales y frecuentemente incompletos: HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 44; J. RICHARDS, *Consul of God. The Life and Times of Gregory the Great*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980, p. 23; M. REYDELLET, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville*, Roma, De Boccard, 1981 (*Bibliothèque de l'École Française à Rome* 243), p. 453-455, 479 y 499; C. STRAW, “Gregory’s Politics: Theory and Practice”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell’Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 47-63, p. 61-62; F. E. CONSOLINO, “Il papa e le regine: potere femminile e politica ecclesiastica nell’epistolario di Gregorio Magno”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell’Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 225-249, 229-230; y V. RECCHIA, *Gregorio Magno. Lettere (I-III)*, Roma, Città Nuova, 1996 (*Opere di Gregorio Magno* V/1), p. 168, n. 4. En total, podemos verificar 16 envíos epistolares que resultan en 19 reliquias personales de diversa tipología, aunque su finalidad apotropaica sea la misma.

<sup>5</sup> El interés por la simbología de la cruz se remite a Helena, madre de Constantino y “descubridora” de la sacra reliquia, quien acaso influyera en el envío de un fragmento del *lignum crucis* a Roma, concretamente a la iglesia del palacio *Sessorianum* luego conocida como Santa Croce: *Lib. pont.*, 34, 40, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, I, Paris, De Boccard, 1981<sup>2</sup>, p. 179. Para el Occidente del siglo VI, contamos con el ejemplo paradigmático de Radegunda, quien recibió un fragmento de la *uera crux* enviado por Justino II como indica la *Vita Radegundis*: A. FROLOW, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d’un culte*, Paris, Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1961 (*Archives de l’Orient Chrétien* 7), n.º 33, p. 179-180; cf. n.º 179, p. 257; véase además la nota 14. Véase ID., *La relique*, p. 100-104, en general, y n.º 41 y 48, p. 184 y 187, para las cruces enviadas a Recaredo y a Adaloaldo: cf. n.º 159 y 232, p. 246-247 y 277-278, respectivamente. Acerca de la *crux sacra* en nuestro pontífice y su tiempo: V. RECCHIA, “Il simbolo della croce in Gregorio Magno (*Hom. in Eu.* 2, 32)”, *GIF*, 28 (1976), p. 181-191; y S. DE BLAAUW,

el Magno la considera elemento de salvación y, por ello, vemos aparecer cruces como contenedores de objetos sagrados en clara concordancia con el pensamiento gregoriano que les otorga virtudes sotéricas.

En el caso de las reliquias de contacto, Gregorio describió detalladamente el proceso<sup>6</sup> desarrollado para su sacralización en la citada epístola a la emperatriz: se procede a depositar el lienzo en el interior de *capsellae* o *buxides* que, a su vez, son colocadas encima de la tumba del santo y veladas con devoción durante una noche entera de vigilia; al amanecer, la tela ha adquirido ya las mismas propiedades salvíficas que poseía el difunto. Nuestro pontífice<sup>7</sup> envió un buen número de *brandea* o *sanctuaría* – en

“Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross”, en R. COLELLA et al. (ed.), *Pratum Romanum. R. Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1997, p. 55-73.

<sup>6</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 4, 30, p. 249: *sed tantummodo in buxide brandeum mittitur atque ad sacratissima corpora sanctorum ponitur. Quod leuatum in ecclesia quae est dedicanda debita cum ueneratione reconditur, et tantae per hoc ibidem uirtutes fiunt, acsi illic specialiter eorum corpora deferantur*. Para el contenido de esta relevante epístola, remitimos a nuestro trabajo citado en la nota 1; cf. notas 21 y 85. La edición de los Maurinos de la obra hagiográfica de Pablo Warnefried contempla un pasaje – interpolado tardíamente: PAULUS DIACONUS, *Vita Greg.*, 24, ed. Maurini, *PL* 75, col. 53-55 – que ratifica la práctica habitual de crear *brandea* en época de Gregorio, extendiéndose en su “producción” sistemática por parte de la Iglesia romana. Remitimos además a la nota 7. Acerca de las *buxides* de época gregoriana, pueden consultarse dos trabajos recientes muy específicos: R. E. LEADER-NEWBY, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Functions and Meanings in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, p. 101-107; y G. NOGA-GANAI, *The Trophies of the Martyrs. An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 63-120, en un extenso análisis de la iconografía y los paralelos de las *capsellae* halladas en Cartago y Grado. Remitimos al clásico estudio de M. ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Âge*, IV. *Les textes (suite) (ordines XXXV-XLIX)*, Louvain, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1956 (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et Documents* 28), p. 365, n. 2-4, donde se cita una célebre *capsella* con reliquias fundacionales de Pedro, Pablo, el Salvador y la Virgen ya reseñada por G. B. DE ROSSI, *La capsella argentea africana offerta al sommo pontefice Leone 13 dall'emo sig. Card. Lavigerie arcivescovo di Cartagine*, Filippo Cuggiani, Roma, 1889, p. 1-33.

<sup>7</sup> Los *brandea* y *sanctuaría* como telas sacralizadas en: MCCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 158-169; Id., “From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change in Papal Relic Policy from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> Century”, *JbAC*, 8 (1980) [= E. DASSMAN y K. S. FRANK (ed.), *Pietas. Festschrift für B. Kötting*], p. 313-324, p. 315; SUSMAN, “Il culto”, p. 29-131 y 178, en la cual habla de “invio di reliquie in grande quantità”; L. CANETTI, *Frammenti di eternità. Corpi e reliquie tra Antichità e Medioevo*, Roma, Viella, 2002 (*Sacro/Santo* 6), p. 112-113; y también RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 533 y 535. Véanse asimismo: HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 45-47 y n. 145, donde afirma que Gregorio distribuye “liberalment” *brandea* para la dedicación de iglesias, un punto que cabría matizar y analizar en profundidad; y LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 290, quien considera al pontífice “a generous distributor around the Roman world of the blessings of Peter and the other martyrs”; según este autor, los 16 santos y mártires citados serían aquellos “de moda” a finales del siglo VI; cf. RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 538. Cabe añadir que más de la mitad de envíos de reliquias fundacionales se efectúa a localidades de la Italia Suburbicaria y Sicilia, lo que nos hace suponer que este ámbito se correspondería con la zona de jurisdicción pontificia efectiva. Véanse las secciones 3.1 y 3.2. del bloque C.



gran parte como reliquias fundacionales<sup>8</sup>–, y la importancia taumatúrgica

<sup>8</sup> Aunque constatamos 33 referencias epistolares relativas a reliquias fundacionales en el *Registrum* – resultantes en ocho envíos gregorianos y 29 permisos o solicitudes –, no siempre se infiere fácilmente si se trata de una expedición pontificia o bien si las iglesias locales ya disponían de los *sanctuaría* citados – o los habían requerido a una iglesia vecina – y sólo necesitaban del permiso para su consagración. Diferentes estudiosos han dedicado su atención a esta cuestión: J. BRAUN, *Das christliche Altar in seiner historischen Entwicklung*, I, München, Karl Widmann, 1924, p. 533-534, n. 42-44, elencó 13 epístolas referentes a reliquias fundacionales sin especificar su condición; H. DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1933 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 20), p. 52, n. 2, y 301, publicó una primera lista – aunque breve e incompleta – del reparto de *sanctuaría* y otras reliquias de contacto documentadas en el *Registrum*; I. SCHUSTER, “Dei *sanctuaría* per la dedicazione dei templi ai tempi di san Gregorio I”, *Ambrosius*, 26 (1950), p. 47-50, bosquejó una breve reseña de alguna casuística fundacional; ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani*, p. 359-384, especialmente p. 366, n. 2-4, 367-368 y 370-371, extendiéndose además en el proceso de consagración entre el siglo IV y el VI; más reciente y más exacta es la tabla de *reliquiae* enviadas – sólo las fundacionales, en realidad – presente en el estudio de LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 300-302; RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 535-544, se centra en reunir – exhaustiva aunque desordenadamente – el listado de esta categoría relicaria; también se ocupa – de un modo incompleto – de los *sanctuaría* documentados R. GODDING, “Reliquie”, en G. CREMASCOLI y A. DEGL’INNOCENTI (ed.), *Enciclopedia gregoriana. La vita, l’opera e la fortuna di Gregorio Magno*, Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008 (*Archivum Gregorianum* 15), p. 299-300; y finalmente CRACCO RUGGINI, “Le amicizie”, p. 21-23, recoge el cómputo relicario gregoriano, incidiendo en el plano político. Como ya ocurría con las reliquias personales, nuestro recuento no coincide con el de estos autores; para un análisis más pormenorizado de estos cómputos y sus dificultades interpretativas, remitimos a los apartados 1 y 3 del bloque C. Ofrecemos, no obstante, las referencias epistolares del *Registrum* a tal efecto: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 3, 19 y 58, p. 165 y 206-207; 4, 8, p. 224; 5, 50, p. 344; 6, 22, 45, 50 y 58, p. 392, 418, 423 y 431; 8, 5, p. 522; 9, 45, 49, 58-59, 72, 166, 181-182, 184 y 233, p. 604, 608, 615-616, 627-628, 724-725, 738-740 y 815; 11, 5, 19-20 y 57, p. 866, 889-890 y 963; y 13, 16, p. 990; excluimos la *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina puesto que las pretendidas reliquias fundacionales se convirtieron en personales aunque Leyser y Riganati lo nieguen. Por otro lado, mantenemos en cuarentena dos alusiones indirectas referidas a Melitón y Agustín de Canterbury – véanse las notas 13, 40 y 74 – a causa precisamente de su indefinición, aunque nos parece hartó probable que ambas comitivas portaran consigo *reliquiae* – o utilizaran las ya presentes en *Anglia* – para la conversión de templos paganos en Kent. Como indicamos en la nota 32, en muchos de estos ejemplos, se emplean fórmulas que luego pasarán al *Liber diurnus*, como *sanctuaría uero suscepta*, en referencia al envío relicario por parte del pontífice o bien *sanctuaría [...] oblata petitione [...] debere concedi*, lo cual nos lleva a pensar que Gregorio tan sólo ordena al obispo destinatario el envío de tales reliquias de contacto, amén de la pertinente consagración episcopal. Asimismo, se verifica que *nullum corpus ibidem constat humatum* – entonces, se respeta todavía la legislación civil: véanse las notas 11 y 31 – para llevar a cabo la fundación definitiva, cuya importancia se entiende por la necesidad de evitar errores en la adscripción de las reliquias: H. DELEHAYE, *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l’Antiquité*, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1927 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 17), p. 196-197; cf. contra LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 299-302, quien piensa que Gregorio siempre envió las reliquias citadas en la epístola cuando la mayor parte de las veces tan sólo autorizó o posibilitó su consagración cultural. Resulta interesante el extenso proceso de consagración de iglesias mediante la deposición de reliquias bajo el altar descrito



de estas reliquias aparece también en los *Dialogi*<sup>9</sup> con la finalidad de ratificar su veracidad a un público más amplio que el destinatario de una misiva papal. Dicha práctica romana se documenta también en el Tours coetáneo, tal y como relata su obispo y cronista<sup>10</sup>, cosa que induce a pensar en su difusión por el Occidente germánico.

en el llamado *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, el cual incluye el canto de numerosas antífonas y salmos y para el cual remitimos a la nota 14. Muy especialmente, remitimos en extenso al trabajo de J. A. EIDENSCHINK, "Dedication of Sacred Places in the Early Sources and in the Letters of Gregory the Great", *The Jurist*, 5/3 (1945), p. 181-215 y 323-358.

<sup>9</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Dialog. libri IV*, 2, 38, 3, ed. A. de Vogüé, SC 260, p. 246-248: *ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres iacent, dubium, Petre, non est quod multa ualeant signa monstrare, sicut et faciunt, et pura mente quaerentibus innumera miracula ostendunt. Sed quia ab infirmis potest mentibus dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ibi praesentes sint, ubi constat quia in suis corporibus non sint, ibi eos necesse est maiora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum praesentia potest mens infirma dubitare* [este volumen comprende los libros I al III de los *Dialogi*, mientras que el IV se incluye en SC 265]. Y precisamente este discurso, esta justificación, quería transmitir Gregorio al pueblo italiano en esos tiempos difíciles: que no dudara de la eficacia de sus santos, aun cuando los *signa* no fueran tan ostensibles como se querría. Así, los *Dialogi* ofrecen hasta tres ejemplos de la *potentia* de las reliquias de sendos *uiri Dei*: Libertino resucita a un niño merced a una sandalia del abad Honorato; la exposición de la túnica de Eutiquio hace remitir la sequía en la ciudad de Nursia; finalmente, la dalmática de Pascasio, puesta sobre su féretro, sana a un endemoniado de su posesión. ID., *Dialog. libri IV*, 1, 2, 5-6, p. 26-28; 3, 15, 18-19, p. 326; y 4, 42, 2, p. 152. Cf. contra ID., *Dialog. libri IV*, 1, 10, 2-5, p. 94-96, donde la *sindon* que cubría el altar de un oratorio recién consagrado a Sebastián no puede expulsar los demonios que se han apoderado de una mujer debido a la falta de *uirtus* del presbítero al cargo del templo.

<sup>10</sup> GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib. in glor. mart.*, 27, p. 54, pasaje que detalla el lugar de deposición del cuerpo del apóstol Pedro en el Vaticano, incluyendo la mención a la célebre *fenestella* donde se introducía la cabeza del devoto peregrino y a la consagración en la misma de *pignora* o *palliola*. Gregorio describe el episodio de la comitiva sueva enviada por el rey Charrarico, quien recibe una pieza de seda – *partem pallii serici* – consagrada sobre la tumba de Martín según la misma tradición romana, a excepción de la comprobación del aumento de peso del lienzo al día siguiente, práctica que se considera propia de la Galia merovingia: ID., *Libri IV de uirt. s. Mart.*, 1, 11, ed. B. Krusch, MGH srm 1, 2, p. 145-145; véanse las notas 6-7. Por otro lado, L. PIETRI, "La *capa Martini*: essai d'identification de la relique martinienne", *Romanité et cité chrétienne. Permanences et mutations, intégration et exclusion du I<sup>er</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Y. Duval*, Paris, De Boccard, 2000, p. 343-357, p. 346-347, refuta la asociación del *pallium sericum* con la *capa Martini*. McCulloh argumenta que el cronista de Tours incluyó el relato de la confección de *brandea* después del retorno de Roma de su diácono Agiulfo, quien aprendería el método según las costumbres de la *Vrbs*; y aunque no es posible afirmarlo rotundamente, el hecho es que, si bien Gregorio inició ambos libros entre el 576 y el 586, siguió trabajando en ellos hasta su muerte en el 594: McCULLOH, "From Antiquity", p. 316; cf. SUSMAN, "El culto", p. 131. Contamos, además, con un pasaje del *Pratum spirituale* que se erige en testimonio del culto a Pedro y Pablo en época gregoriana de confirmarse la autoría de Juan Mosco, quien vivió en Roma durante un lustro, entre el 614 y el 619: IOANNES MOSCHUS, *Prat. spirit.*, 151, ed. F. de Duc y J.-B. Cotelier, PG 87, 3, col. 3015-3018; véase J. SAUGET, "Saint Grégoire et les reliques de saint Pierre dans la tradition arabe chrétienne", *RAC*, 49 (1973), p. 301-309, especialmente p. 303-304.

La proliferación y posterior propagación de este tipo de reliquias concuerda plenamente con las reticencias<sup>11</sup> mostradas por Gregorio al respecto del traslado – y despiece – de *membra sanctorum* de su ubicación original si no se debía a una razón de fuerza mayor que pudiera afectar la integridad de los *sacra corpora*; y no cambió su actitud durante su pontificado. Prueba de ello lo constituyen un par de epístolas relativas al traslado del *corpus beati Donati*<sup>12</sup> desde Euria hasta Corfú, donde fue transportado por

<sup>11</sup> Dichas reticencias se encuentran básicamente en su *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina, donde Gregorio demuestra conocer y respetar la legislación civil secular al respecto. En efecto, la sociedad romana – y así se recoge en su legislación – era contraria a perturbar el reposo de los difuntos, cuyas tumbas devenían un *locus religiosus*: sólo excepcionalmente se concedía el traslado de restos mortales y se castigaba cualquier atentado contra su integridad. Ni siquiera la pretendida cristianización de las leyes pudo con esta atávica costumbre, y el culto a las reliquias corporales quedó circunscrito al lugar de entierro o hallazgo en sus correspondientes *martyria*: F. H. DUDDEN, *Gregory the Great. His Place in History and Thought*, 2 vols, London-New York-Bombay, Longmans Green, 1905, I, p. 279-283, especialmente p. 280, n. 5, donde duda de la realidad de la práctica expuesta en la carta a la emperatriz; BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar*, p. 616; HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 26-28; MCCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 145-146 y n. 4; ID., “From Antiquity”, p. 313; y RICHARDS, *Consul of God*, p. 22-23. Acerca de la legislación romana relativa a la regulación de los entierros y a la protección de los sepulcros, desde las Doce Tablas a los edictos de época teodosiana, remitimos a: F. DE VISSCHER, *Le droit des tombeaux romains*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1963, p. 135-195; Y. THOMAS, “*Corpus aut ossa aut cineres*. La chose religieuse et le commerce”, *Micrologus*, 7 (1999), p. 73-112; CANETTI, *Frammenti di eternità*, p. 29-30 y 44-45; É. REBILLARD, *Religion et sépulture: l'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003 (*Civilisations et Sociétés* 115), p. 74-79; y S. BOIRON, “Définition et statut juridique des reliques dans le droit canonique classique”, en J.-L. DEUFFIC (ed.), *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005 (*Pecia. Ressources en Médiévisique* 8-11), p. 19-31. De hecho, el *Codex Theodosianus* dedica un título entero – 9, 17 – a las leyes de *sepulchro uiolato*, relativas tanto a la conservación y reparación de los elementos arquitectónicos de las tumbas como a la inviolabilidad de los restos que contienen, cuya profanación es considerada jurídicamente como un *crimen laesae religionis*; de entre estas leyes, destacamos la famosa constitución emanada por Teodosio, firmada asimismo por Graciano y Valentiniano II: *humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur. Habeant uero in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus, pro eius ueneratione quod martyrium uocandum sit addant quod uoluerint fabricarum*. *Cod. Theod.*, 9, 17, 7 (386), ed. P. Krüger y T. Mommsen, *Codex Theodosianus*, 1/2: *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, Hildesheim, 1990, p. 466. Cf.: *Nou.*, 23 (447), ed. P. Krüger y T. Mommsen, *Codex Theodosianus*, 2: *Leges nouellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, Hildesheim, 1990, p. 114-117; *Cod. Iust.*, 3, 44, 1 y 10 (213 y 287), ed. P. Krüger, *Corpus iuris ciuilis*, 2: *Codex Iustinianus*, Hildesheim, 1989<sup>11</sup>, p. 148; y *Dig.*, 11, 7, 36, ed. T. Mommsen y P. Krüger, *Corpus iuris ciuilis*, 1: *Institutiones–Digesta*, Hildesheim, 1993<sup>17</sup>, p. 189.

<sup>12</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 14, 7 y 13, p. 1075 y 1084-1085, enviadas a Alcísón de Corfú y concnientes a la *translatio* del *corpus beati Donati* a la iglesia de San Juan *in castro Cassiopi*; pero el asunto principal de estas epístolas – y de la *ep.* 14, 8, dirigida a Bonifacio, *responsalis* pontificio en Constantinopla – es la pretendida asunción de jurisdicción por parte del obispo Juan de Euria sobre un territorio perteneciente a la diócesis de Alcísón, pretensión condenada

sus devotos fieles a causa de las incursiones ávaras con el fin de evitar su profanación; en estas cartas, el pontífice no se muestra en desacuerdo con la traslación y posterior deposición del cadáver sacro en un lugar distinto al original porque entiende que el caso se ajusta a una excepción prevista en la legislación vigente.

En un sentido semejante y por necesarias razones de consagración canónica, nuestro papa prescribió la *depositio* de reliquias<sup>13</sup> en la fundación de nuevas iglesias sustitutivas de templos paganos en el recién convertido reino

por Gregorio por ser contraria a los cánones eclesiásticos. Véase al respecto RIGANATI, "Reliquie", p. 541-542. Y se equivoca McCULLOH, "The Cult", p. 151 y n. 22-24, cuando apunta la incoherencia gregoriana en su política relicaria basándose justamente en este *dossier* corciranico; cf. ID., "From Antiquity", p. 315. *Contra*, HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 34-35, quien constata que, ni en Italia ni en Galia, se produjeron cuarteamientos de *corpora sacra* – al menos que sepamos – hasta finales del siglo VII, como mínimo. Véase la nota anterior.

<sup>13</sup> De camino por *Francia*, Melitón, abad y líder de la segunda comitiva pontificia a Britania, recibe una carta del Magno aleccionándole sobre la *depositio* de reliquias como elemento purificador de los templos paganos que deben convertirse en iglesias, pero en ningún momento se constata que la citada comitiva portara reliquia alguna ni que Gregorio se las enviara, aunque pueda inferirse que las poseyeran, como afirma Beda: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 11, 56, p. 961-962; cf. BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, 1, 29, ed. B. Colgrave y R. A. B. Mynors, *Beda's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 104, donde se especifica que Melitón trajo consigo *sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquiae*. RIGANATI, "Reliquie", p. 551-553, incluye las *ep.* 11, 37 y 56 entre las menciones relicarias sin demasiada justificación: véanse, al respecto, la nota 72, así como las secciones 1.3 y 3.5 del apartado C. Para los *exenia ex benedictione sancti Petri* enviados a Etelberto de Kent y cuya naturaleza resta más que dudosa, remitimos a las notas 4, 47, 51 y 72. Por otro lado, una *obsecratio* al *Libellus responsionum* muy verosíblemente espúrea – parece haberse añadido en el siglo XVI – recoge un envío gregoriano de reliquias del papa y mártir Sixto a Agustín de Canterbury para la fundación de un iglesia de advocación desconocida: GREGORIUS I, *Libel. resp.*, 7a [= *Reg. ep.*, 11, 56a], ed. L. Hartmann, (*MGH epp* 2), p. 337, *in app. crit.*; véanse además las notas 8, 40 y 74. En ambos casos, se evidencia la *reuerentia* que implica el proceso de deposición, que probablemente incluía la procesión de las *res sacra* como detalla Beda y como se infiere de otra epístola pontificia referente a la dedicación católica con reliquias de Severino de una iglesia arriana en la *regio tertia* de Roma: ID., *Reg. ep.*, 3, 19. Véase HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 195. Asimismo, remitimos a la nota siguiente. Además, a partir de la legislación canónica del quinto concilio de Cartago del 401, las reliquias devinieron gradualmente indispensables para la fundación de nuevos templos, hecho que provocó su multiplicación en el ámbito geográfico de la cristiandad: *Reg. eccl. Carthag. exc.*, 83, ed. C. Munier, *CCSL* 149, p. 204-205. Véanse al respecto: BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar*, p. 525-537 y 608-623; ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani*, p. 324-334; B. KÖTTING, "Reliquienverehrung, ihre Entstehung und ihre Formen", *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*, 67/6 (1958), p. 321-334; J. DES GRAVIERS, "La dédicace des lieux du culte aux V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles", *L'Année canonique*, 7 (1962), p. 107-125, centrado prácticamente en Gregorio de Tours; M. HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1979 (*Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 33), p. 24-42; y O. PASQUATO, "Religiosità popolare e culto ai martiri, in particolare a Costantinopoli nei secc. IV-V, tra paganesimo, eresia e ortodossia", *Augustinianum*, 21 (1981), p. 207-242.

de Kent, las cuales, además, parecen haber sido trasladadas en procesión<sup>14</sup> hasta la nueva basílica que había de recibirlas. Y podemos inferir sin margen de error que sucedió lo mismo con las muchas reliquias fundacionales enviadas por el pontífice.

## B. Del uso político de los objetos sacros

En cuanto a las reliquias personales, Gregorio se sirvió de dichos objetos de poder sagrado, los cuales devinieron un importante elemento en la política

<sup>14</sup> Como ya parece indicar Agustín, la costumbre de la *depositio* solía incluir una *processio* solemne en la cual participaban el clero y el pueblo conjuntamente en una imagen de la unidad comunitaria que el santo procuraba para la ciudad: AUGUSTINUS, *De ciu. Dei*, 22, 8, 10-11, ed. B. Dombart y A. Kalb, *CCSL* 48, p. 821-822. Para el siglo VI, disponemos del testimonio de Gregorio de Tours, quien describe la procesión que lleva un fragmento del *lignum crucis* y otras reliquias donadas por Justino II hasta el monasterio turonense fundado por Radegunda después de haber realizado una entrada en olor de multitudes en la ciudad de Poitiers: GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Hist. libri X*, 9, 40, ed. B. Krusch y W. Levison, *MGH srm* 1, 1, p. 464; cf. BAUDONIVIA, *Vita Radeg.*, 2, 16, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH srm* 2, p. 388; véase la nota 5. Y cabe decir que el comportamiento de la princesa franca pudo haber servido de ejemplo – muy próximo, ciertamente – a Berta de Kent en su nuevo papel de britana Helena, emperatriz con quien también se compara Radegunda en el pasaje de Baudonivia. Al respecto de estos ejemplos y su consideración, consúltense: HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 195; y CONSOLINO, “Il papa”, p. 238-239. Este particular podría incluso ser corroborado por un par de capítulos del *Sacramentarium* atribuido secularmente a Gregorio Magno, cuyos títulos resultan muy esclarecedores – *quando leuantur reliquiae* y *oratio in dedicatione ecclesiae* – y que describen el proceso de consagración de una nueva iglesia mediante la deposición de reliquias: *Sacr Greg.*, 194-195, ed. J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, Fribourg, Éditions Universitaires, 1971 (*Spicilegium Friburgense* 16), p. 303; sin embargo, su atribución gregoriana – única y exclusiva – no se sostiene en la actualidad, como ya afirmó su editor en las p. 50-54; y M. METZGER, *Les sacramentaires*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1994 (*Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 70), p. 72-80. Y cabe recordar que, como primer acto de su pontificado, el propio Gregorio organizó una procesión urbana en forma de letanía septiforme en la cual participó la ciudad entera: GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Hist. libri X*, 10, 1, p. 479-481; cf. PAULUS DIACONUS, *Vita Greg.*, 11, ed. H. Grisar, “Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diaconus in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt, nach italienischen Handschriften”, *Zeitschrift für katolische Theologie*, 11 (1887), p. 158-173, p. 167-169; e ID., *Hist. Langob.*, 3, 24, ed. L. Bethmann y G. Waitz, *MGH srl*, p. 105; véase especialmente J. F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: the Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Roma, Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228), p. 158-159 y n. 66. Además, Beda también refiere que la comitiva de Agustín entró en Canterbury en procesión: *fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes ciuitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetaniam consona uoce modularentur*. BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, 1, 25, p. 74; véase además la nota anterior. La influencia de la doctrina gregoriana acerca del uso de las reliquias se deja sentir en un canon del concilio de Cloveshoe relativo a las letanías y a la misa solemne de final del ayuno propiciatorio: *et reliquiis sanctorum eius coram portatis, omnis populus genu flectendo diuinam pro delictis humiliter exorat indulgentiam*. *Concilium Cloueshoiae* (747), c. 16, ed. G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum noua et amplissima collectio*, XII, Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960 [edición anastática de Firenze, 1766], col. 400.

papal<sup>15</sup> para afianzar la preminencia de Roma al tiempo que consolidaban la cristiandad germánica. Aparte del envío a Constantina, conocemos un buen número de personajes orientales, fundamentalmente relacionados con la corte constantinopolitana<sup>16</sup>, que recibieron *benedictiones* de la sede romana que habían de proteger a su poseedor de todo mal y establecer un vínculo especial con la *Vrbs*. Pero, a efectos políticos, acaso resulta mucho más interesante su envío a los monarcas de los *regna Occidentis*: Childeberto II<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>15</sup> Cracco Ruggini contabiliza 14 casos de envío de reliquias de los apóstoles de Roma – esencialmente petrinas – a personajes importantes del panorama político de la Romania, ocho de ellas a *illustres* del Imperio de Oriente, y para todas argumenta un uso político sutil pero evidente: CRACCO RUGGINI, “Grégoire le Grand”, p. 87. Véanse las notas 4, 27 y 65 y los apartados 2 y 3 del bloque C para el recuento relicario; véase asimismo la nota siguiente.

<sup>16</sup> Las motivaciones gregorianas para tales envíos son diversas, pero coincidentes en su propósito, esto es, conseguir intermediarios ante la difícil corte constantinopolitana que contribuyan a la preeminencia de la sede de Roma: los patriarcas Anastasio de Antioquía – depuesto por Mauricio y para quien Gregorio buscaba el perdón – y Eulogio de Alejandría representaban la oposición oriental a la ambiciosa cátedra de Constantinopla; el *uir illustris* Andrés y el excónsul Juan eran amigos y valedores de Gregorio durante su estancia bizantina, y tal vez fueron los únicos que no recibieron un presente “político”; las ofrendas pecuniarias del médico constantinopolitano Teodoro y los óleos del también excónsul Leoncio tuvieron su beatífica recompensa; Teoctista, hermana del emperador Mauricio, así como las patricias Savinela, Columba y Gala, habían donado importantes sumas a la sede de Pedro y sentían un afecto nostálgico por Roma; asimismo, no debemos olvidar la *benedictio* enviada a la emperatriz Constantina. Véanse, respectivamente: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 25, p. 34; 13, 43, p. 1049; 1, 29 y 30, p. 37; 7, 25 y 8, 33, p. 481 y 559; 7, 23 y 12, 2, p. 477-478 y 970; y 4, 30, p. 250. Cabe destacar que las tres aristócratas citadas no parecen vivir en la capital del Bósforo, sino más bien en una ciudad indeterminada de África, porque las *benedictiones* se las entrega Hilario, *rector patrimonii Africani*, en el mismo año que interviene en unos asuntos de simonía en Bizacena; de hecho, Cracco Ruggini no las contabiliza entre los personajes orientales y la *PLRE* confirma la residencia africana de estas tres patricias romanas: *PLRE* 3A, *Columba* y *Galla*, p. 321 y 501; y *PLRE* 3B, *Savinella*, p. 1116; véase la nota anterior para el cálculo de Cracco Ruggini. Por otro lado, G. RAPISARDA LO MENZO, “I doni nell’epistolario di Gregorio Magno”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell’Antichità cristiana*, II, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 34), p. 285-300, p. 288, no incluye – sorprendentemente – la llave de oro enviada a Teoctista en la categoría de reliquias: cf. nota 65.

<sup>17</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 6, 6, p. 374: *claves praeterea sancti Petri, in quibus uinculis catenarum eius inclausum est, excellentiae uestrae direximus, quae collo uestro suspensae de malis uos omnibus tueantur*; enviada al monarca Childeberto poco antes de su deceso. También el patricio Dinamio, antiguo rector del patrimonio papal en la Galia, recibió una cruz con limaduras de las cadenas de Pedro e incluso de la parrilla de Lorenzo, todo ello en recompensa por los servicios prestados al solio pontificio: *Id.*, *Reg. ep.*, 3, 33, p. 179. Sobre estos dos personajes, remitimos, respectivamente, a: L. PIETRI, “Grégoire le Grand et la Gaule: le projet pour la réforme de l’Église gauloise”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell’Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 109-128, p. 111; y B. DUMÉZIL, “Le patrice Dynamius et son réseau: culture aristocratique et transformation des pouvoirs autour de Lérins dans la seconde



Recaredo<sup>18</sup>, un recién nacido Adaloaldo<sup>19</sup> e incluso un simple caudillo sardo, Hospito<sup>20</sup>, también obtuvieron *eulogiae* en forma de llaves o cruces que

moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, en Y. CODOU y M. LAUWERS (ed.), *Lérins, une île sainte de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009 (*Collections d'Études Médiévales de Nice* 9), p. 167-194, p. 171-177 y 180-184.

<sup>18</sup> Recaredo recibe una pequeña llave con limaduras de las cadenas de Pedro y, además, una cruz con fragmentos del *lignum crucis* y cabellos de Juan Bautista; ambos objetos han de serle de mucha utilidad, pues si el primero lo absuelve *ab omnibus peccatis*, el segundo le permite gozar de la *intercessio* del precursor de Cristo: *clauem uero paruulam uobis a sacratissimo beati Petri apostoli corpore pro eius benedictione transmisimus, in qua inest ferrum de catenis eius inclausum, ut quod collum illius ad martyrium ligauerat, uestrum ab omnibus peccatis soluat. Crucem quoque latori praesentium dedimus uobis offerendam, in qua lignum dominicae crucis inest et capillis beati Iohannis Baptistae. Ex qua semper solacium nostris saluatoris per intercessionem praecursoris eius habeatis*. GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 9, 229, p. 810. En especial, véanse: HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 44; RICHARDS, *Consul of God*, p. 210; J. M. PETERSEN, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984 (*Studies and Texts* 69), p. 143; J. VILELLA MASANA, “Gregorio Magno e Hispania”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 167-186, p. 178-180; ID., “*Aduocati et patroni*. Los santos y la coexistencia de romanos y bárbaros en Hispania (siglos V-VI)”, *III Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona-Institut d'Estudis Catalans-Consell Insular de Menorca, 1992 (*Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 2), p. 501-507, p. 505-506; y S. BOESCH GAJANO, *Gregorio Magno. Alle origini del Medioevo*, Roma, Viella, 2004 (*Sacro/Santo* 8), p. 117-118.

<sup>19</sup> El *phylacterium* que Gregorio se encarga de enviar al príncipe neonato consiste en una cruz con partículas de la *crux Domini*, además de un *euangelarium in theca Persica* – el cual no contabilizamos entre las reliquias, como sí hace McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 172, n. 107 –; asimismo, la hermana de Adaloaldo recibe tres anillos. Estos presentes llegan a su madre Teodelinda con una petición: *ut excellentissimo filio nostro regi coniugi uestro pro nobis de facta pace gratias referatis atque eius animum, sicut consuistis, ad pacem et de futuro per omnia prouocetis, quatenus mercedem populi innocentis, qui in scandalo perire potest, ante conspectum Dei inter multa bona quae agitis inuenire possitis*. GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 14, 12, p. 1083. Véase FROLOW, *La relique*, n.º 48, p. 187; cf. n.º 159, p. 246-247. Remitimos además a la nota 24 y a las secciones 2.1 y 2.2 del bloque C. Merece la pena destacar que, en este pasaje, Agilulfo es calificado de *filius noster* – al igual que Adaloaldo, bautizado en la fe católica –, un apelativo que Gregorio parece reservar a los monarcas cristianos y que no había empleado en la única carta – conservada: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 9, 66, p. 621-622 – que dirige al rey longobardo. Acerca de la titulatura empleada con emperadores, reyes y prohombres en el siglo VI, remitimos a: M. B. O'BRIEN, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 AD*, Washington, Catholic University of America, 1930 (*Patristic Studies* 21), p. 9-23; y REYDELLET, *La royauté*, p. 445-447.

<sup>20</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 4, 27, p. 246: *benedictionem uero sancti Petri apostoli per eos uobis transmisimus, quam peto ut debeatis benigne suscipere*. Sobre Hospito y los *Barbaricini* en el contexto administrativo y religioso de la Cerdeña bizantina, remitimos a los recientes artículos de: R. TURTAS, “La situazione politica e militare in Sardegna e Corsica secondo il *Registrum epistularum* di Gregorio Magno”, en L. G. G. RICCI, (ed.), *Gregorio Magno e la Sardegna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio*, Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007

contenían fragmentos de las limaduras de las cadenas<sup>21</sup> de Pedro, pedazos de la vera cruz o bien cabellos de Juan Bautista<sup>22</sup> que les habían de servir de *phylacteria*, de talismanes protectores. Si contabilizamos el número de reliquias personales enviadas, el total asciende a 19, de las cuales 16 están vinculadas a Pedro. Con un mismo objetivo evangélico y propagandístico, podemos incluir el envío de un ejemplar de los *Dialogi*<sup>23</sup> a Teodelinda, sin

(*Archivum Gregorianum* 11), p. 117-141; y RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 550-551, quien apunta la posibilidad de que los *Barbaricini* fueran mano de obra barata y disponible para los predios eclesiásticos sardos. No creemos que esta *benedictio* se encuentre en la misma casuística que las *benedictiones ex sancti Petri* señaladas en las notas 48 y 64.

<sup>21</sup> Diríase que Roma disponía de numerosos eslabones que convertir en partículas sagradas con la intención de ganar puntos para su patrón allende la Ciudad. Así, Hormisdas – HORMISDAS, *Ep.*, 218, ed. O. Günther, *CSEL* 35, 2, p. 680 – ya expidió fragmentos a un Justiniano todavía *illustris* y Pelagio I – PELAGIUS I, *Ep.*, 20, ed. P. M. Gassó y C. M. Batlle, *Pelagii I Papae epistulae quae supersunt* (556-561), Montserrat, 1956 (*Scripta et Documenta* 8), p. 62-63; véase la nota 48 – hizo lo propio con Eutiques, patriarca de Constantinopla: véase SUSMAN, “El culto”, p. 130-131. Más de un siglo después, el papa Vitaliano todavía enviaba fragmentos de cadena contenidos en una cruz relicaria a la corte de Nortumbria, en concreto a la piadosa mujer del rey Oswy: VITALIANUS, *Ep.*, 5, *apud* BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, 3, 29, p. 320. Y Gregorio ya había enviado dos cruces – GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 3, 33, p. 179; y 13, 43, p. 1049 – y diez llaves – 1, 29 y 30, p. 37; 3, 47, p. 192; 6, 6, p. 374; 7, 23 y 25, p. 477-478 y 481; 8, 33, p. 559; 9, 229, p. 810; 11, 43, p. 941; y 12, 2, p. 970 – con limaduras de cadenas petrinas, aparte de la *benedictio* paulina a Constantina – *ep.* 4, 30, p. 250 –, la cual consistía en las partículas propiamente dichas sin que se mencionara contenedor alguno. Apuntar el hecho de que las *reliquiae* formadas a partir de las limaduras de las cadenas que habían aprisionado a Pedro entraban a formar parte del catálogo de instrumentos de tortura – *tormenta* – que inflingieron martirio a los *beati uenerandi*, el cual, en buena medida, se relaciona con el concepto escatológico. Por otro lado, la disponibilidad de las cadenas para la producción de reliquias nos recuerda a la mención de Gregorio de Tours acerca de un gran número de llaves de que disponía la sede de Roma para el mismo propósito: véase la nota 3; cf. nota 6.

<sup>22</sup> Podría objetarse que los cabellos constituyen una parte integrante del cuerpo santo y que, en consecuencia, comparten su intangibilidad, pero estamos de acuerdo con McCulloh en que la posesión de la reliquia capilar no implicaba necesariamente perturbar el descanso del cadáver sacro: MCCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 148. También queremos apuntar la continuidad de semejantes donaciones capilares por parte de la sede romana, pues, según apunta una carta posiblemente espúrea recogida en los *Monumenta*, a inicios del siglo VIII, Juan VI – o VII – envió cabellos del apóstol Pablo a Edaldo, obispo de Vienne: IOANNES VI/VII, *Ep.*, 11, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH epp* 3, p. 92; véase RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 553-554, quien apunta la existencia de reliquias corporales del Bautista en el *sancta sanctorum* lateranense. De un modo similar ocurre con los fragmentos de la *uera crux*, que cabría elevar a la categoría de intangible debido a la importancia fundamental en tanto que símbolo indiscutible de la religión cristiana; acerca de este particular, remitimos a FROLOW, *La relique*, p. 45-51.

<sup>23</sup> PAULUS DIACONUS, *Hist. Lang.*, 4, 5, p. 117: *his diebus sapientissimus et beatissimus papa Gregorius Romanae urbis, postquam alia multa ad utilitatem sanctae ecclesiae scripserat, etiam libros quattuor de uita sanctorum composuit, quem codicem dialogum, id est, duorum locutionem, quia eum colloquens cum suo diacono Petro ediderat, appellauit. Hos igitur libros praefatus papa Theudelindae reginae direxit, quam sciebat utique et Christi fidei deditam, et in bonis actibus esse praecipuam*. Actualmente, se considera que los *Dialogi* se escribieron – al menos



duda destinado a servir de ejemplo e inspiración a la influyente reina, a su hijo e incluso a Agilulfo, para quien quizás Gregorio albergara alguna esperanza de conversión al catolicismo ortodoxo ya desde muy temprano<sup>24</sup>. Otra evidencia de la actividad relicaria de Gregorio parecen ser las célebres *ampullae*<sup>25</sup> también remitidas a Teodelinda y felizmente halladas en el tesoro de Monza<sup>26</sup>, las cuales, además, proporcionan una información valio-

en parte – en clave política, esto es, como manual de ética para que los reyes, sobre cuya institución acechaba el peligro del “abandono moral”, inauguraran una nueva era fundamentada en la supeditación – moral – a la Iglesia: C. DAGENS, *Saint Grégoire le Grand. Culture et expérience chrétiennes*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1977, p. 228-230; cf. VILELLA MASANA, “Gregorio Magno”, p. 173-174. Acerca del envío de los *Dialogi* a la reina de los longobardos, véanse: REYDELLET, *La royauté*, p. 449, 452-453, n. 37, y 484; y PETERSEN, *The Dialogues*, p. 18 y n. 39. Debe añadirse además el volumen conservado en la catedral de Monza y que la tradición conoce como el Evangelionario de Teodelinda: véanse la nota 19 y la sección 2.2 del bloque C.

<sup>24</sup> Admitiendo *a priori* que Pablo Warnefried no siempre resulta una fuente de información cronológica precisa, el cronista sitúa el envío de los *Dialogi* en una fecha anterior al acuerdo de paz con Agilulfo del 593 o 594, coetáneo, pues, a la misma redacción de la obra. Como quiera que la primera epístola gregoriana a Teodelinda – GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 4, 4, p. 220-221 – que conservamos data de septiembre del 593, nos parece adecuado considerarlo el término *post quem* para el despacho de las edificantes historias de los *patres Italicorum*, las cuales complementarían el discurso de Gregorio acerca del conflicto del cisma tricapitolino y de la sede de Milán, temas de la carta en cuestión; no parece posible determinar la fecha *ante quem* si no antes del 604. Al respecto, véase la nota anterior. Puede, en fin, que sirvieran también para una pretendida – y velada – conversión del monarca; a través de su esposa, claro está: A. VITALE BROVARONE, “Latini e Germani nei Dialoghi di Gregorio Magno”, *Atti del 6º Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, II, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980, p. 717-726, p. 726; y CONSOLINO, “Il papa”, p. 239-240.

<sup>25</sup> El entero conjunto de *souvenirs* romanos de la soberana longobarda incluye hasta 65 *ampullae* que contienen aceite de los diferentes santuarios romanos con sus correspondientes *pittacia*, donde se inscribe el texto explicativo; se acompañan de una *notula* que, además de elencar el total de las indicaciones descritas en las etiquetas, menciona que fueron enviadas por Gregorio a Teodelinda a través del diácono Juan: *quas olea sancta tenpori[b]us domni Gregorii papae adduxit Iohannis indignus et peccator domnae Theodelindae reginae de Roma. Not. de olea sanct. mart. qui Romae corp. reg.*, l. 94-101, ed. F. Glorie, *CCSL* 175, p. 294-295. Véase LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 302-303, donde opina que, con respecto a Constantina y a otras *reginae*, Teodelinda salió muy beneficiada en cuanto a reliquias se refiere, seguramente porque a Gregorio le interesaba mucho contar con una aliada entre sus más cercanos enemigos. Véase la nota siguiente.

<sup>26</sup> Pueden consultarse: H. LECLERCQ, “Ampoules”, *DACL* 1/ 2, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1924, col. 1722-1747; ID., “Monza”, *DACL* 11/2, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1934, col. 2749-2783; McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 175; LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 298-299; P. MARAVALL, “Grégoire le Grand et les lieux saints d'Orient”, *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 65-76, p. 69; F. BONALUMI, *Teodelinda. Una regina per l'Europa*, Cinisello Balsamo, San Paolo, 2006 (*Vie della Storia* 11), p. 162-164 y 239-244; y RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 547. La misma reina sentía una devoción especial por las reliquias, como lo demuestra la extensa colección de *ampullae* de aceite sacro datables en el

sísima del culto desarrollado en las iglesias de Roma, así como del santo al que se adscriben.

No es casual que estas reliquias se dirigieran a personajes políticos de tanta relevancia, pues, a cambio de la protección divina, dichos amuletos establecían un vínculo sobrenatural con Roma; como tampoco es casual que contuvieran especialmente objetos relacionados con el culto a Pedro<sup>27</sup>,

siglo VI y recuperadas en las excavaciones del palacio de Monza; cada una de estas *ampullae* contaba con un *pittacium* – un papel atado a modo de etiqueta – que identificaba al santo que la había bendecido: HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 47-48; R. FARIOLI CAMPANATI, “La cultura artistica nelle regioni bizantine d’Italia dal VI all’XI secolo”, en *I bizantini in Italia*, Milano, Garzanti-Scheiwiller, 1986<sup>2</sup> (*Antica Madre* 5), p. 137-426, p. 355; J. ELSNER, “Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza, and Walsingham”, *Journal of the History of Collecting*, 9/1 (1997), p. 117-130; D. TROUT, “Theodelinda’s Rome: *ampullae*, *pittaccia*, and the Image of the City”, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 50 (2005), p. 131-150, especialmente p. 131-134; y GODDING, “Reliquie”, p. 299. Estos relicarios – y su contenido –, así como otros de diferente tipo, integraron el ajuar del cristiano devoto occidental en la Antigüedad tardía; y si al principio provenían mayoritariamente de Tierra Santa y Oriente en general, pronto empezaron a generarse en Occidente, caso de la citada Roma o Tours, fértiles centros de producción de reliquias de contacto desde el siglo V. También documentamos *ampullae* palestinas en Monza: A. GRABAR, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1958, p. 15-31; véase además la nota anterior.

<sup>27</sup> Hasta 21 epístolas registran la distribución de reliquias petrinas por todo el Mediterráneo y más allá, de los cuales siete son fundacionales – cinco envíos y dos solicitudes: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 6, 22, 50 y 58, p. 392, 423 y 431; y 9, 72 y 233, p. 627-628 y 815; cf. 5, 50, p. 344; y 8, 5, p. 522 – y 14 personales – que resultan en 16 *benedictiones*: ID., *Reg. ep.*, 1, 25, 29 y 30, p. 34 y 37; 3, 33 y 47, p. 179 y 192; 4, 27, p. 246; 6, 6, p. 374; 7, 23 y 25, p. 477-478; 8, 33, p. 559; 9, 229, p. 810; 11, 43, p. 941; 12, 2, p. 970; y 13, 43, p. 1049 –, vinculadas todas al patrono celestial de Roma. Al respecto, pueden consultarse, además, los estudios anteriores con cuyos cálculos – incompletos y, en ocasiones, inexactos – no coincidimos en su totalidad, como indicamos en las notas 4 y 8 y como pormenorizamos en el bloque C. Sobre la doctrina del patronazgo petrino – y, en parte, paulino – sobre Roma, así como la funcionalidad política del envío de *claves* en la disputa por la autoridad romana, remitimos a: C. PIETRI, “*Concordia apostolorum* (culte des martyrs et propagande pontificale)”, *MAH*, 20 (1961), p. 275-322, especialmente p. 298-300; SUSMAN, “Il culto”, p. 61-64, 129-141 y 165-181; A. M. ORSELLI, *L’idea e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1965 (*Studi e Ricerche* n.s. 12), p. 91-96; y más recientemente G. E. DEMACOPOULOS, “Gregory the Great and the Appeal to Petrine Authority”, en J. BAUN et al. (ed.), *Papers Presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2007*, Leuven, Peeters, 2010 (*Studia Patristica* 48), p. 333-346, en concreto 340-341, donde ya apunta la instrumentalización política de las reliquias de Pedro ante la pretendida primacía constantinopolitana. En relación con esto, queremos destacar un dato que nos parece relevante acerca de las reliquias petrinas enviadas por Gregorio: las *benedictiones* triplican a los *sanctuarium*, un signo evidente del trato privilegiado concedido por el pontífice a los individuos en detrimento de las comunidades. En tanto que gestor autorizado – e interesado – del capital relicario de Roma, el Magno prima el trato con los poderosos de su tiempo desarrollando una auténtica hagiopolítica que le permite afianzar su posición en la Romania. Véase la nota siguiente.

piedra angular de la Iglesia y mejor baza de la supremacía romana en un momento tan delicado para la sede petrina. Porque, siguiendo a Leyser<sup>28</sup>, podría argüirse que Gregorio llevó a cabo una verdadera “política del regalo” con los *illustres* de la sociedad mediterránea. Resulta evidente, pues, que Gregorio utiliza todos los medios a su alcance para fortalecer la posición espiritual – y política – de Roma en el Occidente germánico y frente al Imperio oriental en un ejercicio de propaganda pontifical que tiene su máxima expresión en el culto a Pedro, fundamento de la Iglesia y patrón de la *Vrbs*.

### C. Relación de reliquias citadas en el *Registrum*

Queremos exponer aquí de un modo detallado la presencia relicaria en el epistolario del pontífice, puesto que, en nuestra opinión, los objetos sacros constituyen un pilar cardinal en la hagiopolítica gregoriana. Efectivamente, resulta posible hallar regularidades significativas una vez establecido el elenco de las reliquias enviadas, solicitadas e incluso recibidas por el Magno a partir de la información proporcionada por el *Registrum*<sup>29</sup>. Con el objetivo de fijar su número y distribución tal y como aparecen en el *corpus* epistolar, hemos dividido este bloque en tres apartados dedicados, respectivamente, a las reliquias fundacionales, a las personales y a una comparativa entre nuestros cómputos y los de otros autores. Pretendemos categorizar y cuantificar las *reliquiae* a través de unas tablas – en las cuales mostramos gráficamente los datos extraíbles de cada una de las epístolas consideradas – para que su análisis nos permita comprender mejor la función que Gregorio les otorgaba.

<sup>28</sup> LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 299-300, acuña y desarrolla la acertada expresión “politics of the gift”; aunque ya MARAVAL, “Grégoire le Grand”, p. 66, afirmaba que Gregorio se insertó plenamente en la “courant d’échanges” – de objetos sacros – que se desarrollaba entonces entre Oriente y Occidente. Véase además: RAPISARDA LO MENZO, “I doni”, p. 285-300, que se ocupa muy genéricamente de la expedición de regalos, incluyendo algunos de significación política; las recientes aportaciones al respecto de CRACCO RUGGINI, “Le amicizie”, p. 14 y 24-25, en las cuales trata de la “politica gregoriana delle reliquie”; y, por último, DEMACPOULOS, *The Invention*, p. 150-152, donde analiza la actividad relicaria del Magno y afirma que “this distribution of relics was more than a transmission of sanctified objects; it was an act of diplomacy designed to achieve ecclesiastical goals for the Church of Rome” (la cita en la p. 151). Véase la nota anterior.

<sup>29</sup> Aunque el *Registrum* es la fuente principal de menciones relicarias, también hallamos unos pocos ejemplos provenientes de otras obras o del registro arqueológico que, en ocasiones, presentan suspicacias acerca de su autenticidad: las reliquias fundacionales probablemente expedidas a Agustín de Canterbury – véanse las notas 8, 13, 40 y 74 – o las personales que representan el envío a Teodelinda del *codex Dialogorum* – véanse las notas 23-24 – y de las célebres *ampullae* – véanse las notas 25-26 –.

Al respecto de las reliquias fundacionales<sup>30</sup> – que se definen como *reliquiae* o *sanctuarium* y son siempre de contacto–, confirmamos dos aspectos destacables. En primer lugar, el cumplimiento tanto de la legislación imperial como de la canónica vigentes sobre la consagración de nuevos templos ejemplificado en la fórmula<sup>31</sup> *nullum corpus ibidem constat esse humatum*, paradigmática de ambas casuísticas, pues no sólo se hace eco de la constitución teodosiana del 386 sino también del concilio de Cartago del 401. Y, en segundo, la confirmación de un protocolo fundacional que incluye tanto la petición del solicitante o la satisfacción de su piedad religiosa como la deposición de *reliquiae* o la reverencia con la que éstas entraban en el nuevo templo. En todos estos casos, se verifica la continuidad – con algunos matices, pero con mucha frecuencia – de las expresiones presentes en la correspondencia gregoriana con el formulario del *Liber diurnus*<sup>32</sup>, indicio bastante claro de la influencia del Magno en materia relicaria.

<sup>30</sup> Para el cálculo del número de reliquias fundacionales propiamente dicho, véanse la nota 8 y la sección 1.

<sup>31</sup> Al respecto de ambas legislaciones, remitimos a las notas 11 – con el texto de la constitución teodosiana – y 13, respectivamente. La fórmula en cuestión aparece en once epístolas relativas a la consagración de nuevos edificios de culto: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, 94 y 98; 8, 5, p. 522; 9, 49, 58, 72, 166, 181 y 233, p. 608, 615-616, 627-628, 724-725, 738 y 815; y 13, 16, p. 990. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 11, 17, 24 y 26, ed. H. Foerster, *Liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum*, Bern, Francke Verlag, 1958, p. 84, 87 y 90; debemos especificar que escogemos la versión del *Liber diurnus* transmitida por el *codex Vaticanus* por ser la más completa de las conservadas y que, en consecuencia, siempre citamos las páginas correspondientes a este manuscrito en la edición de Foerster. Véase también la nota siguiente.

<sup>32</sup> Y aunque las fórmulas puedan variar estilísticamente entre una u otra epístola, su significado concreto permanece inalterado y la remisión al *Registrum* deviene ineludible para la comprensión del *Liber diurnus*; de hecho, el editor de esta compilación protocolaria romana opina que la influencia gregoriana en los distintos modelos del *Liber* – especialmente en la versión del manuscrito vaticano – resulta bastante clara a pesar de que buena parte de las fórmulas proceda de la cancellería pontificia de los siglos VIII y IX e incluso se hallen precedentes en Gelasio I: H. FOERSTER, *Liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum*, Bern, 1958, Francke Verlag, p. 29-36; cf. EIDENSCHINK, “Dedication”, p. 325-333, con algunas dudas y restricciones, pero favorable a dicha influencia en el *Liber*. La solicitud del evergeta o del responsable eclesiástico del lugar de culto se expresa mediante la fórmula *petitorii nobis insinuatione suggestit, quae habetur in subditis*: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 3, 58, p. 206-207; 5, 50, p. 344; 8, 5, p. 522; 9, 49, 58, 72, 181 y 233, p. 608, 615-616, 627-628, 738 y 815; y 13, 16, p. 990. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 11, 19 y 31, p. 84, 88 y 93. En cuanto al cumplimiento de su *deuotio*, directamente vinculada al *effectum* deseable: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 3, 58, p. 206-207; 6, 58, p. 431; 8, 5, p. 522; 9, 45, 58-59, 72, 181-182 y 233, p. 604, 615-616, 627-628, 738-739 y 815; 11, 19 y 57, p. 889 y 963; y 13, 16, p. 990. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 11-17, 20 y 26-27, p. 84-88 y 90-91. Para la correcta y siempre respetuosa deposición relicaria expresada por la frase *sanctuarium uero suscepta sui cum reuerentia collocabis* o una expresión similar: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 6, 22, 45, 50 y 58, p. 392, 418, 423 y 431; 9, 49, 58, 72, 181 y 184, p. 608, 615-616, 627-628, 738 y 740; cf. 3, 58, p. 206-207; 4, 8, p. 224; 5, 50, p. 344; y 6, 22, p. 392;

Asimismo, estas mismas fórmulas – y también, claro está, el propio redactado – pueden servirnos para esclarecer la tipología de la epístola que indicamos entre corchetes; es decir, si consiste en una demanda de consagración, un envío de reliquias solicitado por el destinatario – o el propio pontífice – a un tercer personaje o bien si es el mismo Gregorio quien las expide para su uso fundacional. Y si resulta fácil inscribir una carta en la primera de estas categorías, a menudo ocurre que el criterio más fiable para discernir quién envía las reliquias es la localización<sup>33</sup> del cuerpo del santo, a partir del cual se crean los *sanctuaría* necesarios en la *depositio* indispensable para todo lugar de culto cristiano; porque no debemos olvidar que los restos sacros conformaban un capital espiritual inestimable para la sede que los poseía y que difícilmente se desprendería de ellos.

Con la intención de ser más precisos en la categorización de los *beneficia*, en las secciones 1.1 y 1.2, hemos dividido el listado en “Menciones explícitas” y “Menciones implícitas” según citen– o no – reliquias en la correspondiente carta. A pesar de esta división, contabilizamos conjuntamente las epístolas en el cuadro comparativo de “Envíos y permisos” de la sección 3.1 – señalando en cursiva los ejemplos en los cuales no se menciona explícitamente el término *reliquia* o *sanctuaría* – porque entendemos que, en ambos casos, se requirió la intervención de Gregorio para sancionar la deposición relicaria; sin embargo, no aplicamos distinción alguna en los cuadros relativos a “Advocaciones de santos” y “Lugares de destino” por razones de orden práctico.

Realizamos, además, una comparativa entre estudios anteriores y nuestro propio cómputo. Ya hemos comentado que no coincidimos con algunos de los cálculos aportados por estos investigadores y, en el apartado 3, confrontamos en diferentes tablas su visión con la nuestra, tanto en lo que se refiere a las reliquias fundacionales como a las personales, glosando en el

en las cuales se mencionan los *uenerandae sollemnia dedicationis*. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 11, 15-16 y 27, p. 85-86 y 91. Se verifica la adscripción territorial del templo a la jurisdicción eclesiástica del destinatario de la epístola en: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 9, 58, 72, 181 y 233, p. 615-616, 627-628, 738 y 815; y 13, 16, p. 990. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 11, 23-24, 26 y 30, p. 84, 89-90 y 92. Constatamos, además, la necesaria obediencia al mandato consagradorio pontificio: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 9, 45, 59 y 182, p. 604, 616 y 739; 11, 19 y 57, p. 889 y 963. Cf. *Lib. diurn.*, 12 y 14, p. 85. Acerca de la fórmula *nullum corpus ibidem constat humatum*, remitimos a la nota anterior.

<sup>33</sup> Nos parece muy ilustrativa una frase de la carta a Pedro de Otranto, a quien Gregorio solicita *sanctuaría* de Leucio *quia eiusdem beatissimi martyris [Leucii] corpus [est] in Brindisii ecclesia*, sobre la cual ejercía de obispo visitador: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 11, 57, p. 963. Otro ejemplo representativo lo constituye la *ep.* 9, 45, enviada a siete obispos distintos pidiéndoles *sanctuaría* de mártires innombrados *in diocesis uestrae quiescentium*, evidencia de que sus cuerpos se hallaban en esas ciudades concretas. Véase además la nota 44.

citado apartado las concordancias y divergencias con sus trabajos, así como las especificidades de algunos casos concretos.

Y añadiremos sólo unos breves apuntes con respecto a la metodología empleada en nuestras tablas. La referencia de las epístolas tomadas en consideración aparecen en negrita y con la datación entre paréntesis con el fin de facilitar su ubicación; cualquier remisión a un personaje mencionado en una de estas letras gregorianas se muestra entre paréntesis, igualmente en negrita; en el caso de que el documento no se encuentre en el *Registrum*, lo citamos sin negrita. Escribimos entre corchetes toda información que sólo aparece eventualmente, caso de los portadores, los evergetas o la tipología de reliquia fundacional. Por último, indicamos también los paralelos formularios de las cartas del *Registrum* con el *Liber diurnus*; en ambos casos, obviemos las referencias bibliográficas por evidentes razones de espacio, aunque ya los reseñamos en las notas<sup>34</sup>.

En cuanto concierne a la cuantificación de las reliquias fundacionales, ha resultado complejo precisar con exactitud su número, dado que hay epístolas en las que aparecen *sanctuaría* de más de un santo mientras que también sucede que dos cartas pontificias hacen referencia a unas mismas *reliquiae*. El problema reside justamente en estos dobles – que suelen consistir en una demanda de consagración y una solicitud o confirmación de envío –, de los cuales identificamos cuatro casos<sup>35</sup>; para todos ellos, documentamos individualmente la información contenida en el elenco general de la sección 1.1, contabilizando cada epístola en su propia categoría – consagración, envío o solicitud – en las tablas de la sección 3.1 por cuanto se refiere a los mismos objetos. Constatamos los siguientes dobles: las *ep.* 9, 58 y 59, en las que Pasivo de Fermo debe consagrar el oratorio suburbano fundado por Valerio con los *sanctuaría* de Sabino solicitados a Crisanto de Spoleto; las *ep.* 9, 181 y 182, donde se ordena a Benenato de Tíndaris que consagre otro oratorio – esta vez rural – para la *religiosa femina* Januaria con las reliquias de Juliana y Severino que le expediría Fortunato de Nápoles; las *ep.* 9, 233 y 11, 5, en las cuales se confirma el envío retrasado de *reliquiae* de Pedro, Lorenzo, Hermes, Pancracio, Sebastián e Inés por parte de Gregorio a Adeodata, *illustris et gloriosa femina*, quien había solicitado la consagración de su cenobio femenino a Decio de Lilibeo; y las *ep.* 14, 7 y 13, relativas al traslado del *corpus beati Donati* al *castrum Cassiopi* de la isla de Corfú.

Todavía contamos hasta cuatro epístolas que refieren reliquias de difícil interpretación. En la *ep.* 1, 54 a Pedro, *subdiaconus Siciliae*, y en la 14, 9,

<sup>34</sup> Véanse las notas 31-32.

<sup>35</sup> McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 162-163, n. 67, sólo documenta dos casos, obviando los dobles constituidos por las *ep.* 9, 233 y 11, 5 y 14, 7 y 13.



dirigida a Juan, obispo de un lugar desconocido del Brucio, se mencionan *sanctuararia* de la Virgen, los cuales también aparecen en la 3, 58 a Fortunato de Nápoles junto con otros *beneficia* del mismísimo Cristo; y de nuevo el obispo napolitano debe consagrar un oratorio al arcángel Miguel como relata la *ep.* 5, 50. Resulta complicado imaginar el proceso de obtención de reliquias – de contacto, obviamente – de estos tres personajes, cuyo carácter divino hace impensable cualquier rastro material; no obstante, el *Registrum*, y también algunos ejemplos coetáneos, nos confirman la existencia de lugares de culto dedicados al Salvador<sup>36</sup>, a María<sup>37</sup> o a Miguel<sup>38</sup> que

<sup>36</sup> Una inscripción dedicatoria del 652 hallada en Guadix y una epístola de Braulio de Zaragoza – obispo entre el 651 y el 659 – ratifican la presencia de reliquias de Cristo en la Hispania visigoda: – ICERV 307; y BRAULIO CAESARAUGUSTANUS., *Ep.* 35, ed. R. MIGUEL FRANCO, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2018 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 114B), p. 110-111. Véase además C. GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, *El culto a los santos en la España romana y visigoda*, Madrid, Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1966 (*Monografías de Historia Eclesiástica* 1), p. 119. Verosímilmente, las reliquias de contacto se creaban a partir de reliquias representativas como la columna de flagelación de Jerusalén, punto este último ratificado por el testimonio anterior de Gregorio de Tours: GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib. in glor. mart.*, 6, p. 42. Un ejemplo en estrecha relación con Gregorio es la consagración de una iglesia en Canterbury bajo la advocación del Salvador: véase la nota 40. Y no olvidemos que, en el siglo VI, la mismísima basílica del Laterano estaba bajo la advocación conjunta del Salvador y del apóstol Juan: H. BRANDENBURG, *Le prime chiese di Roma, IV-VII secolo. L'inizio dell'architettura ecclesiastica occidentale*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2004 (trad. it. de A. Costa), p. 20 y 28.

<sup>37</sup> De nuevo un epígrafe hispano datable entre los siglos VI y VII corrobora la existencia de depósitos relicarios, esta vez marianos: ICERV 316; cf. 301-302, 307, 323, 359, 380. Al respecto, remitimos a: C. GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, *El culto*, p. 126-128. También Italia y Galia disponen de oratorios e iglesias con reliquias de María, caso de Santa María Mayor y Santa María Antigua en Roma – R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980<sup>2</sup>, p. 70-72; y BRANDENBURG, *Le prime chiese*, p. 178-179 y 231-232 – o de una ignota *ecclesia sanctae Mariae* en Tours – L. PIETRI, *La ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle: naissance d'une cité chrétienne*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 1983 (*Collection de l'École Française à Rome* 69), p. 186-188 y 358-363; y R. VAN DAM, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 31, 33-34 y 75, n. 120 –. E incluso el propio obispo turonense lleva una cruz de oro con reliquias de la Virgen: GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib. in glor. mart.*, 10, p. 45; véase la nota 3.

<sup>38</sup> Ya desde época constantiniana, el caudillo de las milicias angélicas tuvo un éxito remarkable y se le dedicaron templos tan famosos como el *Michaelion* de Germia. En Italia, aparte de la discutida basílica de la Via Salaria datable antes del siglo V, destaca el oratorio erigido al arcángel en el Monte Gargano, el cual, según la leyenda, tiene sus orígenes a finales del mismo siglo y que la documentación confirma a mediados del siglo VIII, cuando es conquistado por el ducado de Benevento y el culto al arcángel adquiere gran importancia entre los longobardos: *Lib. pont.*, 53, 80, p. 262; y *Lib. de appar. s. Mich.*, 6, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH srl*, p. 542-543. Por otra parte, en la Galia franca documentamos un oratorio en Le Mans y la célebre abadía benedictina del Monte Saint-Michel fundada el 709: *Appar. s. Mich. arch.*, 3-5, ed. J. Mabillon, *PL* 96, col. 1391-1394. Para todos estos ejemplos, remitimos a: G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley-London, University of



evidencian la extensión de este fenómeno en Occidente; e incluso el *Liber diurnus*<sup>39</sup> recoge una fórmula específica relativa a la *depositio* de *beneficia* de arcángeles a pesar de haberse redactado cerca de doscientos años después del pontificado gregoriano. Por todo ello, y con la debida prudencia, hemos optado por incluir esta tipología en el número de reliquias fundacionales citadas en el *Registrum*, porque constituyen una muestra de la actividad edilicia religiosa en la Campania y porque, al decir de los fieles del siglo VI, eran tan auténticas como cualquier otra independientemente del criterio que sigamos los científicos actuales.

Por otra parte, mantenemos en cuarentena un par de alusiones indirectas<sup>40</sup> a reliquias relativas a la evangelización del reino de Kent por entender

California Press, 2001 (*The Transformation of Classical Heritage* 32), p. 157-193; R. F. JOHNSON, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2005, p. 32-44; y a muchas de las contribuciones presentes en P. BOUET, G. OTRANTO y A. VAUCHEZ (ed.), *Culto e santuari di San Michele nell'Europa medievale. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi*, Bari, Edipuglia, 2007 (*Bibliotheca Michaelica* 1), que no detallamos. En Hispania, tan sólo las actas del undécimo concilio de Toledo nos transmiten un ejemplo del culto a Miguel por la mención de un desconocido monasterio cercano a la capital visigoda: *Conc. Tolet. XI* (675), *susc.*, ed. G. Martínez y F. Rodríguez, *La Colección Canónica Hispana*, VI. *Concilios hispanos: tercera parte*, Madrid, CSIC-Instituto Enrique Flórez, 2002 (*Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra* 6), p. 131; GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, *El culto*, p. 134-136. Véase la nota siguiente.

<sup>39</sup> En efecto, el *Liber diurnus* recoge una fórmula cuyo título no puede ser más evocador – *de danda beneficia sancti angeli* – y que, justamente, menciona la existencia de reliquias fundacionales relativas a un arcángel, como puede ser el caso de Miguel: *Lib. diurn.*, 14, p. 85. A pesar de ello, McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 157-158, n. 51, opina que esta fórmula difícilmente existiría en época gregoriana; por su parte, ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani*, p. 363-364, n. 4, cita un primer ejemplo de esta casuística datable a mediados del siglo VIII. Así y todo, no resulta extraño encontrar una iglesia u oratorio anterior a esta fecha que se encuentre bajo la advocación del Salvador, la Virgen o un arcángel, aun sin la presencia de reliquias fundacionales del patrono del nuevo templo. Al hilo de esta ausencia, EIDENSCHINK, “Dedication”, p. 352-353, apunta que las epístolas que citan templos consagrados a la Virgen o Miguel nunca mencionan reliquias y concluye que, en tiempos de Gregorio, todavía había iglesias y oratorios sin *sanctuarium* alguno, aunque observa que el *Liber diurnus* sí contempla esta advocación. Por su parte, J.-P. CAILLET, *Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 1988 (*Bibliothèque de l'École Française à Rome* 268), p. 271-272, afirma que no existe ninguna iglesia en la Italia septentrional dedicada a Cristo, la cruz o la Virgen antes del siglo VIII, aparte de la basilica ravenesa fundada por Gala Placidia. Finalmente, L. CANETTI, “*Olea sanctorum*: reliquie e miracoli fra tardoantico e alto Medioevo”, *Olio e vino nell'alto Medioevo. LIV Settimana del CISAM*, II, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007, p. 1335-1415, p. 1389, n. 108, afirma con prudente juicio al respecto de las reliquias de tales personajes que “diverso ovviamente è il discorso per quelle di Cristo e della Vergine, dei quali in linea di principio non esistono reliquie”; y lo mismo es aplicable al caso de los ángeles. Véanse las notas 36-38.

<sup>40</sup> Al respecto, remitimos a las notas 8, 13 y 74. BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, 1, 33, p. 114, especifica que Agustín consagró la iglesia del Salvador y el monasterio de Pedro y Pablo, actos para los

que el texto no permite más que inferir su envío a tierras britanas a pesar de ser altamente probable. Dos epístolas nos transmiten las únicas peticiones gregorianas de reliquias de las cuales tenemos conocimiento: gracias a la *ep.* 3, 3, sabemos que el pontífice pidió a Juan, abad de Siracusa, que le enviara la túnica de Juan<sup>41</sup> para un oratorio sito en la basílica constantiniana, un hecho que parece ratificar el testimonio de Juan Diácono; algo más tarde, la *ep.* 3, 19 confirma la solicitud de reliquias de Severino. Y aunque las incluimos en el listado de reliquias fundacionales, no las contamos en el cuadro de advocaciones por no estar atestiguada su recepción.

Resulta posible, además, extraer información adicional de algunas epístolas concernientes a *sanctuaría*: parece verosímil pensar que Félix de Mesina, encargado de consagrar una basílica urbana según indica la *ep.* 2, 6, ya dispusiera de *brandea* de Pancracio y Esteban por una donación pontificia anterior; la consagración al culto católico de una iglesia arriana en la vía Merulana<sup>42</sup> mencionada en la *ep.* 3, 19 nos recuerda al único episodio de los *Dialogi* en el cual se citan *reliquiae* fundacionales y que evoca un ejemplo parejo para una iglesia de la Suburra; documentamos un culto previo<sup>43</sup>

cuales resulta indispensable la posesión de reliquias; y lo más lógico sería que ambas comitivas –¿sólo la de Melitón?– trajeran consigo *sanctuaría* de Pedro, Pablo y acaso de algún otro santo romano como Pancracio, Hermes o incluso Sixto aunque no tengamos constancia de ello.

<sup>41</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 3, 3, p. 148. Esta epístola, juntamente con la 3, 19 citada en la nota siguiente, se erigen en los únicos casos – conservados – de petición gregoriana de reliquias, en concreto de Juan y Severino, respectivamente. Al respecto de la *tunica* de Juan, es el biógrafo del siglo IX quien confirma la llegada desde Sicilia de la reliquia apostólica – puesto que muy probablemente se trate del Evangelista, y no del Bautista, como sucede en la *ep.* 9, 229 a Recaredo – y su posterior ubicación en la basílica constantiniana: IOANNES DIACONUS, *Vita Greg.*, 3, 57-59, ed. Maurini, *PL* 75, col. 168-169; véase RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 543-544. El hecho de que la reliquia pertenezca a Juan y de que, tanto en el siglo VI como en el IX, el Laterano – bajo la doble advocación del Bautista y del Evangelista – fuera la sede del Papado nos inclina a pensar que la citada *basílica constantiniana* se corresponda con esta iglesia y no con San Pedro del Vaticano, la otra gran fundación religiosa romana de Constantino. Cabe decir que constatamos un paralelo de la tenencia de túnicas como reliquias en los *Dialogi*: véase la nota 9. Por otra parte, no creemos en absoluto comparable esta *reliquia* apostólica con la *tunica* citada en la *ep.* 11, 3, cuya factura es contemporánea y su sacralidad más que dudosa: véase la nota 64; cf. nota 48.

<sup>42</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 3, 19, p. 165, en la cual se solicitan reliquias de Severino para una iglesia arriana en la *domus Merulana*. Cf.: ID., *Reg. ep.*, 4, 19, p. 237; e ID., *Dialog. libri IV*, 3, 30, p. 380-384; en esta epístola, se relata la consagración católica – a Ágata y Sebastián; se trata de la actual Sant'Ágata dei Goti – de una iglesia arriana en la Suburra a la cual los *Dialogi* añaden un relato hagiográfico de los portentos que acontecieron en ella durante la primera eucaristía ortodoxa, en la cual el propio Gregorio estuvo presente.

<sup>43</sup> Al oratorio insular se incorporan reliquias de Ágata; el *monasterium sancti Martini* se hallaba *in domo Marini* y al culto del santo turonense se le añadió el de Pedro y del arcángel Miguel; por su parte, la basílica de Rieti estaba consagrada a la Virgen y el Salvador, pero su baptisterio debía dedicarse a Hermes, Jacinto y Máximo. Véanse, respectivamente: GREGORI-

en un oratorio del protomártir Esteban sito en Capri, un monasterio napolitano dedicado a Martín y en una basílica de Rieti bajo la advocación del Salvador y la Virgen, citados en las *ep.* 1, 52, 5, 50 y 9, 49, respectivamente; y, por último, creemos factible inferir algunos de los santos<sup>44</sup> cuyos *sanctuaría* solicitaba Gregorio para el *exconsul* Gregorio a partir de los destinatarios de la *ep.* 9, 45, teniendo en cuenta el factor clave de la localización de los restos mortales sacros que hemos comentado más arriba.

Pasemos ahora a las reliquias personales<sup>45</sup>, también de contacto y nunca corpóreas, como conviene a la concepción gregoriana. Sus principales funciones consisten en redimir los pecados, sanar enfermedades y, por extensión, proteger de todo mal, ya que las *benedictiones* debían llevarse *collo suspensae* con el fin de que su efecto benéfico irradiara sobre su portador. Los destinatarios pueden dividirse en amigos personales de Gregorio – fundamentalmente de su época de apocrisariato en Constantinopla – y personajes encumbrados de la administración civil y eclesiástica, de reyes a obispos pasando por patricios, figuras esenciales en la política pontificia. Porque de eso tratan, justamente, los *phylacteria* enviados a estos dignatarios: de política, de hagiopolítica, para ser más exactos, puesto que nos encontramos ante una instrumentalización de lo sacro con el objetivo de afianzar la posición de la *Vrbs* en la Romania. El prestigio de la sede romana se debe tanto a su superposición con la ancestral capital imperial como a la presencia de los cuerpos de Pedro y Pablo, los *principes apostolorum*; si en un principio, bastaba con la posesión de los *corpora sacra*, los pontífices pronto aprendieron los beneficios que podía reportar la difusión de reliquias petrinas<sup>46</sup> en el orbe cristiano. Y Gregorio devino acaso el mejor alumno, despachando hasta 14 envíos epistolares confirmados resultantes en 16 *benedictiones*. Asimismo, efectuamos un cálculo de las reliquias personales remitidas al

US I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 5, 50, p. 344; y 9, 49, p. 608. Sobre la – extraña – presencia de reliquias – y altares – en los baptisterios, véase EIDENSCHINK, “Dedication”, p. 332 y 340. Véanse las notas 36-39.

<sup>44</sup> Así, basándonos en los restos mortales de cuya existencia tenemos constancia en las ciudades citadas, Gregorio podría haber solicitado reliquias de Cesáreo a Agnelo de Terracina, de Severino a Fortunato de Nápoles o de Prisco a Primenio de Nocera, aunque dichas atribuciones deben sostenerse con la debida prudencia: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 9, 45, p. 604. McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 162, n. 64, considera “único” este caso y cree que la carta constituía un modelo que se enviaría a los siete obispos receptores; véase la nota 33.

<sup>45</sup> Acerca de las reliquias personales y de su cuantificación, así como de su tipología relicaria, remitimos a la nota 4 y a las secciones 2.1 a 2.3 y 3.4 a 3.6. Para la concepción gregoriana de la intangibilidad de los *corpora sacra*, fundamentada en las legislaciones imperial y eclesiástica, véanse las notas 1, 11 y 13.

<sup>46</sup> En concreto para las reliquias relacionadas con el culto petrino, véanse la nota 27 y las secciones 3.2 y 3.5 del bloque C.

pontífice, cálculo bandeado por la historiografía<sup>47</sup> hasta ahora a pesar de constituir una evidencia palmaria de un intercambio relicario biunívoco y no siempre equitativo.

En cuanto respecta a la tipología de las *benedictiones*, podemos dividir las en tres: las *claves*, las *cruces* y un tercer grupo<sup>48</sup> que engloba elementos muy dispares. No hay ningún problema en adscribir un objeto sacro a las dos primeras categorías, ciertamente, pero la tercera produce serias dificultades interpretativas: de las once epístolas que contemplan este tipo de presentes, tres se refieren a paramentos de uso litúrgico o incluso devocional – *oraria*, *minora Aquitanica pallia* y *paratura*–, dos a *benedictiones* indeterminadas – una petrina y otra paulina–, dos más a vestiduras de uso cotidiano – *camisiae* y *cuculla et tunica*–, una a un evangelario y tres anillos, otra a cierta cantidad de dinero, otra a un caballo, mientras que la última resulta demasiado genérica – *exenia* – para ofrecer más información al respecto. De este listado, tan sólo consideramos como reliquias las enviadas a Hospito y Constantina, excluyendo el resto por entender que no se trata propiamente de objetos sacros con funciones apotropaicas o taumatúrgicas para su destinatario a pesar de incluir la fórmula *ex* – o *de* – *benedictione sancti Petri*.

La cuantificación de estas reliquias se presenta todavía más compleja<sup>49</sup>. En primer lugar, detectamos hasta tres cartas – *ep.* 1, 25; 3, 47; y 6, 6 – en

<sup>47</sup> Tan sólo CRACCO RUGGINI, “Le amicizie”, p. 20, n. 27, reseña los envíos de reliquias a Gregorio, aunque únicamente documenta cuatro casos – GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 5, 42, p. 327; 8, 33, p. 559; 12, 1, p. 968; y 13, 43, p. 1049 – y se olvida de otros siete – Id., *Reg. ep.*, 5, 46, p. 340; 6, 61, p. 435; 7, 29 y 37, p. 489 y 502; 8, 2 y 28, p. 516 y 550; y 10, 21, p. 855-856–; cf. CRACCO RUGGINI, “Grégoire le Grand”, p. 87, n. 23, con un primer listado incompleto y, en parte, erróneo. Véase además la sección 2.3 del bloque C. Y debemos recordar que Pierre Maraval ya verificó la “courant d’échanges” relicarios a lo largo de la Romania: véase la nota 28.

<sup>48</sup> Al respecto de este tipo de reliquias personales, querríamos destacar una frase que evidencia las dificultades interpretativas que ofrece este término: “indeed all of the *benedictiones* (in the sense of holy objects) he mentions are also *benedictiones* (in the sense of gifts), but not all of his gifts are holy”. J. M. McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 169-170, n. 96-97, donde descarta acertadamente las vestimentas devocionales como objetos sacros por su carácter utilitario. Con anterioridad, SUSMAN, “Il culto”, p. 130 y 174-176, ya había dudado del carácter relicario de alguno de estos “*semplici doni santificati*” *ex benedictione sancti Petri*. Así, Gregorio envía regalos a determinados personajes que no pueden ser considerados reliquias a pesar de incluir – o precisamente por ello – la fórmula *ex benedictione sancti Petri*. Deben contarse en esta casuística los siguientes envíos pontificios citados en el texto: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 7, 27 y 37, p. 485 y 502; 10, 12, p. 839; 11, 1, 3 y 37, p. 859, 861 y 932; 12, 13, p. 987; 13, 21, p. 1022; y 14, 12, p. 1083; *contra*, 4, 27 y 30, p. 246 y 250, cuyas *benedictiones* admitimos como tales. Véase además la nota 64. Sin embargo, recordamos el envío de una túnica – y limaduras de las cadenas de Pedro – a Eutiques por parte de Pelagio I, especificando que su uso puede variar *pro reliquiis uel pro benedictione*, es decir, puede ser fundacional o personal, con lo cual se establece de nuevo la duda sobre su condición: véase la nota 21.

<sup>49</sup> Al respecto de la pluralización de *clavis*, remitimos a la nota 4. Sobre el lugar de residencia de las tres patricias de la *ep.* 12, 2, véase la nota 16.

las cuales aparece *claves* en lugar de *clavis*, plural que invita a pensar en el envío de más de una llave; no obstante, ya que no se menciona a ningún otro beneficiario de este presente y que la redacción resulta más bien literaria, hemos optado por contabilizar estos casos como un solo envío relicario. En segundo, un par de epístolas se envían a múltiples destinatarios – *ep.* 7, 23, a Teoctista y Andrés; y 12, 2, a Savinela, Columba y Gala –, hecho que puede inducir a pensar que se expide más de una *clavis*, a pesar de que no aparece en plural en ninguna de ellas. Esto no parece ser válido para la *ep.* 7, 23, en la cual no constatamos ningún indicio seguro que nos permita duplicar su número, y además Andrés ya había recibido previamente una llave con limaduras de cadenas petrinas – *ep.* 1, 29–; sin embargo, en la *ep.* 12, 2, se indica su envío *a paribus*, hecho que nos inclina a triplicar las *benedictiones* enviadas a las patricias residentes en *Africa* y para las cuales no documentamos un envío anterior.

## 1. Reliquias fundacionales

### 1.1. Menciones explícitas

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
<b>1, 52</b> (julio 591)  JUAN, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Sorrentinus</i> (9, 45)	<i>monasterium sancti</i> <i>Stephani insulae</i> <i>Capris</i>	<i>reliquiae</i>  ÁGATA	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11- 17, 24, 26  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>2, 6</b> (5 de octubre 591)  FÉLIX, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Messanensis</i>	<i>basilica intra</i> <i>ciuitatem</i> <i>Messanensem</i>  [JANUARIO, <i>diaconus</i> <i>ecclesiae Messanensis</i> ]	<i>sanctuaría</i>  ESTEBAN, PANCRACIO y EUPLO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 17, 22-24, 26-27, 30-31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>2, 11</b> (enero 592)  CASTORIO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Ariminensis</i>	<i>oratorium</i> <i>intra ciuitatem</i> <i>Ariminensem</i>  [TIMOTEA, <i>illustris</i> <i>femina</i> ]	<i>sanctuaría</i>  SANTA CRUZ	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 17, 23-24, 26-27, 31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>3, 3</b> (septiembre 592)  JUAN, <i>abbas</i> <i>Syracusanus</i>	<i>basilica</i> <i>constantiniana?</i>	<i>tunica</i>  JUAN	  [petición gregoriana de reliquias]

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
3, 19 (enero 593)  PEDRO, <i>subdiaconus Campaniae</i>	<i>ecclesia iuxta domum Merulanam regione tertia, quam superstitio diu Arriana detinuit</i>	<i>reliquiae</i>  SEVERINO	[petición gregoriana de reliquias]
4, 8 (septiembre 593)  JANUARIO, <i>episcopus Caralitanus</i>	<i>monasterium ancillarum in domo iuri sui intra ciuitatem Caralitanam</i>  [TEODOSIA, <i>religiosa femina</i> (viuda de ESTEBAN)]	<i>reliquiae</i>  sin asignación	[solicitud de consagración]
6, 22 (enero 596)  PEDRO, <i>episcopus Aleriensis</i>	<i>basilica cum baptisterio in loco Nigeuno in possessione quae Cellas Cupias appellatur iuris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae</i>	<i>sanctuaría</i>  PEDRO y LORENZO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 16, 27  [envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]
6, 45 (julio 596)  LEONCIO, <i>episcopus Ariminensis (uisitator)</i>	<i>basilica concremata et restaurata (intra Ariminensem ciuitatem)</i>	<i>reliquiae / sanctuaría</i>  ESTEBAN	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 27  [solicitud de consagración]
6, 50 (julio 596)  PALADIO, <i>episcopus Santoniensis</i>  [LEUPARICO, <i>praesbyter (Gallus)</i> ]	<i>ecclesia (intra ciuitatem Santonensem?)</i>	<i>reliquiae</i>  PEDRO, PABLO, LORENZO y PANCRACTIO	[envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]
6, 58 (julio 596)  BRUNILDA, <i>regina Francorum</i>  [LEUPARICO, <i>praesbyter (Gallus)</i> ]	<i>ecclesia?</i>	<i>reliquiae</i>  PEDRO y PABLO	[envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
<b>9, 45</b> (octubre 598)  JUAN, <i>episcopus Sorrentinus</i> (1, 52); AGNELO, <i>episcopus Terracinensis</i> ; FÉLIX, <i>episcopus Portuensis</i> ; FORTUNATO, <i>episcopus Neapolitanus</i> (3, 58; 5, 50; 9, 166 y 182); PRIMENIO, <i>episcopus Nuceriensis</i> ; GLORIOSO, <i>episcopus Ostiensis</i> ; ALVINO, <i>episcopus Formiensis</i>	<i>basilica</i>  [GREGORIO, <i>expraefectus praetorio per Italiam</i> ]	<i>sanctuarium beatorum martyrum</i>  sin asignación	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27  [petición de reliquias]
<b>9, 49</b> (noviembre 598)  CRISANTO, <i>episcopus Spoletinus</i> (9, 59)	<i>fons in basilica beatae Mariae semper uirginis genetricis Dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi intra ciuitatem Reatinam</i>	<i>reliquiae / sanctuarium</i>  HERMES, JACINTO y MÁXIMO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 16-17, 24, 26-27, 31  [envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]
<b>9, 58</b> (noviembre 598)  PASIVO, <i>episcopus Firmensis</i> (9, 72; 13, 16)	<i>oratorium in fundo Visiano iuxta muros ciuitatis Firmanae</i>  [VALERIO, <i>notarius ecclesiae Firmanae</i> ]	<i>sanctuarium</i>  SABINO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15-17, 23-24, 26-27, 30-31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>9, 59</b> (noviembre 598)  CRISANTO, <i>episcopus Spoletinus</i> (9, 49)		<i>sanctuarium</i>  SABINO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27, 31  [petición de reliquias]
<b>9, 72</b> (noviembre-diciembre 598)  PASIVO, <i>episcopus Firmensis</i> (9, 58; 13, 16)	<i>oratorium in castrum Aprutiensem</i>  [ANIO, <i>comes castris Aprutiensis</i> ]	<i>sanctuarium</i>  PEDRO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15-16, 23-24, 26, 30-31  [envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]



REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
9, 181 (julio 599)  BENENATO, <i>episcopus Tundaritanus</i>	<i>oratorium in massa Furiana iuris sui</i>  [JANUARIA, <i>religiosa femina</i> ]	<i>sanctuaría</i>	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15-17, 23-24, 26-27, 30-31 [solicitud de consagración]
9, 182 (julio 599)  FORTUNATO, <i>episcopus Neapolitanus</i> (3, 58; 5, 50; 9, 45 y 166)		<i>reliquiae</i>  JULIANA y SEVERINO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27, 31  [petición de reliquias]
9, 184 (julio 599)  CONSTANCIO, <i>episcopus Mediolanensis</i>  [EVENCIO, <i>diaconus Mediolanensis</i> ]	<i>ecclesia?</i>	<i>reliquiae / sanctuaría</i>  PABLO, JUAN y PANCRACTIO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 16, 27  [envío gregoriano] [solicitud de consagración]
9, 233 (agosto 599)  DECIO, <i>episcopus Lillibitanus</i>	<i>monasterium ancillarum in domo iuris sui intra ciuitatem Lillibitanam</i> [ADEODATA, <i>illustris et gloriosa femina</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  PEDRO, LORENZO, HERMES, PANCRACTIO, SEBASTIÁN e INÉS	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15-17, 23-24, 26, 30-31  [solicitud de consagración]
11, 5 (septiembre 600)  ADEODATA, <i>illustris et gloriosa femina</i>		<i>reliquiae</i>	  [envío gregoriano]
11, 13 (octubre 600)  JANUARIO, <i>episcopus Caralitana</i>	<i>monasterium</i>  [EPIFANIO, <i>lector ecclesiae Caralitana</i> ]	<i>reliquiae</i>  sin asignación	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27, 31  [petición de reliquias]
11, 19 (enero 601)  PASCASIO, <i>episcopus Neapolitanus</i>	<i>oratorium</i>  [VENANCIO, <i>domnus</i> ]	<i>sanctuaría</i>  SEVERINO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27, 31  [autorización de traslado de reliquias]

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
<b>11, 20</b> (febrero 601)  MARIANO, <i>episcopus Arabiae</i>  [CÁNDIDO, <i>abbas Arabiae</i> ]	<i>ecclesia?</i>	<i>reliquiae</i>  sin asignación	[envío gregoriano]
<b>11, 57</b> (julio 601)  PEDRO, <i>episcopus Ydrontinus</i>	<i>monasterium beati Leucii in quinto miliario Romanae urbis</i>	<i>sanctuarium</i>  LEUCIO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 12-14, 17, 26-27  [petición de reliquias]
<b>14, 7</b> (noviembre 603)  ALCISÓN, <i>episcopus Corcyritanus</i> ( <b>14, 13</b> )	<i>ecclesia in castro Cassiopi</i>	<i>corpus</i>  DONATO	[autorización de traslado del cuerpo del mártir]  [autorización de traslado del cuerpo del mártir]
<b>14, 13</b> (enero 604)  ALCISÓN, <i>episcopus Corcyritanus</i> ( <b>14, 7</b> )	<i>ecclesia beati Iohannis in castro Cassiopi</i>	<i>corpus</i>  DONATO	

## 1.2. Menciones implícitas

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
<b>1, 54</b> (julio 591)  PEDRO, <i>subdiaconus Siciliae</i>	<i>oratorium in cella fratrum</i> (= <i>monasterium praetoritanum in Sicilia?</i> )  [GREGORIO, <i>episcopus Romanus</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  VIRGEN MARÍA	[solicitud de consagración]
<b>3, 58</b> (agosto 593)  FORTUNATO, <i>episcopus Neapolitanus</i> ( <b>5, 50; 9, 45, 166 y 182</b> )	<i>oratorium monasterii ancillarum in ciuitate Neapolitana in domo propria in regione Herculensi in uico qui appellatur Lampadi</i>  [RÚSTICA, <i>patricia</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  VIRGEN MARÍA SALVADOR (CRISTO)	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 15-16  [solicitud de consagración]

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	LUGAR DE DESTINO [Y EVERGETA]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA Y SANTO VENERANDO	PARALELOS FORMULARIOS [Y TIPOLOGÍA]
<b>5, 50</b> (6 de junio 595)  FORTUNATO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Neapolitanus</i> (3, 58; 9, 45, 166 y 182)	<i>oratorium sancti</i> <i>Martini in domo</i> <i>Marini</i>  [MARINO]	no se mencionan reliquias  PEDRO y MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 16, 31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>8, 5</b> (octubre 597)  VENANCIO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Lunensis</i>	<i>monasterium</i> <i>ancillarum intra</i> <i>ciuitatem Lunensem</i> <i>in domo propria</i>  [VENANCIO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Lunensis</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  PEDRO, HERMES, SEBASTIÁN, PABLO y JUAN	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 17, 24, 26, 31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>9, 166</b> (junio 599)  FORTUNATO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Neapolitanus</i> (3, 58; 5, 50; 9, 45 y 182)	<i>monasterium in</i> <i>domo iuris sui (in</i> <i>ciuitatem Neapolim)</i>  [ROMANO, <i>uir</i> <i>spectabilis</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  HERMES, SEBASTIÁN, CIRIACO y PANCRACIO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 17, 24, 26  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>13, 16</b> (noviembre 602)  PASIVO, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Firmensis</i> (9, 58 y 72)	<i>monasterium in</i> <i>fundo Gressiano iuris</i> <i>sui</i>  [PRÓCULO, <i>diaconus</i> <i>ecclesiae Asculanae</i> ]	no se mencionan reliquias  SABINO	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 11, 15- 17, 23-24, 26, 30-31  [solicitud de consagración]
<b>14, 9</b> (diciembre 603)  JUAN, <i>episcopus</i> <i>Bruttiorum</i>	<i>basilica</i>	no se mencionan reliquias  VIRGEN MARÍA	<i>Lib. diurn.</i> , 19-20  [solicitud de consagración]

### 1.3. Casos particulares

REFERENCIA, DESTINATARIO Y DATACIÓN [Y PORTADOR]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA
<b>11, 56</b> (18 de julio 601)  MELITÓN, <i>abbas in Franciis</i>	<i>reliquiae sanctorum martyrum (illic [in ecclesiis ex fanis] ponuntur)</i>  sin asignación
BEDA, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> , 1, 29 (c. 601)  AGUSTÍN, <i>episcopus Cantuariensis</i>  [MELITÓN, <i>abbas in Franciis, et legatariis suis</i> ]	<i>sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquiae</i>  sin asignación

A partir del enunciado de la *ep.* 11, 56 y del pasaje de Beda, puede deducirse que las reliquias<sup>50</sup> verosíblemente portadas por la comitiva de Melitón que aparecen en ambos documentos son las mismas y que su destino sería las iglesias del reino de Kent, tanto las existentes o restauradas como las de nuevo cuño; sin embargo, no las incluimos en nuestro cómputo por no estar verificadas de un modo sobrado.

## 2. Reliquias personales

### 2.1. Reliquias personales enviadas por Gregorio Magno

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA	OBSERVACIONES
<b>1, 25</b> (febrero 591) <i>ANASTASIO, episcopus et patriarcha Antiochenus</i> [BONIFACIO, <i>defensor</i> ]	<i>claves beati Petri apostolorum</i>	Anastasio había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla; era patriarca – depuesto, en aquel momento – de Antioquía
<b>1, 29</b> (febrero 591) <i>ANDRÉS, uir illustris</i>	<i>clavis sancti Petri cum catenis</i>	Andrés había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla
<b>1, 30</b> (febrero 591) <i>JUAN, exconsul, patricius et quaestor sacri palatii</i>	<i>clavis sancti Petri cum catenis</i>	Juan había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla
<b>3, 33</b> (abril 593) <i>DINAMIO, patricius Galliarum et exrector patrimonioli</i> [HILARO, <i>chartularius Romanus</i> ]	<i>crux cum catenis beati Petri apostoli et partibus craticulae beati Laurentii</i>	Dinamio había administrado el <i>patrimoniolum</i> romano en la Provenza
<b>3, 47</b> (julio 593) <i>COLUMBO, episcopus Numidicus</i> [VICTORINO, <i>diaconus Numidicus</i> ]	<i>claves beati Petri apostolorum principis cum catenis</i>	Columbo era el hombre de confianza de Gregorio en Numidia; debía actuar en contra del “donatismo”

<sup>50</sup> Véanse las notas 8, 13, 40 y 74. También cabe la nada desdeñable posibilidad de que ya Agustín hubiera llevado consigo *sanctuaria* para la consagración de los posibles nuevos templos.

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA	OBSERVACIONES
<b>4, 27</b> (mayo 594) HOSPITO, <i>dux Barbaricinorum</i> [FÉLIX, <i>episcopus ex Italia in Sardinia missus</i> , y CIRIACO, <i>seruus Dei</i> ]	<i>benedictio sancti Petri apostolic</i>	Hospito debía guiar a su pueblo, los <i>Barbaricini</i> , en su conversión al catolicismo
<b>4, 30</b> (junio 594) CONSTANTINA, <i>augusta imperatrix</i>	<i>benedictio de catenis sancti Pauli apostoli</i>	Constantina, emperatriz y esposa de Mauricio, había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla e incluso lo había hecho padrino de su hijo Teodosio
<b>6, 6</b> (septiembre 595) CHILDEBERTO II, <i>rex Francorum</i>	<i>claves sancti Petri cum catenis</i>	Childeberto debía facilitar el paso a la comitiva misionaria de Agustín
<b>7, 23</b> (junio 597) TEOCTISTA, <i>patricia</i> , y ANDRÉS, <i>uir illustris</i> ( <b>1, 29</b> ) [SABINIANO, <i>diaconus Romanus</i> ]	<i>clavis sancti Petri cum catenis</i>	Teoctista y Andrés habían trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla; también habían donado 30 libras de oro para el rescate de prisioneros de Crotona
<b>7, 25</b> (junio 597) TEODORO, <i>medicus Constantinopolitanus</i> [SABINIANO, <i>diaconus Romanus</i> ]	<i>clavis sancti Petri cum catenis</i>	Teodoro había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla; había efectuado además una donación caritativa
<b>8, 33</b> (agosto 598) LEONCIO, <i>exconsul</i>	<i>clavis sancti Petri apostolorum principis cum catenis</i>	Leoncio quizás había trabado amistad con Gregorio durante su estancia en Constantinopla a través de un amigo común, Domiciano de Melitene; se encontraba en misión especial en Sicilia
<b>9, 229</b> (agosto 599) RECARDO <i>rex Gothorum atque Sueuorum</i> [PROBINO, <i>praesbyter Romanus?</i> ]	<i>clavis beati Petri apostoli cum catenis crux cum lignum crucis et capillos beati Iohannis Baptistae</i>	Recaredo, converso al catolicismo, debía guiar a los visigodos en su nueva fe; se informa además de la concesión del <i>pallium</i> a Leandro; Gregorio recibe 300 <i>cucullae</i> en donación

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA	OBSERVACIONES
<b>11, 43</b> (22 de junio 601) ASCLEPIODOTO, <i>patricius Gallorum et rector prouinciae</i>	<i>clauis beati Petri apostoli cum catenis</i>	Asclepiodoto debía colaborar con Cándido, <i>rector del patrimonium romano en la Provenza</i> , y acaso facilitar el paso a la comitiva misionaria de Melitón
<b>12, 2</b> (septiembre 601) SAVINELA, COLUMBA y GALA, <i>gloriosae filiae</i> [HILARO, <i>chartularius Romanus</i> ]	<i>clauis beati Petri apostoli cum catenis</i>	Las tres patricias, residentes en <i>Africa</i> , pero de probable origen romano, se distinguían por sus obras de caridad
<b>13, 43</b> (julio 603) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i>	<i>crux paruula cum catenis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>	Eulogio había enviado <i>eulogiae sancti Marci</i> ; era patriarca de una de las sedes petrinas en Oriente
<b>14, 12</b> (diciembre 603) TEODELINDA, <i>regina Langobardorum</i>	<i>crux cum lignum crucis</i>	Adaloaldo fue bautizado en la fe católica – aunque tricapitolina – y se esperaba que le beneficiara en su reinado; además, Gregorio le envía un <i>euangeliarium in theca Persica</i> , así como tres anillos para su hermana Gundeperga, a quien no se cita

Merece la pena también recordar tres posibles identificaciones materiales de sendos presentes gregorianos citados en esta tabla. En primer lugar, puede que la *crux cum lignum crucis et capillos beati Iohannis Baptistae* enviada a Recaredo<sup>51</sup> se corresponda con la cruz que, según el *Liber Ordinum*, llevaban consigo los reyes visigodos en sus campañas militares y que, al menos hasta el siglo XII, se conservaba en la catedral de Oviedo. En segundo, se conservan en el Museo del Duomo de Monza dos objetos conocidos como el Evangelionario de Teodelinda y la Cruz de Adaloaldo que la tradición identifica como regalos<sup>52</sup> del pontífice, un hecho probable a juzgar por su datación entre los siglos VI y VII.

<sup>51</sup> FROLOW, *La relique*, p. 100; y GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, *El culto*, p. 122.

<sup>52</sup> L. CARAMEL, “Dalle testimonianze cristiane al Mille”, en ID. y M. MIRABELLA ROBERTI (ed.), *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, IV/1. *Dall'età romana al Rinascimento*, Milano, Il Polifilo, 1976, p. 83-271, p. 137-139; A. PERONI, “L'arte nell'età longobarda. Una traccia”, en M. G. ARCAMONE et al. (ed.), *Magistra barbaritas. I barbari in Italia*, Milano, Garzanti-Scheiwiller, 1984<sup>2</sup> (*Antica Madre* 7), p. 229-297, p. 237-238, FIG. 132 y 134, respectiva-

## 2.2. Envíos de otros objetos sacros para uso personal no documentados en el epistolario gregoriano

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO	TIPO DE OBJETO	OBSERVACIONES
PAVL. DIAC., <i>Hist. Lang.</i> 4, 5 (antes del 604)  TEODELINDA, <i>regina Langobardorum</i>	<i>codex Dialogorum</i>	Gregorio envía el volumen de los <i>Dialogi</i> como lectura edificante en la fe de Cristo
(antes del 604)  TEODELINDA, <i>regina Langobardorum</i>	<i>ampullae</i>	Gregorio envía – verosíblemente – las <i>ampullae</i> con aceites santificados en diversas iglesias romanas para satisfacer la devoción de Teodelinda

Y una indicación marginal acerca de un regalo que Gregorio podría haber enviado a Teodelinda, una pieza de orfebrería en oro de una *gallina cum pullulis*, cuya difícil interpretación se ha relacionado con una representación simbólica de la Iglesia y sus fieles que aparece en *Mat.*, 23, 37. Tanto la factura de la pieza como sus paralelos iconográficos la fechan entre los siglos VI y VII, y así opinan diversos autores<sup>53</sup>. Encontramos especialmente interesante un paralelo aducido por Farioli Campanati<sup>54</sup>, quien opina que una pintura presente en el códice griego Z.479 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana correspondiente al *Cynegeticum* del Pseudo Opiano ofrece una iconografía muy similar a la de la escultura de Monza. Al respecto de esta escultura, conocida como las “gallinas de Teodelinda” y conservada también en el Museo del Duomo de Monza, debemos apuntar un hecho que creemos que ha pasado desapercibido hasta ahora: en la *ep.* 5, 46 al galeno Teodoro, el Magno manifiesta la intención de enviarle como obsequio –¿lo hizo?– un *anas cum actacis*, posiblemente una pequeña escultura representando

mente; FARIOLI CAMPANATI, “La cultura artistica”, p. 354-356, FIG. 279 y 282; y R. CONTI, “Coperta dell’Evangelario di Teodelinda”, en E. A. ARSLAN y G. C. MENIS (ed.), *I longobardi*, Milano, Electa, 1990, p. 352-355, FIG. IX.24.

<sup>53</sup> G. HASELOFF, “Die Funde aus den Sarkophag der Königin Theodolinda im Monza”, *Germania*, 30 (1952), p. 368-377; PERONI, “L’arte”, p. 238; FARIOLI CAMPANATI, “La cultura artistica”, p. 355, FIG. 284; R. CONTI, “Chioccia con pulcini”, en E. A. ARSLAN y G. C. MENIS (ed.), *I longobardi*, Milano, Electa, 1990, p. 233, FIG. IV.17; y BONALUMI, *Teodelinda*, p. 163.

<sup>54</sup> FARIOLI CAMPANATI, “La cultura artistica”, p. 355, FIG. 283; *contra*, A. PAZIENZA, *Longobardi di Tuscia. Fonti archeologiche, ricerca erudita e la costruzione di un paesaggio altomedievale (secoli VII-XX)*, Padova, 2009, p. 28-29, n. 89, quien data el conjunto entre los siglos IX y X en contra de la datación tradicional [tesis doctoral en red disponible en <<http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it/1567/1/TESI.pdf>> (consultada el 17 de marzo de 2016)].



un ánade con sus crías que se asemejaría mucho al conjunto de joyería<sup>55</sup> de la reina longobarda que la tradición atribuye a un presente gregoriano.

### 2.3. Reliquias personales enviadas a Gregorio Magno

REFERENCIA, DATACIÓN Y DESTINATARIO [Y PORTADOR]	TIPO DE RELIQUIA	OBSERVACIONES
5, 42 (1 de junio 595) ANASTASIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Antiochenus</i> (8, 2)	<i>benedictio sancti Ignatii Antiocheni</i>	Anastasio había recibido <i>claves beati Petri apostolorum</i> ( <i>uide 1, 25</i> de la sección 2.1)
5, 46 (1 de junio 595) TEODORO, <i>medicus Constantinopolitanus</i>	<i>benedictio</i>	Teodoro envía, además, dinero para el rescate de prisioneros; por esta razón, recibirá una <i>clavis sancti Petri cum catenis</i> más adelante ( <i>uide 7, 25</i> de la sección 2.1)
6, 61 (julio 596) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i> (7, 37; 8, 28; 10, 21; 13, 43) [ISIDORO, <i>diaconus Alexandrinus</i> ]	<i>benedictio sancti Marci euangelistae</i>	
7, 29 (junio 597) ANASTASIO, <i>presbyter Hierosolymitanus et abbas monasterii in ecclesia qua Nea dicitur</i>	<i>benedictio</i>	
7, 37 (julio 597) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i> (6, 61; 8, 28; 10, 21; 13, 43)	<i>benedictio sancti Marci euangelistae</i>	Eulogio recibe a su vez paramento litúrgico diverso – <i>sex minora Aquitanica pallia et duo oraria</i> – calificado de <i>paruula benedictio</i>

<sup>55</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 5, 46, p. 340. En cambio, RAPISARDA LO MENZO, “I doni”, p. 288, no indica que se trate de escultura alguna y parece apuntar al – inverosímil – envío de animales vivos –¡patos!– de Roma a Constantinopla. Cf. GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 11, 3, p. 861, donde Gregorio envía un caballo como presente a Eclesio, obispo de Chiusi; aunque las consecuencias del viaje para el animal no son comparables.

8, 2 (septiembre 597) ANASTASIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Antiochenus</i> (5, 42)	<i>benedictiones (sancti Ignatii Antiocheni?)</i>	
8, 28 (julio 598) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i> (6, 61; 7, 37; 10, 21; 13, 43)	<i>benedictio sancti Marci euangelistae</i>	
8, 33 (agosto 598) LEONCIO, <i>exconsul</i>	<i>oleum sanctae crucis [et alois lignum]</i>	Leoncio recibe a su vez una <i>clavis sancti Petri apostolorum principis cum catenis</i> (uide 8, 33 de la sección 2.1)
10, 21 (julio 600) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i> (6, 61; 7, 37; 8, 28; 13, 43) [ABRAMIO, <i>Alexandrinus</i> ]	<i>benedictio sancti Marci euangelistae</i>	
12, 1 (septiembre 601) DOMINICO, <i>episcopus Carthaginensis</i>	<i>benedictio beati martyris Agilegi</i>	
13, 43 (julio 603) EULOGIO, <i>episcopus et patriarcha Alexandrinus</i> (6, 61; 7, 37; 8, 28; 10, 21)	<i>eulogiae sancti Marci euangelistae</i>	Eulogio recibe a su vez una <i>crux paruula cum catenis sanctorum Petri et Pauli</i> (uide 13, 43 de la sección 2.1)

Queremos remarcar la diferencia<sup>56</sup> entre el *oleum sanctae crucis – et alois lignum* – citado en la *ep.* 8, 33 y el conjunto de óleos y esencias perfumadas – *alois, thymiama, storax et balsamum* – que envía el pontífice al *seruus Dei inclausus* Segundino en la *ep.* 9, 148; si el primer aceite ya está santificado por la cruz, el segundo se envía justamente para que adquiriera virtudes sacras *sanctorum martyrum corporibus offerenda* y, por tanto, no lo contabilizamos como *reliquia*.

<sup>56</sup> Véase al respecto: CANETTI, “*Olea sanctorum*”, p. 1372-1374, n. 78; y RIGANATI, “*Reliquie*”, p. 543-547. Véanse asimismo las notas 25-26 acerca de las *ampullae* de Monza.

Tampoco incluimos la mención a una *clavis* y a una *crux* – así como a un par de iconos – presentes en la epístola 10 del apéndice de la edición de Norberg, puesto que se trata muy verosímilmente de una interpolación<sup>57</sup> interesada del siglo VIII. Omitimos también de este listado las reliquias solicitadas por Gregorio en las *ep.* 3, 3 y 3, 19, puesto que, a pesar de haber sido recibidas con mucha probabilidad<sup>58</sup>, no tenemos constancia de ello en la documentación gregoriana.

Finalmente, queremos apuntar un dato significativo que no deja en buen lugar al pontífice. Si aceptó hasta once *benedictiones* de seis personajes distintos, tan sólo expidió 19 de diversa índole a 18 personajes; y el agravio comparativo resulta todavía más sangrante para con dos de sus amigos orientales: Anastasio recibió una por las dos que mandó, mientras que Eulogio obtuvo una sola en contra de las cinco que envió a Roma. Parece que la reciprocidad<sup>59</sup> no era equitativa entre ambas partes.

### 3. Comparativa con anteriores estudios de reliquias gregorianas

En este apartado, comparamos el recuento<sup>60</sup> de reliquias fundacionales y personales efectuado por otros autores, cuyos artículos suponen la contribución más notable al cómputo relicario gregoriano. Existen, en algunos casos, diferencias remarcables entre el número y la tipología de *reliquiae* establecidos por estos investigadores y nuestro propio cálculo – principalmente en cuanto a *sanctuaría* se refiere – y pensamos que su presentación en cuadros comparativos resulta mucho más gráfica y esclarecedora que su exposición textual. Asimismo, incorporamos breves anotaciones a alguno de estos cuadros para precisar la disparidad de criterios existente con los citados estudiosos.

<sup>57</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep., App.*, 10, p. 1104-1111. L. PIETRI, “Serenus de Marseille et Grégoire le Grand: une première querelle des images”, en M. MARITANO (ed.), *Historiam perscrutari. Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. O. Pasquato*, Roma, LAS, 2002 (*Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose* 180), p. 327-341, p. 332, n. 9; cf. *contra* RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 557-558, quien sí considera auténtico el texto de la carta relativo a reliquias e iconos.

<sup>58</sup> Al menos la *tunica* de Juan, aunque su confirmación es muy posterior al hecho; al respecto de las *reliquiae* de Severino, simplemente no tenemos más datos que confirmen o nieguen su recepción. Véanse las notas 41-42.

<sup>59</sup> Al respecto, remitimos a RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 542-543. Véase, además, la nota 47.

<sup>60</sup> Remitimos en concreto a la bibliografía citada en las notas 4 y 8. Excepto algunas excepciones, excluimos comentarios particulares a las ausencias de envíos epistolares que hemos echado en falta en las listas de otros autores relativas a reliquias fundacionales ya que pensamos que aparecen suficientemente detalladas en las notas y las tablas pertinentes; y esto repercute también en el cómputo de advocaciones a santos concretos, lógicamente.

Queremos comentar, no obstante, unas pocas desavenencias concretas con ciertos trabajos. Leyser<sup>61</sup> considera fundacional la *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina porque su propósito primero consistía en servir de depósito de consagración para una nueva iglesia *in palatio* a pesar de que acabó convirtiéndose en un *phylacterium* de uso personal; asimismo, estima personal la *ep.* 6, 58 a Brunilda cuando su enunciado apunta a la fundación de un desconocido templo en Austrasia, especialmente a partir de la mención de *condantur* [...] *beneficia* y de sus correspondientes *servientes*. Por otra parte, a las cartas citadas en nuestro elenco, Eidenschink<sup>62</sup> añade hasta 14 epístolas más que versan, en un modo u otro, sobre la dedicación de nuevas iglesias o nuevos oratorios; de éstas no recogemos más que tres y consideramos otra con reservas, puesto que, en ellas, no se cita en ningún caso la presencia de

<sup>61</sup> LEYSER, "The Temptations", p. 301-302; seguido en parte por RIGANATI, "Reliquie", p. 532-535 y 551. En efecto, Leyser hace de la *benedictio de catenis sancti Pauli* enviada a la emperatriz un *sanctuarium* cuando en realidad constituye un ejemplo claro de *phylacterium*; en el caso de la reina franca, Gregorio no especifica la forma que toman las *reliquiae beatorum apostolorum Petri ac Pauli* llevadas por el presbítero franco Leuparico, pero la citada mención de *servientes* de los *beneficia* y de su exención de toda carga fiscal nos revelan que se enviaron para servir en la fundación de una iglesia – ¿en Autun? ¿en Metz? – o para prestigiar más el templo y a Brunilda, su fundadora: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 6, 58; cf. 6, 50, dirigida a Paladio de Saintes, quien recibe del mismo presbítero reliquias de Pedro y Pablo – así como de Lorenzo y Pancracio – con una clara finalidad fundacional; véanse las notas 4 y 8. De distinta opinión a estos autores es ANDRIEU, *Les ordines Romani*, p. 362, n. 2, quien las incluye claramente en la categoría opuesta, como hacemos nosotros. Por otro lado, remitimos a la nota 48 para los argumentos que justifican la exclusión de algunos presentes gregorianos *ex benedictione sancti Petri* y a la nota 64 para el listado de casos constatados.

<sup>62</sup> EIDENSCHINK, "Dedication", p. 323-358, especialmente p. 334-349. Dado que, en su artículo, el autor trata de los rituales de consagración de iglesias, oratorios y monasterios, así como de las especificidades de su condición o mantenimiento, engloba una serie de epístolas que no contemplamos en nuestro estudio. Así, algunas cartas versan sobre la *consecratio* de nuevos templos – GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 54, p. 67; 5, 2, p. 267; y 14, 9, p. 1079 –, las disposiciones testamentarias – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 4, 10, p. 227-228; 6, 44, p. 416-417; y 9, 138 y 166, p. 688-689 y 724-725 –, la *dedicatio* al culto católico de una iglesia arriana – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 4, 19, p. 237: véase la nota 41 –, la prohibición de misas públicas – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 6, 46, p. 418-419; y 13, 17, p. 1018 – o el consentimiento de misas privadas – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 6, 43, p. 415-416 – en determinados oratorios, el conflicto por la conversión en iglesias de sinagogas judías – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 8, 25, p. 546-547; y 9, 38, p. 597 – o la teoría de sustitución cultural en la evangelización del reino de Kent – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 11, 37 y 56 (en ésta sí se mencionan reliquias), p. 932 y 961-962 –, aspectos todos ellos en relación con la normativa fundacional y consagratória de templos definida por la Iglesia romana. De todas estas cartas, en nuestro elenco, tan sólo incluimos tres – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 1, 54, p. 67; 9, 166, p. 724-725; y 14, 9, p. 1079 – como susceptibles de haber salido con casi toda certeza del *officium Lateranensis*, mientras que consideramos una cuarta – ID., *Reg. ep.*, 11, 56, p. 961-962; véase la nota 13 – como un caso particular. Por otro lado, Eidenschink olvida incorporar la *ep.* 3, 58, motivada por la disposición testamentaria de la *patricia* Rústica cuya reclamación realiza Graciosa, la abadesa del monasterio femenino fundado por voluntad de la aristócrata napolitana.

reliquias. En nuestro trabajo, todas las epístolas referenciadas mencionan – o aluden, siquiera implícitamente – la existencia de *sanctuaría* para los textos documentados.

En cuanto a *benedictiones* se refiere, queremos mencionar una divergencia con tres autores por una “simple” cuestión editorial que, si bien no es grave, redundante en una diferencia en el cómputo relicario: se trata de la discordancia resultante entre la publicación del *Registrum* en los *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* y en el *Corpus Christianorum*. Como quiera que, a diferencia de la reciente edición de Norberg, Ewald y Hartmann entienden que la *ep.* 9, 229 a Recaredo consta de dos documentos diferentes – la carta propiamente dicha y un anagnóstico – y, además, duplican – *clavis alia* – la llave expedida al rey visigodo, Dunn, Susman y McCulloh hacen lo propio y suman una reliquia personal inexistente a su lista<sup>63</sup>. Asimismo, Leyser<sup>64</sup> incluye hasta ocho envíos epistolares entre las reliquias personales a partir de la expresión *ex benedictione sancti Petri*, un argumento muy débil cuando se trata de vestidos para esclavos, un caballo o diez *solidi*, por ejemplo. No incluimos ninguna de estas epístolas en nuestro cómputo, pero las indicamos con un asterisco, puesto que sí que las contabilizamos en el suyo; y aplicamos el mismo signo diacrítico a otras cartas tomadas en consideración por otros investigadores y que hemos desestimado en nuestro trabajo. En último lugar, hacemos constar algunos “olvidos” que hacen divergir el cómputo final, como la *ep.* 14, 12 a Teodelinda por parte de Dunn, Susman y Leyser o las *ep.* 11, 43 y 12, 2 por Cracco Ruggini<sup>65</sup>, quien además duplica erróneamente – a nuestro parecer – la llave enviada a Teoctista.

<sup>63</sup> Véase la nota 4 para las conclusiones de estos autores.

<sup>64</sup> LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 300, n. 51. Se trata de los siguientes presentes: *duae camisiae et quattuor oraria; sex minora Aquitanica pallia et duo oraria* (calificados por el propio Gregorio de *paruula benedictio*); *uiginti annonae uestiti ad pueros uestros; cuculla et tunica; unus caballus; exenia; paratura una; decem [annuos] solidi*. Véanse, respectivamente: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 7, 27 y 37, p. 485 y 502; 10, 12, p. 839; 11, 1, 3 y 37, p. 859, 861 y 932; 12, 13, p. 987; y 13, 21, p. 1022; aunque omite 14, 12, p. 1083, donde se menciona el *eu-angeliarium in theca Persica* que tampoco incluimos. Para la expresión *ex benedictione sancti Petri* y la inclusión – o exclusión – de estos *dona* en nuestro estudio, véase la nota 48. Acerca de los diversos paramentos litúrgicos y devocionales presentes en el epistolario gregoriano, véase RIGANATI, “Reliquie”, p. 559-576.

<sup>65</sup> CRACCO RUGGINI, “Grégoire le Grand”, p. 87, n. 22. Incomprensiblemente, la estudiosa italiana contempla la *ep.* 12, 2 y analiza el *origo* de sus destinatarias – Savinela, Columba y Gala – en su primer estudio, mientras que las bandea – al igual que Dunn, Susman o Leyser – en el segundo, como hace también con la *ep.* 11, 43 a Asclepiodoto: véanse las notas 4 y 15-16. En el caso del envío a Teoctista, hemos de reconocer que el texto de la *ep.* 7, 23 resulta un tanto confuso cuando habla de la llave que propició la providencial intervención del longobardo y católico Mimulfo, así como de la copia que el rey Autarit envió a Pelagio II junto con la *clavis* original; y pensamos que Gregorio tan sólo envió una de estas llaves a la patricia – presumiblemente la que obró el milagro –, pero no las dos, máxime cuando Andrés

Creemos haber sido claros a la hora de exponer los datos epistolares relativos a este cómputo relicario en estas tablas comparativas – para las cuales remitimos a las indicaciones comentadas en la introducción al bloque C –, aunque siempre pueden cuestionarse algunos aspectos metodológicos. Al respecto de los dos primeros cuadros, debemos especificar las categorías en las que hemos dividido las epístolas concernientes: si bien resulta evidente que, bajo el epígrafe “Envío”, nos referimos obviamente a la expedición de reliquias por parte de Gregorio, el título “Permiso” engloba tanto la orden o la autorización de consagración – o traslación – remitida por el pontífice como la petición de reliquias ajenas para su deposición en un nuevo lugar de culto cristiano; y obramos así porque primamos el envío por encima de cualquier otra gestión relicaria. Debe añadirse, además, que, en algunos casos, la misma carta – o doblete – documenta un envío gregoriano al tiempo que expresa la demanda – o consentimiento – de *dedicatio* del templo, casos que hemos contabilizado como una sola entrada a la hora de cuantificarlas en las tablas referentes a “Advocaciones a santos” o “Lugares de destino”. Por último, hemos optado por poner en cursiva aquellos ejemplos en los que existe alguna “irregularidad”, es decir, los *sanctuaría* fundacionales cuya mención es implícita o las cruces que no contamos entre las *benedictiones* petrinas.

### 3.1. Envíos y permisos de reliquias fundacionales

EPÍSTOLA	ANDRIEU		EIDENSCHINK		LEYSER		CRACCO RUGGINI		MAYMÓ	
	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO
1, 52				●	●			●		●
1, 54				●						●
2, 6				●	●			●		●
2, 11		●		●				●		●
3, 3										●
3, 19		●		●						●
3, 58		●		●						●
4, 8				●				●		●
4, 30 *					●					
5, 50		●		●						●
6, 22		●	●	●	●		●		●	●
6, 45		●		●	●			●		●
6, 50	●		●	●	●				●	●
6, 58	●		●	●			●		●	●
8, 5		●		●		●				●
9, 45				●						●

– codestinatario de la epístola a Teoctista – ya había recibido su propia *benedictio* petrina con anterioridad, según indica la *ep.* 1, 29; remitimos asimismo a la introducción de este bloque.

EPÍSTOLA	ANDRIEU		EIDENSCHINK		LEYSER		CRACCO RUGGINI		MAYMÓ	
	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO
9, 49				●	●				●	●
9, 58		●		●				●		●
9, 59		●		●						●
9, 72				●	●		●		●	●
9, 166				●		●				●
9, 181		●		●				●		●
9, 182		●		●				●		●
9, 184			●	●	●				●	●
9, 233				●				●		●
11, 5	●				●		●		●	
11, 13										●
11, 19		●		●						●
11, 20	●						●		●	
11, 57		●								●
13, 16				●						●
14, 7										●
14, 13										●
14, 9				●						●
TOTAL	5	13	4	26	10	2	5	9	8	31

Debemos explicitar que hemos excluido de este primer cuadro comparativo los elencos de Braun<sup>66</sup> y Riganati<sup>67</sup>, puesto que no distinguen entre envíos relicarios y autorizaciones de consagración. Asimismo, en el caso de Cracco Ruggini, hemos fusionado las conclusiones de los dos artículos citados, resultando de ello un listado más homogéneo y completo; y esto tanto en lo relativo a reliquias fundacionales como – en especial – a personales.

Al hilo de la ambigüedad indicada bajo el epígrafe “Permiso”, cabe desglosar los 30 ejemplos confirmados – no incluimos la *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina por devenir reliquia personal y contamos los dobletes singularmente – en esta categoría para su mejor comprensión: en 21 casos, se alude a la consagración de un nuevo templo, ya sea mediante una orden pontificia o una mera autorización a una demanda previa por parte del obispo solicitante – *ep.* 1, 52 y 54; 2, 6 y 11; 3, 58; 4, 8; 5, 50; 6, 22, 45, 50 y 58; 8, 5; 9, 49, 58-59, 72, 166, 181-182, 184 y 233 (cf. 11, 5); 11, 19 y 20; 13, 16; y 14, 7, 9 y 13–; nos hallamos ante una petición de reliquias ajenas para terceras personas en cinco ocasiones – *ep.* 9, 45, 59, 182; 11, 13 y

<sup>66</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 3, 19, p. 165; 4, 8 y 30, p. 224 y 250; 6, 22, 45 y 50, p. 392, 418 y 423; y 9, 49, 58, 181 y 184, p. 608, 615-616, 738 y 740. Para la referencia de Braun, véase la nota 8.

<sup>67</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 1, 52, p. 65; 2, 6 y 11, p. 94 y 98; 3, 19, p. 165; 4, 30, p. 250; 6, 22, 45, 50 y 58, p. 392, 418, 423 y 431; 9, 45, 49, 58-59, 72, 181-182, 184 y 233, p. 604, 608, 615-616, 627-628, 738-740 y 815; 11, 5, 19-20 y 57, p. 866, 889-890 y 963; y 14, 7 y 13, p. 1075 y 1084-1085. La referencia de Riganati se halla igualmente en la nota 8.



57–, mientras que sólo verificamos un par de solicitudes gregorianas – *ep.* 3, 3 y 19–; y, en último lugar, documentamos dos veces la autorización de traslado de *reliquiae* – *ep.* 11, 19; y 14, 7 y 13 –. Nótese, además, que siete de los ocho envíos gregorianos – excepción hecha de 11, 20 – incluyen la consagración del lugar de culto con las reliquias expedidas por el pontífice como parte del protocolo fundacional: *ep.* 6, 22, 50 y 58; 9, 49, 58-59, 72, 181-182 y 184; y 9, 233 y 11, 5, en los cuales una de las dos cartas siempre contiene una demanda de *consecratio*.

Por otra parte, descontados los tres envíos al extranjero – dos a *Francia* y uno a *Arabia*: *ep.* 6, 50 y 58; y 11, 20, respectivamente – y la autorización de traslado del *corpus beati Donati* en Corfú – *ep.* 14, 7 y 13; diócesis griega que dependía entonces de la sede romana–, la destinación de las reliquias fundacionales mencionadas se localiza abrumadoramente en Italia: hasta nueve en la zona de Lacio y Campania – *ep.* 1, 52; 3, 3, 19 y 58; 5, 50; 9, 49 y 166; y 11, 19 y 57 –, siete en las islas – *ep.* 1, 54; 2, 6; 4, 8; 6, 22; 9, 181-182; 9, 233 y 11, 5; y 11, 13–, cinco en el futuro ducado de Pentápolis – *ep.* 2, 11; 6, 45; 9, 58-59 y 72; y 13, 16–, dos en la costa ligure – *ep.* 8, 5; y 9, 184 –, otra en el sur peninsular – *ep.* 14, 9–, mientras que una de ellas permanece incógnita – *ep.* 9, 45 –, aunque muy probablemente se ubique en Sicilia.

### 3.2. Advocaciones a santos en reliquias fundacionales

SANTO VENERANDO	EIDENSCHINK		LEYSER		CRACCO RUGGINI		MAYMÓ	
	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO	ENVÍO	PERMISO
ÁGATA		1	1			1		1
CIRIACO		1		1				1
DONATO								1
ESTEBAN		2	2			2		2
EUPLO		1	1			1		1
HERMES		4	2	2	1	1	2	2
INÉS		1	1		1	1	1	
JACINTO		1	1				1	
JUAN	1	1	1	1			1	2
JULIANA		2				1		1
LEUCIO								1
LORENZO	2	1	3		2	1	3	
MÁXIMO		1	1				1	
MIGUEL ARCÁNGEL								1
PABLO	3	1	3	1	1		3	1
PANCRACIO	2	3	4	1	1	2	3	2
PEDRO	3	2	3	1	4	1	5	2
SABINO		2				1		2
SALVADOR (CRISTO)								1
SANTA CRUZ		1				1		1
SEBASTIÁN		3	1	2	1	1	1	2
SEVERINO		1				1		3
VIRGEN MARÍA								3
SIN ASIGNACIÓN							1	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>34</b>

En esta tabla, también contamos los dobles como una sola entrada, por tanto, si una misma carta contempla el envío de una reliquia y su correspondiente consagración, prima el envío y así se contabiliza una sola vez cada reliquia.

Por su parte, Leyser recoge menciones a Pablo, por un lado, y, por otro, a Pablo y Juan; como quiera que ambos santos deben ser considerados individualmente, no como un binomio, hemos decidido distribuir las menciones de las *ep.* 8, 5 y 9, 184 relativas a este “tándem” entre las atribuidas a Pablo y a Juan – inexistente como categoría propia en el trabajo de Leyser –, ya que, a pesar de que la cantidad y la distribución de las menciones a Pablo coincidan en la comparativa, las epístolas referidas varían. De resultados de la diferencia entre nuestro cómputo y los anteriores, incluimos santos que no aparecen en sus estudios, caso de Leucio o Miguel; por otro lado, verificamos la normal prevalencia de Pedro al lado del “sorprendente” auge de Pancracio o Hermes, santos *en vogue* junto a los reputados Pablo y Lorenzo.

Finalmente, queremos destacar cuatro casos – *ep.* 4, 8; 9, 45; y 11, 13 y 20 – en los cuales no se cita el nombre del santo cuyos *sanctuaría* se solicitan, razón por la cual se recogen en este cuadro en la categoría “Sin asignación”. De una de estas epístolas – la 9, 45 –, ofrecemos una posible asignación múltiple<sup>68</sup>, aunque, como indicamos, tan sólo se trata de una inferencia a partir de los datos relicarios conocidos para las sedes implicadas en la concesión de *sanctuaría* fundacionales. De otra – 11, 20 –, creemos bastante verosímil la hipótesis de Gatier<sup>69</sup>, quien considera que las reliquias enviadas pertenecerían a los apóstoles Pedro y Pablo y que su lugar de destino sería una iglesia desconocida cuya fundación resulta datable a mediados del siglo VI; así todo, dado que no tenemos confirmación de dicha advocación, la mantenemos en la inconcreción sin considerarla petrina – ni paulina –.

### 3.3. Lugares de destino de reliquias fundacionales

TIPOLOGÍA DEL LUGAR DE DESTINO	PRIVADO		ECLESIASTICO
IGLESIA O BASÍLICA	2		11
MONASTERIO	5 [♂]	3 [♀]	
ORATORIO MONÁSTICO	2 [♂]	1 [♀]	
ORATORIO	5		
TOTAL	18		11

<sup>68</sup> Véase la nota 44.

<sup>69</sup> P.-L. GATIER, “Une lettre du pape Grégoire à Marianus évêque de Gerasa”, *Syria*, 64/1-2 (1987), p. 131-135, particularmente p. 135.

En esta tabla, sólo tenemos en cuenta las reliquias que computamos en nuestro estudio sin compararlas con las consideradas en otros trabajos. Las cifras que aparecen en este cuadro se basan en las tablas de reliquias fundacionales y en el cómputo que exponemos en el cuadro comparativo de “Envíos” y “Permisos”.

En primer lugar, las categorías de lugares de destino a que hacen referencia las epístolas contempladas se dividen en dos grupos principales: público o eclesiástico y privado. El primero se ocupa siempre de iglesias o basílicas dependientes del obispado correspondiente – *ep.* 2, 6; 3, 3 y 19; 6, 22, 45, 50 y 58; 9, 49 y 184; 11, 20; y 14, 7 y 13 – mientras que el segundo engloba iglesias o basílicas privadas – *ep.* 9, 45; y 14, 9 –, monasterios masculinos – *ep.* 1, 52; 9, 166; 11, 13 y 57; y 13, 16 – o femeninos – *ep.* 4, 8; 8, 5; 9, 233 y 11, 5 –, oratorios monásticos masculinos – *ep.* 1, 54; y 5, 50 – o femeninos – *ep.* 3, 58 – y oratorios privados normalmente domésticos – *ep.* 2, 11; 9, 58-59, 72 y 181-182; y 11, 19 –. Especificar el caso de la *ep.* 4, 8, que refiere la consagración de un monasterio femenino, el cual, según indica la *ep.* 5, 2, disponía además de un *oratorium*. Ya que sólo incluimos la primera de estas epístolas en nuestro elenco, sumamos a nuestro cómputo un monasterio y no un oratorio – del cual, además, no se menciona reliquia ni dedicación alguna.

Por otro lado, tanto la neta distinción entre edificios religiosos de titularidad pública y de carácter privado – con una notoria preeminencia de monasterios y oratorios – como el hecho que las fundaciones personales casi doblen en número a las eclesiásticas, nos invita a reflexionar sobre el fenómeno del evergetismo cristiano. Fruto de una sociedad devota, vemos cómo las élites locales emprenden actividades edilicias de diversa índole que dotan de nuevos espacios a la topografía religiosa de su comunidad. Por un lado, tenemos a eclesiásticos que cumplen sus funciones pastorales y atienden a las necesidades litúrgicas de su grey: dos obispos – *ep.* 1, 54; y 8, 5 –, dos diáconos – *ep.* 2, 6; y 13, 16 –, un lector – *ep.* 11, 13 – y un notario – *ep.* 9, 58. Por otro, constatamos la iniciativa de laicos con una posición social y un patrimonio económico que le permite construir o reformar lugares de culto personal: un antiguo prefecto del pretorio *per Italiam* – *ep.* 9, 45 –, un *comes* – *ep.* 9, 72 –, una *patricia* y dos *illustres feminae* – *ep.* 3, 58; 2, 11; y 9, 233 –, dos *religiosae feminae* – *ep.* 4, 8; y 9, 181 –, un *uir spectabilis* – *ep.* 9, 166 – y dos *domini* – *ep.* 5, 50; y 11, 19. En total, 16 evergetas repartidos entre seis eclesiásticos y diez laicos. Y cabe destacar, además, la cifra relativamente elevada de mujeres presentes en esta lista – cinco –, las cuales siempre se adscriben al grupo de los patronos laicos, grupo del que representan la mitad de su número, un porcentaje bastante significativo de la activa religiosidad femenina en la Italia de finales del siglo VI.

## 3.4. Envíos de reliquias personales

EPÍSTOLA	DUNN	SUSMAN	McCULLOH	LEYSER	CRACCO RUGGINI	RIGANATI	MAYMÓ
1, 25	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1, 29	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1, 30	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
3, 33	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
3, 47	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
4, 27		●		●	●	●	●
4, 30		●			●	●	●
6, 6	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
6, 58 *		●	●	●		●	
7, 23	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
7, 25	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
7, 27 *				●			
7, 37 *				●			
8, 33	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
9, 228 *	●	●	●				
9, 229	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
10, 12 *				●			
11, 1 *				●			
11, 3 *				●			
11, 37 *				●		●	
11, 56 *						●	
11, 43	●	●	●	●		●	●
12, 2	●	●	●	●		●	●
12, 13 *				●			
13, 21 *				●			
13, 43	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
14, 12			●		●	●	●
App., 10*						●	
TOTAL	14	17	15	23	14	20	16

La distribución geográfica de las reliquias personales revela una clara preeminencia de los destinatarios en territorio imperial, ámbito al cual se remiten once misivas relicarias – *ep.* 1, 25, 29 y 30; 3, 47; 4, 27 y 30; 7, 23 y 25; 8, 33; 12, 2; y 13, 43 –, mientras que tan sólo se envían cinco epístolas a los reinos germánicos de Europa – *ep.* 3, 33; 6, 6; 9, 229; 11, 43; y 14, 12 –.

En cuanto a las categorías sociales de los receptores de los *dona* pontificios, verificamos tres obispos – *ep.* 1, 25; 3, 47; y 13, 43 –, una emperatriz – *ep.* 4, 30 –, dos reyes – *ep.* 6, 6; y 9, 229 –, una reina – *ep.* 14, 12 –, hasta diez patricios de diversa índole – *ep.* 1, 29 y 30; 3, 33; 7, 23 (dirigida a Teoctista y Andrés) y 25; 8, 33; 11, 43; y 12, 2 (enviada a Savinela, Columba y Gala *a paribus*)– y un *dux gentium* – *ep.* 4, 27 –.

## 3.5. Reliquias personales petrinas

*CLAVES ET CRUCES*

Epístola	DUNN		SUSMAN		McCULLOH		CRACCO RUGGINI		RIGANATI		MAYMÓ	
	Llave	Cruz	Llave	Cruz	Llave	Cruz	Llave	Cruz	Llave	Cruz	Llave	Cruz
1, 25	●		●		●		●		●		●	
1, 29	●		●		●		●		●		●	
1, 30	●		●		●		●		●		●	
3, 33		●		●		●		●		●		●
3, 47	●		●		●		●		●		●	
6, 6	●		●		●		●		●		●	
7, 23	●		●		●		●●		●		●	
7, 25	●		●		●		●		●		●	
8, 33	●		●		●		●		●		●	
9, 229	●●		●●	●	●●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
11, 43	●		●		●				●		●	
12, 2	●		●		●				●		●●●	
13, 43		●		●		●		●		●		●
14, 12						●		●		●		●
<i>App.</i> , 10*									●	●		
TOTAL	12	2	12	3	12	4	12	4	12	5	13	4

En relación con este cuadro, excluimos a Leyser porque no distingue entre llaves y cruces, ni tampoco incluye “otros” objetos sacros, razón por la cual prescindimos además de Dunn en los cuadros siguientes.

No incluimos la especificación de reliquias “añadidas” a la reliquia “principal” – caso de las llaves o cruces que contienen limaduras de cadenas –, aunque nos sirvan para diferenciar las reliquias petrinas de aquellas que no lo son. En este sentido, excluimos la *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina por tratarse de una reliquia paulina de la cual ni tan sólo se menciona el formato de su contenedor; en un sentido opuesto, aunque ninguna de las *cruces* citadas en las *ep.* 9, 229 a Recaredo y 14, 12 a Teodelinda contienen reliquias petrinas<sup>70</sup>, las incluimos – indicándolas en cursiva – por razones prácticas, para que todos los ejemplos de esta relevante tipología relicaria estén agrupados.

*ALIAE BENEDICTIONES PETRINAE*

Epístola	SUSMAN	CRACCO RUGGINI	RIGANATI	MAYMÓ
4, 27	●	●	●	●
11, 37*			●	
11, 56*			●	
TOTAL	1	1	3	1

<sup>70</sup> Remitimos a la nota 27 acerca del número de reliquias del apóstol. Véase la nota 4 al respecto de la pluralización.

En este cuadro, por nuestra parte, tan sólo computamos la indeterminada *benedictio* a Hospito – *ep.* 4, 27 –, aunque contemplamos la inclusión de un par de epístolas más por parte de Riganati. Nos parece que los *exenia* enviados a Etelberto de Kent<sup>71</sup> – *ep.* 11, 37 – son una mención demasiado genérica como para contarse como objeto sacro: ésta sería la única ocasión en todo el *corpus* gregoriano en que aparece este término en posible relación con un contexto relicario, y, como ya hemos visto, cuando Gregorio envía un presente poderoso, lo califica con otras palabras. Ni siquiera la aparición de la fórmula *ex benedictione beati Petri* apoya el carácter sagrado del regalo al rey de los jutos; y eso nos extraña mucho a causa de la relevancia de este monarca en la obra pastoral del pontífice, pues no debemos olvidar el éxito que cosechó Gregorio gracias a la conversión<sup>72</sup> de este pueblo. Y, en buena ley, tampoco podemos incluir la siguiente epístola, relacionada íntimamente con la anterior. La *ep.* 11, 56 a Melitón, líder de la segunda comitiva evangelizadora romana enviada a Britania, habla de reliquias, ciertamente, pero lo hace para ejemplificar el método a emplear a la hora de sustituir los santuarios paganos de Kent por iglesias cristianas, método que incluye la deposición de reliquias como estaba prescrito<sup>73</sup>. Se trata, en fin, de la explicación general de un procedimiento canónico de cristianización

<sup>71</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 11, 37, p. 932: *parua autem exenia transmissi, quae uobis parua non erunt, cum a uobis ex beati Petri apostoli fuerint benedictione suscepta*. Véase la discusión acerca de la condición de algunos presentes *ex beati Petri benedictione* considerados en ocasiones como reliquias que ofrecemos en la nota 48. Según el *Thesaurus sancti Gregorii Magni*, A. Formae, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986, p. 124, la palabra *exenium* aparece en catorce ocasiones en la obra de Gregorio y siempre con el significado de “regalo”, aunque sin especificar nada más al respecto y sin establecer relación alguna con reliquias; de hecho, *exenium* se refiere siempre al *donatium* espontáneo y voluntario en oposición al *commodum*, un regalo interesado destinado a conseguir alguna contrapartida: V. RECCHIA, *Gregorio Magno. Lettere (VIII-IX)*, Roma, Città Nuova, 1998 (*Opere di Gregorio Magno* V/3), p. 88, n. 5. A nuestro entender, ni siquiera el enunciado de la epístola apunta a un significado sacro del *donum* expedido a Etelberto; e incluso podríamos aducir una carta gregoriana en la que se habla de un *paruum exenium* por enviar a Agilulfo que nadie nunca ha relacionado con reliquia alguna: GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 11, 21, p. 892. Acerca de los *exenia* desde otra perspectiva muy diferente, véase CABOURET, B., “*Xenia* ou cadeaux alimentaires dans l’Antiquité tardive”, en S. CROGIEZ-PÉTREQUIN (ed.), *Dieu(x) et Hommes. Histoire et iconographie des sociétés païennes et chrétiennes de l’Antiquité à nos jours. Mélanges en l’honneur de F. Thelamon*, Caen, Publications du CRAHM, 2005 (*Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre* 379), p. 369-388.

<sup>72</sup> P. MAYMÓ i CAPDEVILA, “Britania en la política misionaria de Gregorio Magno”, en L. A. GARCÍA MORENO et al. (ed.), *Santos, obispos y reliquias. Actas del III Encuentro Internacional Hispania en la Antigüedad tardía*, Alcalá de Henares, Universidad de Alcalá, 2003 (*Acta Antiqua Complutensia* 3), p. 243-265, p. 244-247 y 263-264, con las referencias bibliográficas imprescindibles para este importante aspecto del pontificado gregoriano.

<sup>73</sup> Acerca de la legislación canónica referente a la *depositio reliquiae* como elemento indispensable de toda nueva iglesia cristiana, véase la nota 13.

de templos gentiles que Gregorio pormenorizaba a su enviado con el fin de evitar errores.

Dicho esto, cabe inferir sin demasiado rubor que las dos expediciones misionarias – o, al menos, una de ellas – portaran reliquias con las que establecer nuevos lugares de culto; reliquias fundacionales, entonces, y, con casi toda certeza, *brandea*. Esto puede deducirse, en parte, del testimonio de la *ep.* 11, 56 e incluso de un controvertido *Libellus responsionum* o, con más fiabilidad, de un pasaje de Beda que afirma que los misioneros llevaron consigo *reliquiae*<sup>74</sup> como parte del bagaje evangelizador. Pero, en conciencia, no las podemos incluir en este cálculo puesto que no hay confirmación explícita en el *Registrum* para tales casos.

### 3.6. Reliquias personales no petrinas

EPÍSTOLA	SUSMAN	McCULLOH	CRACCO RUGGINI	RIGANATI	MAYMÓ
4, 30	●	●	●	●	●
9, 229	●	●	●	●	●
14, 12				●	●
TOTAL	2	2	2	3	3

Incluimos de nuevo las *ep.* 9, 229 y 14, 12 porque ambas cruces contienen fragmentos del *lignum crucis* – y cabellos de Juan Bautista en la cruz de Recaredo –. Caso aparte lo constituyen las *ep.* 3, 33 y 13, 43, las cuales documentan, respectivamente, una llave con fragmentos de las cadenas de Pedro y partículas de la parrilla de Lorenzo, así como una *crux cum catenis* de los apóstoles Pedro y Pablo. En ambos casos, a la *benedictio* del principal patrón – y primer obispo – de Roma se añade otra de un santo diverso, pero incluimos ambos objetos – únicamente – en la categoría de reliquias petrinas.

## D. Consideraciones finales

Después de tantas y tan densas páginas, esperamos haber proporcionado los datos suficientes y los argumentos necesarios para sostener nuestras hipóte-

<sup>74</sup> En el *Libellus responsionum*, Agustín solicitaría a Gregorio el envío de reliquias auténticas del papa y mártir Sixto II con el fin de contrarrestar un culto local que le parecería sospechoso. Véase de nuevo la nota 13 para las referencias y las problemáticas de las fuentes citadas; remitimos asimismo a las notas 8, 13 y 40. Puede consultarse también MAYMÓ I CAPDEVILA, “Britania”, p. 252-254, n. 43, y 257-258, n. 60. Por cuanto respecta al “equipaje” transportado por los misioneros, Beda incluye una larga lista de *necessaria* para el *ministerium ecclesiae* que incluye un amplio espectro de objetos culturales: *uasa uidelicet sacra et uestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum et sacerdotalia uel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices plurimos*. BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, 1, 29, p. 104.



sis. Ciertamente, el propósito principal de este trabajo consiste en ofrecer un análisis profundo y riguroso que contemple todas las tipologías relicarias presentes en el epistolario gregoriano, así como las diferentes casuísticas que rodean a su expedición y la justifican; porque, a pesar de que este tema ya ha sido tratado, pensamos que convenía esclarecer algunos aspectos, motivo por el cual establecemos una comparación entre nuestro estudio y los de otros investigadores anteriores, siempre sabiéndonos deudores de sus previas conclusiones.

En primer lugar, resultaba indispensable establecer el número exacto de reliquias – tanto fundacionales como personales – presentes en el *Registrum*<sup>75</sup> con el fin de valorar de un modo adecuado los envíos sacros de Gregorio. No ha sido tarea fácil determinar con exactitud este cómputo, puesto que encontramos menciones implícitas, confusiones en la categoría o duplicaciones del mismo objeto; sin embargo, creemos haber sido exhaustivos en la búsqueda de las referencias a reliquias en el *corpus* epistolar y reflexivos en su clasificación según su finalidad, su destinatario o su tipología: así, después de una intensa meditación, hemos concretado elencos, fijado categorías y distinguido excepciones. Somos conscientes de que nuestra división puede originar desacuerdo en algunas ocasiones y resulta lógico – y saludable para el debate científico – que así sea, pues el criterio siempre es discutible; pero opinamos que nuestra cuantificación de las reliquias verificadas en el epistolario pontificio – en un número mayor del considerado tradicionalmente – ya significa un avance por sí mismo; y lo es porque hemos extraído lo mejor de cada uno de los estudios previos para realizar una síntesis que creemos útil para el conocimiento de un aspecto importante de la concepción espiritual del prelado. De este modo, hemos detectado 33 epístolas relativas a reliquias fundacionales<sup>76</sup>, de las cuales colegimos ocho envíos gregorianos y 31 “permisos” pontificios – autorización de consagración, petición de *sanctuaría* a terceras personas – que evidencian la implicación del episcopado romano en la gestión de objetos

<sup>75</sup> Y eso sin tener en cuenta que tan sólo conservamos poco más de 850 cartas escritas por Gregorio Magno, cuando Markus estima que el número total podría aumentar en un 60% como mínimo, elevando el posible número de cartas a una cifra que sumaría unos pocos miles: R. A. MARKUS, *Gregory the Great and his World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 206-209, n. 2; cf. E. PITZ, *Papstreskripte im frühen Mittelalter. Diplomatische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien zum Brief-Corpus Gregors des Grossen*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1990 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters* 14), p. 252, para un cálculo más exagerado de 20.000 epístolas. Tampoco debemos olvidar el propio Gregorio realizó una selección de sus cartas para su edición, como nos recuerdan: CONSOLINO, “Il papa”, p. 234 y n. 47; y LEYSER, “The Temptations”, p. 299-300. Este aumento de epístolas significa que el número de reliquias de todo tipo podría incrementarse considerablemente.

<sup>76</sup> Véanse la nota 8 y las secciones 1.1 a 1.3 y 3.1 a 3.3.

sacros; asimismo, hemos verificado 16 envíos de reliquias personales<sup>77</sup> que resultan en 19 *benedictiones* enviadas a figuras relevantes de la Romania; y no debemos olvidar las once *eulogiae* recibidas<sup>78</sup> por el pontífice de parte de corresponsales de todo el Mediterráneo imperial. Finalmente, hemos optado por utilizar el sistema de tablas para plasmar el elenco de reliquias contempladas porque este formato expresa muy gráficamente su número y distribución facilitando su comprensión.

En segundo lugar, dicho cómputo y su consiguiente clasificación nos han permitido emprender un análisis meditado de las características y las funciones de dichos objetos sacros e interpretarlos a la luz de la mentalidad gregoriana. De las regularidades significativas que pueden extraerse de este trabajo, algunas confirman las opiniones tradicionales mientras que otras nos ofrecen nuevas perspectivas de la diplomacia pontificia y de sus objetivos. En efecto, a través de un estudio cuantitativo, ha sido posible entender mejor diversos y muy variados aspectos cualitativos: la vigencia de la doctrina romana – y occidental – de la intangibilidad; la localización de – algunos de – los cuerpos de los santos y mártires citados; la existencia de *sanctuaría* de Cristo, la Virgen y Miguel; la política de envíos relativa a las reliquias, tanto fundacionales como personales; la dinámica de intercambio relicario entre los diferentes personajes; la distribución geográfica de los envíos y el estrato social de los destinatarios; el caso de la fórmula *ex benedictione sancti Petri*, indicativa de *dona* santificados, pero no de *reliquiae* propiamente dichas, una confusión bastante habitual; la simbología de los relicarios en forma de llave o cruz y su finalidad ideológica; o, por último, la relevancia del culto petrino<sup>79</sup> y su extraordinaria difusión en tiempos – y a instancias – de Gregorio, quien expide hasta 19 reliquias del apóstol – cinco *sanctuaría* y 14 *benedictiones* – por todo el orbe tardoantiguo.

Estos son los principales aspectos de los cuales tenemos evidencias positivas que nos permiten matizar con mucha seguridad algunas de las ideas comúnmente aceptadas por la historiografía, pero aún hay otros que permanecen en la incógnita. Tal es el caso de una posible influencia del creciente distanciamiento entre Mauricio y Gregorio en la expedición de reliquias romanas a tierras imperiales. Ya desde el 593, pero sobre todo a partir del 595, verificamos la práctica ruptura de relaciones<sup>80</sup> entre el emperador y el

<sup>77</sup> Véanse la nota 4 y las secciones 2.1, 2.2, 3.4 y 3.6.

<sup>78</sup> Véanse la nota 47 y la sección 2.3.

<sup>79</sup> Véanse la nota 27 y la sección 3.5, especialmente, aunque pueden reseguirse las reliquias fundacionales petrinas en las secciones 1.1 y 1.2.

<sup>80</sup> Sobre el enfriamiento de las relaciones entre Gregorio y Mauricio a causa de la ley imperial del 593 y de la guerra en Italia, véanse: DUDDEN, *Gregory the Great*, II, p. 23-30, 181-185 y 250-252; RICHARDS, *Consul of God*, p. 182-188; REYDELLET, *La royauté*, p. 450-452; CRACCO RUGGINI, “Grégoire le Grand”, p. 87-88; MARKUS, *Gregory the Great*, p. 87-89 y 100-106;

pontífice; sin embargo, dicho alejamiento no es óbice para interrumpir los envíos relicarios a destinatarios bajo la égida de Constantinopla, ni siquiera a familiares del soberano o altos funcionarios de la capital. Y a la inversa, la orientación de la diplomacia pontificia hacia Occidente después del 595 que sugieren algunos estudiosos<sup>81</sup> no supone un aumento del flujo de reliquias hacia los *regna* germánicos; es decir, que las volubles circunstancias políticas no parecen haber determinado un cambio decisivo en la concesión de objetos sacros por parte del Papado.

Por otra parte, confirmamos la relevancia de las reliquias como objeto del deseo de los fieles y su capitalización por parte de las jerarquías episcopales. Es bien sabido que la posesión de un *corpus sacrum* – o de alguna de sus partes – constituye un elemento de prestigio para la sede que lo atesora al tiempo que representa una baza religiosa en sus aspiraciones de poder, pues los restos mortales del santo permeabilizan sus *uirtutes* en el lugar que los acoge y, por ende, en el obispo que los controla. Por este motivo, resulta natural que ningún prelado estuviera dispuesto a ceder alegremente dicho capital relicario, ya que disminuía su autoridad espiritual y la influencia de su cátedra en las iglesias de la cristiandad. Y la doctrina romana del *noli – sanctos – tangere* – una doctrina en virtud de la cual se justifica la intangibilidad de las *reliquiae* y su posesión continuada por parte de la iglesia en que se encuentra el cadáver santo – se aviene a la perfección con la postura que Gregorio adopta tan férreamente; tanto que nos preguntamos si no resulta una excusa para no perder el patrimonio espiritual. Porque esta convicción – acaso mayoritaria en Occidente a pesar de que la documentemos también en Oriente –, esta voluntad de preservar los cuerpos, deviene más firme cuanto más importante sea la sede que los acoge; y, obviamente, las sedes patriarcales del Mediterráneo y su pugna por la tenencia de reliquias se erigen en los ejemplos más preclaros de la fina línea que separa religión y política. El texto con el que comenzábamos este trabajo nos sirve bien para escenificar la situación a finales del siglo VI.

y BOESCH GAJANO, *Gregorio Magno*, p. 18 y 95-96. Acerca del conflicto por el patriarcado ecuménico, remitimos a la nota 83.

<sup>81</sup> W. ULLMANN, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, London, Methuen & Co, 1962<sup>2</sup>, p. 54-57, cree que la inclinación de Roma hacia los reinos germánicos responde a un deseo de emanciparse de Constantinopla; y es seguido en parte por REYDELLET, *La royauté*, p. 453-454 y 447. *Contra*, H. CHADWICK, "Gregory the Great and the Mission to the Anglo-Saxons", *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana*, I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33), p. 199-212, p. 206, n. 28: MARKUS, *Gregory the Great*, p. 95-96; J. RICHARDS, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 26-27; ID, *Consul of God*, p. 195 y 227; y BOESCH GAJANO, *Gregorio Magno*, p. 115.

La *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina nos relata cómo la emperatriz ordena a Gregorio que le envíe la cabeza y el sudario del apóstol Pablo conservados en Roma con el fin de servir de reliquia fundacional a una iglesia que la augusta deseaba construir en el palacio imperial. También nos informa de la tajante negativa del pontífice, quien expone la *consuetudo* romana en el trato de los *corpora sacra* y describe diversos casos en los que el contacto o la mera proximidad con los cuerpos de los santos ha demostrado el inquietante poder que emana de sus despojos, razonando así su rechazo a la petición. En verdad, no es el primer ejemplo de enfrentamiento entre Roma y Constantinopla a causa de una demanda relicaria. En el 519, Hormisdas<sup>82</sup> negó a Justiniano – entonces *comes domesticorum* – fragmentos de las cadenas de Pablo y de la parrilla de Lorenzo para enviarle tan sólo *sanctuaría* creados a partir de estas mismas reliquias; y, según parece, el futuro emperador aceptó la costumbre romana sin queja alguna a pesar de las diferencias existentes con las prácticas orientales. La gran diferencia entre uno y otro obispo es que, en ese momento, Hormisdas no era súbdito del Imperio mientras que Gregorio sí lo era.

No conocemos la respuesta de Constantina ante el deniego gregoriano, pero no debió sentirse demasiado satisfecha; y mucho menos si pensamos que, detrás de la solicitud, se hallaba verosíblemente Juan el Ayunador<sup>83</sup>, obispo de Constantinopla. El caso es que Juan se había proclamado a sí mismo patriarca universal en el 587 y, obviamente, Roma no se quedó de brazos cruzados ante tal amenaza a su primacía: Pelagio II inició una ofensiva diplomática que heredó Gregorio, quien procuró restablecer la concordia entre las dos sedes para no llegar a un enfrentamiento directo. Este enfrentamiento estalló en el 595, pero, un año antes, la emperatriz efectuó su solicitud en un acto que creemos destinado a conseguir una victoria moral de Constantinopla sobre Roma. Estamos convencidos de que ni Constantina ni Juan pensaban realmente obtener la reliquia paulina, pues con mucha probabilidad sabrían del precedente justiniano, así como de las reticencias romanas; aunque quizás esperaban provocar una reacción que

<sup>82</sup> Véanse las notas 21, 48 y 64. Sobre los *sanctuaría* en esta disputa entre Hormisdas y Justiniano, consúltense: McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 159-160; y HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques*, p. 33 y 45-46.

<sup>83</sup> Diversos estudiosos han visto la sombra de Juan detrás de la petición de Constantina, creemos que acertadamente: DUDDEN, *Gregory the Great*, II, p. 206; S. VAILHÉ, “Saint Grégoire le Grand et le titre de patriarche oecuménique”, *Echos d'Orient* 11 (1908), p. 161-171, p. 162-163; y McCULLOH, “The Cult”, p. 147 y n. 10. En general sobre el conflicto por la primacía eclesiástica, remitimos a G. E. DEMACPOULOS, “Gregory the Great and the Sixth-Century Dispute over the Ecumenical Title”, *Theological Studies*, 70/3 (2009), p. 600-621, con abundante bibliografía.

desencadenara el latente conflicto por el patriarcado ecuménico. Y lo hicieron utilizando un recurso espiritual de claras repercusiones políticas.

No nos cabe duda de que la importancia del objeto en disputa va más allá de su valor ideológico y adquiere una dimensión estratégica en el antagonismo entre ambas capitales, siguiendo el concepto de geo-eclesiología acuñado por Blaudeau<sup>84</sup>. Este investigador francés entiende dicho concepto en términos de enfrentamiento entre obispos – fundamentalmente patriarcas – por la preeminencia de su sede en las iglesias de la Antigüedad tardía; por nuestra parte, hemos incorporado a este conflicto un significado hagiológico, es decir, relativo al carácter sacro de los elementos utilizados en la disputa política, de la cual las reliquias son su mejor – aunque no única – expresión. Así, la hagiopolítica – como hemos venido a denominar dicha instrumentalización de lo sagrado en su sentido más amplio – nos permite entreverar las causas y las consecuencias de las actuaciones del pontífice en el ámbito de las relaciones de poder entre la *Vrbs* y los demás actores de la cristiandad de la Romania, siempre en el marco de una *Realpolitik* coherente con el pensamiento gregoriano.

Y queremos acabar este estudio retomando el documento que nos servía para empezarlo y que hemos comentado en estas conclusiones: la *ep.* 4, 30 a Constantina. Si la dispensación de *reliquiae* es un signo de buena predisposición, resulta claro que la augusta no se hallaba entre los beneficiarios de la amistad del prelado. Recordemos que diversos personajes orientales recibieron *benedictiones* de mayor relevancia – y vinculadas especialmente al culto petrino – mientras que Constantina tuvo que conformarse con unas partículas de las cadenas paulinas de las cuales ni tan sólo se especifica el relicario que las debía contener. Nos parece una clara muestra de descortesía hacia la soberana de Constantinopla que refleja, además, la tensión existente entre Mauricio y Gregorio al respecto de asuntos terrenales. De hecho, las últimas palabras de esta epístola<sup>85</sup> manifiestan de un modo diá-

<sup>84</sup> Especialmente en una obra reciente centrada en la pugna entre los patriarcados del Tíber y del Bósforo: P. BLAUDEAU, *Le siège de Rome et l'Orient (448-536). Étude géo-ecclésiologique*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 2012 (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 460), p. 135-153 y 197-211, donde analiza la obra justiniana, clave para entender las relaciones del poder eclesiástico con el político en época gregoriana.

<sup>85</sup> GREGORIUS I, *Reg. ep.*, 4, 30, p. 250: *sed quia serenissimae dominae tam religiosum desiderium esse uacuum non debet, de catenis, quas ipse sanctus Paulus apostolus in collo et in manibus gestavit, ex quibus multa miracula in oppulo demonstrantur, partem uobis aliquam transmittere festinabo, si tamen hanc tollere limando praeualuero. Qui dum frequenter ex catenis eisdem multi ueniunt et benedictionem petunt, ut parum quid ex limatura accipiant, assistit sacerdos cum lima, et aliquibus petentibus ita concite aliquid de catenis ipsis excutitur, ut mora nulla non sit. Quibusdam uero petentibus diu per catenas ipsas lima ducitur, et tamen ut aliquid exinde exeat non obtinetur.* Nos sorprende un poco menos la osadía del pontífice si recordamos su invectiva contra Mauricio a raíz de la ley del 593 que prohibía el acceso al estamento

fano la osadía de la que el Magno se siente capaz al responder a la emperatriz, tanta que incluso podríamos dudar que recibiera reliquia alguna, como efectivamente le sucedió a Mauricio. Sirva esta carta de testimonio de la instrumentalización de los objetos sacros llevada a cabo por Gregorio y de su alcance en la diplomacia pontificia.

### *Resumen*

En el siglo VI, el culto a los santos había devenido un fenómeno tan importante como para que las distintas iglesias de la cristiandad tardoantigua osentaran la posesión de sus reliquias en un esfuerzo por capitalizar el rédito espiritual que éstas conferían y prestigiar su sede. En el contexto de la lucha por la primacía eclesiástica entre Roma y Constantinopla, Gregorio Magno se beneficiará del enorme depósito relicario de la *Vrbs* para favorecer a su sede y convertirla en un referente inexcusable. Y lo hará mediante el prolífico envío de reliquias – de contacto – por todo el orbe cristiano, siempre siguiendo los preceptos canónicos de una Iglesia romana que pretendía imponer su visión ante las costumbres orientales. Pero, más allá de la diferencia doctrinal entre Oriente y Occidente y de las disputas subyacentes acerca de la posesión de objetos sacros, nos interesa categorizar y cuantificar los envíos gregorianos de reliquias – tanto fundacionales como personales – con el fin de ponderar su relevancia en la hagiopolítica desarrollada por nuestro pontífice, neologismo que hemos acuñado para definir la instrumentalización de lo sacro con finalidad política, de la cual Gregorio se erige en hito fundamental. Para ello, tenemos la suerte de contar con la ingente documentación aportada por el extenso epistolario gregoriano, en cuyas páginas hallamos una multitud de referencias – no siempre explícitas ni exactas – a las peticiones de *reliquiae* realizadas ante la sede romana y a su envío – o a la autorización de su uso – por toda la Romania.

eclesiástico – tanto al clero como al monacato – de funcionarios y soldados aún en servicio, normativa que Gregorio entendió como un ataque frontal a la Iglesia y a los que como él deseaban retirarse del mundo; el pontífice aprovechó su proximidad con el emperador para reprocharle aquello que nadie se atrevía a denunciar: *ego autem indignus pietatis uestrae famulus in hac suggestione nea neque ut episcopus neque ut seruus iure reipublicae sed iure priuato loquor, quia, serenissime domine, et illo iam tempore dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras [...] ad haec ecce per me seruum ultimum suum et uestrum respondit Christus, dicens: Ego te de notario comitem scubitorem, de comite scubitorem caesarem, de caesare imperatorem, nec solum hoc, sed etiam patrem imperatorum feci.* ID., *Reg. ep.*, 3, 61, p. 209-210; remitimos, además, a la nota 80. Esta libertad de palabra ante los poderosos nos recuerda mucho a la *parrhesía* empleada por los *uiri Dei* de los *Dialogi* de Gregorio, especialmente por parte de Benito de Nursia y Sabino de Canosa ante Totila: ID., *Dialog. libri IV*, 2, 14 y 3, 5, p. 180-184 y 272-276. Véase al respecto REYDELLET, *La royauté*, p. 490-492.

*Summary*

In the sixth century, the cult of the saints had become such a relevant phenomenon the different churches of the late antique Christianity would boast the possession of relics in an effort to capitalize their unworldly wealth and to bestow prestige on their see. In the context of struggle for the ecclesiastical primacy between Rome and Constantinople, Gregory the Great will profit from the enormous spiritual deposit of the *Vrbs* to favour his see and promote it into an unavoidable model. And he will do so by means of the prolific consignment of – contact – relics throughout the Christian world, always following the canonical precepts of a Roman church that sought to impose its vision on the Eastern tradition. Beyond the doctrinal difference between the East and the West and the underlying disputes over the possession of sacred objects, we are interested in categorising and quantifying the Gregorian dispatch of relics – foundational or personal – in order to weigh its relevance in his “hagiopolitics”, a neologism we have coined to define the use of the sacred with a political purpose of which Gregory stands an essential milestone. Fortunately, we count on the sheer volume of documentation provided by his epistles, where we find many references – not always explicit nor accurate – to the requests of relics before the Roman see and to their delivery – or authorisation to use them – all across the Romania.

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# ¿Una edición “tajoniana”? Edición y estudio de un corpus preliminar a los *Moralia in Iob*\*

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Varios códices medievales de los *Moralia in Iob* del papa Gregorio Magno transmiten un corpus de textos preliminar que, en su versión más completa, incluye una epístola de Tajón de Zaragoza a Eugenio de Toledo, la llamada *Visio Taionis*, un índice de las obras de Gregorio Magno y un extracto del capítulo 23 del *De uiris illustribus* de Isidoro de Sevilla, correspondiente igualmente al retrato y la bibliografía de Gregorio Magno. Es de Díaz y Díaz el mérito de haber llamado la atención por primera vez acerca de este corpus de textos, y suyos son por ahora la edición y el estudio de conjunto existentes sobre los mismos<sup>1</sup>.

A raíz del descubrimiento de nuevos testimonios debido tanto a Nascimento<sup>2</sup> y Suárez González<sup>3</sup> como a mí mismo, me he propuesto ofrecer una nueva edición, junto con una valoración de los textos distinta, en algunos puntos, a lo que proponía Díaz y Díaz. Incorporo también un somero estudio de las distintas piezas del conjunto, sobre las que se han aportado cosas interesantes en los últimos años.

## 1. *Epistula Taionis ad Eugenium*

La epístola de Tajón de Zaragoza a Eugenio de Toledo, solamente atestiguada en este conjunto, expone cómo el obispo de Zaragoza llegó a Roma

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<sup>1</sup> M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 333-350.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. NASCIMENTO, “Um testemunho da tradição hispânica dos *Moralia in Iob*: Lisboa, BN, Alc. 349. Subsídios para o seu enquadramento”, *Archivos leoneses*, 79-80 (1986), p. 313-332.

<sup>3</sup> A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, “La edición riojana de los *Moralia in Iob* en un códice calagurritano del siglo XII”, *Berceo*, 142 (2002), p. 77-92, y A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León. Serie bibliográfica. Los códices VI-X.2*, León, 2001, p. 455-661.

y trabó contacto allí con los *notarii et familiares* de Gregorio Magno, “viendo” a través de ellos al papa con los ojos del espíritu. De ellos habría conseguido también una relación de sus virtudes, que él expone como una larga sucesión de epítetos elogiosos. Cuenta también que buscó ávidamente y sacó de su propia mano una copia de los “códices de Gregorio que aún no se encontraban en España”, y que, una vez conocida la obra completa del pontífice, observando que en ella había algo “singular” pues se desvelaban casi todos los misterios de las escrituras, resolvió escribir una suerte de comentario bíblico compuesto en exclusiva con pasajes “retocados” de los tratados de Gregorio, eliminando algunas cosas y añadiendo otras, para evitar repeticiones y no causar fatiga en el lector. Afirma, además, que añadió algunos prólogos para introducir cada libro bíblico, sacados igualmente de los tratados gregorianos. Parece cobrar así sentido una alegoría expuesta al inicio de la carta, donde Tajón presenta su proyecto como el ascenso a una alta montaña colmada de vegetación y de flores, donde admirado de tanta belleza se dispuso a arrancar y reunir algunos ramos. Termina por enviar su obra, que llegó a ocupar seis códices (tres para el Antiguo Testamento y dos para el Nuevo), a Eugenio de Toledo para someterla a su revisión.

Todos los testimonios transmiten en la salutación de la carta la mención de Tajón como “*Caesaraugustanus episcopus*”. Esto la hace posterior a 651, año de la muerte de Braulio de Zaragoza, su predecesor en la cátedra episcopal. Eugenio de Toledo morirá en 657, pero la epístola es seguramente algo anterior, ya que la colección exegética a la que acompañó, y a la que luego me referiré, es anterior a su otra obra, las *Sententiae*<sup>4</sup>, que comenzaron a elaborarse, si hacemos caso del testimonio de Tajón al respecto, hacia el 653<sup>5</sup>. Podríamos colocar la datación de la epístola, pues, con bastante probabilidad entre 651 y 653.

El viaje a Roma a que en ella se alude está certificado por una carta de Braulio de Zaragoza donde ruega a Tajón que le haga un envío de los códices que acababa de traer de allí<sup>6</sup>. Se ha especulado bastante con qué

<sup>4</sup> En efecto, Tajón se valió para la elaboración de sus *Sententiae* del material gregoriano que había dispuesto ya en esta compilación que acompañaba la carta a Eugenio, como han argumentado L. CASTALDI, F. MARTELLO, “Tempera quasi aurum: origine, redazione e diffusione del Liber testimoniorum di Paterio”, *Filologia mediolatina*, 18 (2011), p. 67-100.

<sup>5</sup> En su prólogo a las *Sententiae* (PL 80, col. 727A-730B), Tajón afirma haber compuesto esta obra durante los días del asedio de Zaragoza por parte del noble rebelde Froya y sus aliados vascones, acontecimiento que ha sido fechado hacia el 653 por los estudiosos, ya sea realmente antes o después de la muerte de Chindasvinto. Cf. E. A. THOMPSON, *The Goths in Spain*, Oxford, 1969, p. 199-200; L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Historia de la España visigoda*, Madrid, 1989, p. 165; R. COLLINS [trad. M. García Garmilla], *La España visigoda. 409-711*, Barcelona, 2005, p. 83-85.

<sup>6</sup> Braulio Caesaraugustanus, *Epistula* 35, ed. por R. MIGUEL FRANCO, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, Turnhout, 2018 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 114B), p. 113:

obra u obras de Gregorio pudieran corresponderse tales códices<sup>7</sup>, sin que se haya llegado a una solución definitiva, ya que nuestro conocimiento acerca de la cantidad y el tipo de circulación de las obras del pontífice en la península antes de este viaje son muy precarios. Como se puede ver ya en la *Visio Taionis*, la tradición ha imputado a Tajón el mérito de haber copiado ciertas partes de los *Moralia in Iob* que no habían llegado aún a la península, hipótesis que no está exenta de problemas. Si no se trata de los *Moralia*, o al menos no sólo de éstos, quizá sea la segunda parte de las *Homiliae in Hiezechielem*, obra que cuenta con mayores probabilidades que cualquier otra<sup>8</sup>.

Es significativa la especial devoción que Tajón muestra en su carta por Gregorio Magno, al que le dedica una larga sucesión de elogios tópicos acerca de sus virtudes humanas, sus cualidades intelectuales y sus habilidades en la dirección de la Iglesia. Ello se inscribe, pienso, en la línea que le prodigan Liciniano de Cartagena e Isidoro de Sevilla, que habían mostrado una auténtica veneración por su figura y lo habían investido de autoridad teológica. Liciniano, que alaba fundamentalmente el papel de la predicación en su doctrina<sup>9</sup>, llega a decir de él no ya que se encuentra en la línea de pensamiento de los padres, sino que éstos fueron a él como los profetas a los apóstoles<sup>10</sup>. Isidoro, por su parte, en el capítulo del *De uiris illustribus* que acabaría formando parte del corpus del que aquí me ocupo, alaba igualmente la santidad de su vida y la profundidad de su obra, elogiando ampliamente su talento como exégeta y predicador, y lo considera el mejor y más provechoso doctor de su tiempo<sup>11</sup>. Esta percepción se había con-

“Et unumque, paene quod mihi et prae omnibus necessarium et hic fuerat praetermissum, peto, ita Christus cursum propositi tui efficiat gloriosum, ut mihi codices sancti papae Gregorii inexpressos, qui necdum in Hispania erant, tuoque studio et sudore de Roma huc sunt delati, ad transcribendum ocus mittas”.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. MADOZ, “Tajón de Zaragoza y su viaje a Roma”, en *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck*, Gembloux, 1951, p. 345-360; J. E. LÓPEZ PEREIRA, *Continuatio isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754*, León, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F. MARTELLO, “Vidimus Gregorium: il recupero, tra storia e leggenda, dell’eredità letteraria e spirituale di Gregorio Magno”, en *Les réceptions des Pères de l’Église au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale. Congrès du Centre Sèvres – Facultés jésuites de Paris (11-14 juin 2008)*. Actes, ed. R. BERNDT, M. FÉDOU, Munster, 2013, p. 977-978.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. por ejemplo su alabanza de la *Regula pastoralis*, que considera no sólo de utilidad para los *pastores*, sino también una “regla de vida”: “et non solum pastoribus regulam vivendi describis, sed etiam his qui regiminis officium nullum habent, vivendi regulam tribuis” (ed. J. MADOZ, *Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas*, Madrid, 1948, p. 91).

<sup>10</sup> “Hi omnes testimonium tibi praebent, sicut apostolis praebuerunt prophetae” (ed. J. MADOZ, *Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas*, Madrid, 1948, p. 91).

<sup>11</sup> “Gregorius Papa Romanae sedis apostolicae praesul, compunctione timoris Dei plenus et humilitate summus, tantoque per gratiam Spiritus Sancti scientiae lumine praeditus, ut non modo illi praesentium temporum quisquam doctorum, sed nec in praeteritis quidem par

solidado indudablemente en tiempos de Tajón: pocos años después de su viaje, las actas del VIII Concilio de Toledo (año 653) citan como fuente de autoridad un pasaje de los *Moralia* aludiendo a Gregorio como “*et libris et meritis honorandus*”, y lo nombran como la fuente preferible en asuntos de moral<sup>12</sup>.

Es asumible, pues, que Tajón esté presentando ante sus compatriotas hispánicos una imagen ya formada de Gregorio, con la que no haría sino vincular su experiencia personal en Roma. Como han venido apuntando García Moreno<sup>13</sup> y Martello<sup>14</sup>, el momento en que Tajón visitó el archivo pontificio coincide con el período de la elaboración de las actas del sínodo de Letrán del 649<sup>15</sup>, en las que se pretendió recoger la doctrina emanada de los padres que pudiera refutar el monotelismo promovido desde Constantinopla, lo que debió de traducirse en una extraordinaria actividad de lectura y selección de material operada en dicho archivo. La labor estuvo coordinada por Máximo el Confesor y, por lo que cabe deducir de las actas, fue llevada a cabo por varios *notarii* de origen griego que debieron de haberse instalado en Roma durante el pontificado de Teodoro I (642-649). No tenemos noticia alguna de que por entonces viviese ningún miembro del archivo que hubiese conocido los tiempos de Gregorio Magno, lo que hace extraordinariamente improbable que el cuadro de Tajón, que dice haber conocido los testimonios que sobre aquel papa le dieron sus *notarii* y *familiares*, sea verídico.

Lo más interesante de la carta como tal, en todo caso, es que, como se deduce de su lectura, acompañó originalmente a una amplia obra exegética construida en exclusiva a partir de extractos de Gregorio Magno. Por lo que podemos ver, el proyecto anunciado es sustancialmente similar a

fuerit unquam. [...] In quibus [sc. libri moralium] quidem quanta mysteria sacramentorum aperiantur, quantaque sint in amorem uitae aeternae morum praecepta uel quanta clareant ornamenta uerborum, nemo sapiens explicare ualebit, etiam si omnes artus eius uerantur in linguam. [...] Felix tamen et nimium felix, qui omium studiorum eius potuit cognoscere dicta”.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Conc. Tol. VIII a. 653*, ed. por G. Martínez Díez, F. Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana. V: Concilios hispanos: segunda parte*, Madrid, 1992, p. 410: “Beatus etiam papa Gregorius, et libris et meritis honorandus, atque in ethicis assertionibus praeferendus, sic in libris infert *Moralium*...”.

<sup>13</sup> L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, “Urbs cunctarum gentium victrix gothicis triumphis victa. Roma y el reino visigodo”, en *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XLIX, Spoleto, 2002, p. 239-322.

<sup>14</sup> F. MARTELLO, “Vidimus Gregorium: il recupero, tra storia e leggenda, dell’eredità letteraria e spirituale di Gregorio Magno”, en *Les réceptions des Pères de l’Église au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiastique. Congrès du Centre Sèvres – Facultés jésuites de Paris (11-14 juin 2008)*. Actes, ed. R. BERNDT, M. FÉDOU, Munster, 2013, p. 965-996.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. R. RIEDINGER, *Kleine Schriften zu den Konzilsakten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Steenbrugge, Sint Pietersabdij, 1998.

otro emprendido anteriormente por Paterio, *secundicerius notariorum* del archivo pontificio en tiempos de Gregorio: el *Liber testimoniorum*<sup>16</sup>. Se trata éste de una colección exegética basada en exclusiva en pasajes del pontífice que, según se indica en su prólogo, habría de ocupar tres códices, dos para el Antiguo Testamento y uno para el Nuevo; no obstante, por lo que se deduce del examen de la tradición manuscrita, sólo llegó a finalizarse completamente la serie Génesis-Salmos<sup>17</sup>. Tajón recurre indudablemente al prólogo del *Liber testimoniorum* para construir la segunda mitad de su epístola:

Paterio<sup>18</sup>

Dum beatissimi atque apostolici Gregorii [...] dicta saepius lectione percurrerem, avidiusque mihi eis assiduum esse ipsa luculentissima verborum eius satisfactio suaderet, quiddam in eis repperi sine comparatione potissimum. Dum igitur unius sancti viri hoc est beati Iob historiam abstrusis mysteriorum opacitatibus textam sub triplici, id est typica, morali, atque historica, studuit expositione discutere, ac repulso ignorantiae nubilo, in aperto cunctis luce clarius serena patefactione monstrare, paene totam veteris ac novi Testamenti seriem rerum explanandarum necessitate est coactus exponere. [...]

Quae dum disperse sicut quippe reperta fueraut in schedis suis relata transcurrerem visum mihi est licet esset laboris immodici, ut uniuscuiusque rei testimonia iuxta quod in suis ex ordine sunt sita codicibus, per libros suos ordinando componerem, quatenus studiosi lectoris desiderium ad elucidandam sibi quam velit obscuritatem, invento libri quem requireret titulo, nihil morae vel ad parum aliquo modo praepediret. [...]

Tajón

Igitur cum Romae positus eius [sc. Gregorii] quae in Hispaniis deerant uolumina sedulus uestigator perquirerem inuentaque propria manu transcriberem, tantaque dulcedo uerborum animum meum inaestimabili suauitate mulceret, speciale quiddam in eadem sine cuiuspiam perspexi comparatione potissimum. Denique dum historiam beati Iob sub triplici indagatione, id est historica, typica uel morali, studuit explanatione percurrere tantorumque profunda mysteriorum repulso ignoratae nubilo serena patefactione monstrare, paene totius noui ac ueteris testamenti patefecit arcana. [...]

Percurri igitur omni eiusdem monumenta librorum et paene totius scripturae sacrae testimonia quae in eius opuculis ad probationem uel expositionem cuiusque rei adhibita diuersis in locis continebantur conscripta [...] suis coadunata ordinibus stili conscriptione collegi, quatenus studiosus quisque cum in eisdem uoluminibus cuiuslibet sacri testimonii explanationem requirit, ne multiplici lectione fatigatus non cito reperiat quod uoluerit, ad ista quae decerpsi decurrens, repente quod desiderat libere satisfactionis discretione reperiet. [...]

<sup>16</sup> PL 79, col. 683A-1136D (desde col. 917A se trata de partes espurias).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. al respecto el estudio de L. CASTALDI, F. MARTELLO, "Tempera quasi aurum: origine, redazione e diffusione del Liber testimoniorum di Paterio", *Filologia mediolatina*, 18 (2011), 23-107, con la conveniente bibliografía.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. por F. MARTELLO, *All'ombra di Gregorio Magno. Il notaio Paterio e il Liber testimoniorum*, Roma, 2012, p. 192-196.

Alicubi autem quaedam quae de eo minus pridem dixerat, inter repetita addens verba supplevit. Quod ego de iam dictis excerpens, eidem testimonio, ubi *poposcit* locus inserendum aptavi, quia res non erat, quae separatim poni utiliter potuisset, dum ex praecedentibus quae dicta iam fuerant subsequentibusque penderent. Si enim propter novitatem parvae rei rursum dicta ponerentur, *facerent procul dubio repetita fastidium.*

Alia igitur quae iam in superioribus aut inferioribus partibus exposuisse uisus est et iterum atque iterum quamlibet aliis uerbis, eodem tamen sensu diuersis in locis recapitulata expositione retexit, praecedentibus testimoniis, ut ordo exponendarum rerum *poposcit*, aliqua inserenda, reliqua uero relinquenda curauit, quatenus ex praecedentibus sese utilius coaptarent. Nam si cuncta discreto ordine in huius operis serie poneretur, *proculdubio* magnitudo uoluminum breuitatis modum excederet atque sui recapitulatione lectoris animum offendens *facerent nihilominus repetita fastidium.*

Perpendens autem quod utriusque Testamenti in unum vellem testimonia redacta colligere, et voluminis normam exceret et legentis desiderium impediret, in tribus hoc voluminibus Domino est cooperante dispositum, ut duo veteris, tertium novi dicta contineat.

Cui rei quantitatem in sex codicibus, quatuor scilicet ueteris instrumenti, duobus etiam noui testamenti, suis connexis ordinibus, praetermissis scripturiis quas isdem uirorum sanctissimus ex ordine tractauit, adiutus orationibus uestris *explere* curauit. Praefatiunculas quoque eiusdem codicibus consonantes decerpsi, quas etiam in capite librorum praeposui, quatenus ipse sibi in suis anteponatur eloquiis qui largiente gratia Christi copiosius nobis multiplicibus extitit officiis.

Tajón debió de conocer los fragmentos supérstes del *Liber testimoniorum*, del que hasta entonces no se atestigua difusión alguna, durante su estancia en Roma, tras lo que habría decidido completar el proyecto en él anunciado. La única diferencia a nivel estructural que se deduce de lo dicho por el cesaraugustano en su carta es que la obra de éste incluía además un prólogo a cada libro bíblico (“praefatiunculas... decerpsi, quas etiam in capite librorum praeposui”). Vega<sup>19</sup> rescató y publicó algunos fragmentos exegeticos anónimos, correspondientes a la serie de los libros salomónicos (Proverbios, Cantar, Eclesiastés, Sabiduría y Eclesiástico), los actuales *Excerpta sancti Gregorii* (CPL 1269), que consideró apropiado adscribir a obispo cesaraugustano en razón de que sus características formales convenían con lo descrito en la carta a Eugenio, atribución que ha sido refrendada con buenos argumentos por parte de Castaldi y Martello<sup>20</sup>. En el florilegio editado es posible comprobar además que Tajón prescindió de consignar la

<sup>19</sup> A. C. VEGA, “Una obra inédita de Tajón de Zaragoza”, en *España Sagrada*, LVI, Madrid, 1957, p. 227-398.

<sup>20</sup> L. CASTALDI, F. MARTELLO, “Tempera quasi aurum: origine, redazione e diffusione del *Liber testimoniorum* di Paterio”, *Filologia mediolatina*, 18 (2011), 63-105. Los autores dan



cita del pasaje gregoriano que había servido como fuente, lo cual, junto a la innovación de los prólogos a cada libro bíblico, hace que los *Excerpta* se muestren un comentario integral a las escrituras, renunciando a servir, como el *Liber testimoniorum*, de acceso al original gregoriano.

Ambos autores, Tajón y Paterio, encuentran la motivación de su obra en la constatación de la “singularidad” de la doctrina de Gregorio, que constituía algo *sine comparatione*. No obstante, Tajón vincula dicha constatación a haber podido conocer personalmente la obra completa de Gregorio, tras haber encontrado en Roma los códices faltantes en la península. La afirmación en él no dejaba de ser un tanto retórica: en otros términos, Liciniano e Isidoro habían reconocido de forma más o menos explícita una “singularidad” que subyace a los extraordinarios elogios al caudal doctrinal de sus obras, no prodigados a ningún otro autor. Tajón, sin embargo, aporta la innovación del hallazgo de los volúmenes faltantes en España, y es por tanto el primero de entre sus compatriotas que conoce la obra completa de Gregorio. Me parece que este hecho es quizá el aspecto que Tajón consideró más importante remarcar, y no en vano lo vinculó en última instancia a la génesis de su obra. Con ello constituyó la base sin la que no habría podido elaborar su proyecto literario posterior, incluidas las *Sententiae*, y despertó el interés de Braulio, que le había visto medrar en la sede de Zaragoza, cimentando de esta manera, por lo que es posible comprobar, el éxito posterior de su figura.

Por fin, como ya he señalado, la carta se conserva actualmente sólo dentro de nuestro corpus. Parece haberse adjuntado en razón de las noticias que en ella pueden leerse acerca del viaje de Tajón, cuyo recuerdo como difusor de los *Moralla*, sea o no del todo verídico, recogió aún en el siglo VIII el autor de los *Chronica muzarabica* en la *Visio Taionis*<sup>21</sup>. Junto a la compilación editada por Vega, que estaba configurada ya como tal a finales del siglo VIII o inicios del IX<sup>22</sup>, es el único testimonio superviviente de los *Excerpta*.

cuenta de la existencia de extractos con reformulaciones comunes del texto-fuente entre los *Excerpta* y las *Sententiae*.

<sup>21</sup> Un caso equiparable es el de la carta de Liciniano de Cartagena a Gregorio Magno arriba mencionada, que fue incorporada como epílogo de la *Regula pastoralis* en un buen número de manuscritos. En la carta se habla en tono elogioso de la *Regula*, y es el testimonio más antiguo de la presencia de esta obra en ámbito hispanovisigodo, razón posible de su incorporación en los manuscritos. Cf. S. IRANZO ABELLÁN, “Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas”, en *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V congreso internacional de latín medieval hispánico (Barcelona, 7-10 de septiembre de 2009)*, ed. J. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, Ó. DE LA CRUZ PALMA, C. FERRERO HERNÁNDEZ, Firenze, 2011, p. 61-70.

<sup>22</sup> Aunque los manuscritos son posteriores, un códice de contenido similar a éstos fue utilizado en la composición del tratado anónimo titulado *Vox ecclesie*, fechado en torno a este período. Cf. R. E. GUGLIEMMETTI, *Alcuino. Commento al Cantico dei Cantici. Con i commenti anonimi Vox Ecclesie, Vox antique ecclesie*, Firenze, 2004, p. 183-232.

## 2. *Visio Taionis*

En la forma que presentan los manuscritos de los *Moralia*, se trata de un extracto, con cambios mínimos, tomado del capítulo 23 de los *Chronica muzarabica* a. 754, escritos por un clérigo anónimo en el suroeste peninsular, o quizá en Toledo<sup>23</sup>. En él se narra cómo el rey Chindasvinto convoca un concilio (el VII de Toledo) y encomienda a Tajón que viaje a Roma para buscar los volúmenes de los *Moralia* que faltaban en la península; una vez allí, ante las largas del papa, Tajón pernocta en la iglesia de San Pedro, donde se le aparece una cohorte de santos de la que sale el papa Gregorio Magno para mostrarle dónde se hallaban de los libros. Tajón pregunta si entre aquellos santos se encontraba también Agustín, pero Gregorio le responde que éste se encuentra “en un lugar más alto” que el suyo, y la visión se desvanece. La pieza termina afirmando que desde entonces Tajón alcanzó la gloria en la curia pontificia, cuando antes había sido despreciado como un hombre incapaz.

López Pereira, editor de la crónica, ha dejado probado que el cronista mozárabe hubo de valerse de una fuente literaria previa, elaborada o pasada a través de alguien especialmente devoto de Agustín, en razón del cierto tono de “competencia literaria” que se observa entre él y Gregorio<sup>24</sup>. No obstante, en el texto debieron de reunirse también noticias circulantes en torno a Tajón y su viaje a Roma que trascienden de las fuentes literarias conocidas, que se adaptaron a las formas canónicas que desde la difusión de los *Dialogi* de Gregorio Magno asume la literatura visionaria<sup>25</sup>.

A partir de esta versión, la leyenda ha sido reelaborada en diversas ocasiones. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada la conoció posiblemente a partir de la crónica y la reprodujo, con cambios sustanciales para “suavizar” los elementos más

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. E. LÓPEZ PEREIRA, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, Zaragoza, 1980, p. 9-18, que continuaría reafirmando en su más reciente *Continuatio isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754*, León, 2009, p. 46-61, y C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, “The Textual Transmission of the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754”, *Early Mediaeval Europe*, 8 (1999), p. 13-29.

<sup>24</sup> J. E. LÓPEZ PEREIRA, *Continuatio isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754*, León, 2009, p. 59-61.

<sup>25</sup> M. GARCIA, “Pour une idéologie du transfert: deux exemples tirés de la chronique castillane”, *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 28, 2005, 15-35; P. CONTE, *Il Sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649. La nuova edizione degli atti a cura di Rudolf Riedinger. Rassegna critica di fonti dei secoli VII-XII*, Città del Vaticano, 1989, p. 381-386; F. MARTELLO, “Vidimus Gregorium: il recupero, tra storia e leggenda, dell'eredità letteraria e spirituale di Gregorio Magno”, en *Les réceptions des Pères de l'Église au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale. Congrès du Centre Sèvres – Facultés jésuites de Paris (11-14 juin 2008)*. Actes, ed. R. BERNDT, M. FÉDOU, Munster, 2013, p. 965-994.

críticos con el papa y la curia pontificia, en su *De rebus Hispaniae*<sup>26</sup>, de donde bebe la versión romance de la *General estoria* de Alfonso X<sup>27</sup>. Desde finales del siglo XII circula igualmente como prefacio a los *Moralla* una versión “autónoma” de la *Visio Taionis* en numerosos manuscritos extrahispánicos, por cuya disposición se diría heredera del corpus que aquí estudio, si bien a nivel de contenido transmite algunas reformulaciones idénticas a las practicadas por Jiménez de Rada, como ha puesto de manifiesto Martello<sup>28</sup>, lo que obliga a establecer una relación de dependencia entre ambas que habrá de ser objeto de ulteriores estudios. Esta versión presenta en primer lugar un cierto retrato de Gregorio Magno, de lo que se deriva la leyenda de Tajón como una suerte de relato pintoresco. De ella bebe también el *Speculum historiale* de Vicente de Beauvais<sup>29</sup>, y de éste a su vez la *Legenda aurea* de Santiago de Varazze, en cuya última redacción figura el relato de la leyenda<sup>30</sup>.

Los cambios aplicados en el acto de extracción de la pieza se reducen a la eliminación de algunos datos superfluos acerca de la celebración del concilio de Toledo<sup>31</sup>, y posiblemente ciertos errores mínimos y alguna mejora de poca entidad en la gramática<sup>32</sup>. Por lo demás, el texto es esencialmente idéntico al de un código mozárabe de fines del siglo VIII, conservado hoy sólo fragmentariamente (Madrid, Biblioteca Real Academia de la Historia,

<sup>26</sup> Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae siue historia Gothica*, ed. por J. Fernández Valverde, Turnhout, 1987 (CCCM, 72), p. 69-70.

<sup>27</sup> Adefonsus X rex, *Estoria de Espanna*, ed. por R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, D. CATALÁN, *Primera crónica general*, I, Madrid, 1977, p. 279-280.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. F. MARTELLO, “Vidimus Gregorium: il recupero, tra storia e leggenda, dell’eredità letteraria e spirituale di Gregorio Magno”, en *Les réceptions des Pères de l’Église au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale. Congrès du Centre Sèvres – Facultés jésuites de Paris (11-14 juin 2008). Actes*, ed. R. BERNDT, M. FÉDOU, Munster, 2013, p. 970-972. Actualmente esta versión es posible encontrarla únicamente en PL 75, coll. 507A-510C, y sería bastante verosímil que los distintos manuscritos transmitan novedades e innovaciones relevantes.

<sup>29</sup> Vicentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*, XX, 26, ed. *Speculum quadruplex siue Speculum majus. Naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*, Douai, 1624.

<sup>30</sup> Iacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. por G. P. MAGGIONI, Firenze, 1998 (Millenio Medievale 6, Testi 3), p. 305.

<sup>31</sup> Así, el texto inicial “Hic in Toletanam urbem synodale decretum XXX episcoporum cum omni clero uel uicariis eorum episcoporum, quos langor uel inopia presentes fore non fecit, atque palatinum collegium, qui electione concilii interesse meruerunt, mirifice anno regni sui quinto indicit celebrandum, discurrentibus tantum notaiis quos ad recitandum uel ad excipiendum ordo requirit. Hic Taionem...” (ed. por J. E. López Pereira, *Continuatio isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754*, León, 2009, p. 190-192) se reformula en “Chindasuinus Gothorum rex in Toletanam urbem synodale decretum XXX episcoporum cum omni clero mirifice anno regni sui quinto indicit celebrandum. Hic Taionem...”.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Visio Taionis* 10: ut] *om. Chron.*; 15: est] *om. Chron.*; ueridice] uericidicus *Chron.*; 19: in noctis medio] subito in noctis medio *Chron.*; 32: lampadibus] lampades *Chron.*; 34: esse Christi] Xpi esse *Chron.*

81 + London, British Library, Egerton 1934; sigla *Mz* en la edición de López Pereira), de cuya circulación, por desgracia, nada sabemos<sup>33</sup>.

### 3. *Index partium librorum Moraliū*

Se trata de la parte que más variaciones ha experimentado en el conjunto. Que yo sepa, solamente se transmite entre los códices que contienen el resto del corpus. Por lo que cabe deducir del texto que actualmente muestran los manuscritos, se trata sustancialmente de una indicación de los libros que contiene cada una de las partes de los *Moralia*, a lo que sigue una relación de las demás obras de Gregorio y sus divisiones. Todo el texto se encuentra copiado en los manuscritos en capitales decoradas o tinta roja.

Es significativo que se indique que cada parte se encuentra en un código distinto ("*libros Moraliū XXXV libros diuisos partibus atque codicibus VT*"), ya que ésta es la forma en que Gregorio distribuyó originalmente la obra, y, aunque dicha forma se fue perdiendo en detrimento de códices que recogen secciones más amplias, aún en el siglo X debían de existir en la península códices que transmitían únicamente alguna de las partes, a raíz de lo que es posible leer en algún documento de la época<sup>34</sup>. Quiere esto decir que el índice pudo haberse escrito para un código correspondiente a la primera parte de una serie de los *Moralia*, que sólo con posterioridad habría de reunirse en uno, dos o tres códices, como muestran las distribuciones más habituales.

Por otra parte, es digno de tener en cuenta que las *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* parecen mencionarse como dentro de un único código – aun indicando su división en dos partes–, como las demás obras de Gregorio que se citan. Ello probablemente impida hacer remontar el índice más allá del siglo VIII, que es cuando ambas partes de esta obra, en origen compuestas y difundidas de manera separada, comienza a atestiguar una tradición manuscrita común<sup>35</sup>.

Los códices hispánicos transmiten asimismo las palabras del copista, integradas dentro de este conjunto de capitales decoradas o tinta de color, en la

<sup>33</sup> M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la península. Ensayo de distribución regional*, Sevilla, 1995, p. 150 propuso, con dudas, identificar los folios conservados en Madrid y Londres con parte de los cuaterniones iniciales perdidos en el código de Madrid, Biblioteca Real Academia de la Historia, 80, quizá compuesto originalmente en Toledo. De todos modos, es imposible aducir ningún argumento definitivo.

<sup>34</sup> Así en un documento del 15 de marzo del 936, por el que los obispos Rosendo y Ero donan al monasterio de Caaveiro "partem libri moralii usque in libro quinto", es decir, lo que parece la primera parte de los *Moralia* (cf. M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, "De manuscritos visigóticos: nuevos fragmentos en León", *Archivos leoneses*, 53, 1973, p. 94).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. L. CASTALDI, *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission. Te.Tra 5. Gregorius I papa*, Firenze, 2013, p. 3-43.

que indica que se habrá de añadir el capítulo del *De uiris illustribus* isidoriano. Desgraciadamente es imposible saber con seguridad si dicha adición se encontraba ya en la familia extrahispánica de *GP*, ya que ambos muestran indicios de que el texto se copió incompleto<sup>36</sup>.

Además, en sus líneas finales el índice que presentan los manuscritos hispánicos declara ser de tipo cronológico, e incluso matiza que los *Moralia* fueron escritos en primer lugar por Gregorio añadiendo un sintagma *in primis* (*Index*, 1) que no aparece en *GP*<sup>37</sup>. Es posible, pues, que los manuscritos hispánicos sean herederos de una reelaboración de material preliminar, y que *GP* constituyan una derivación independiente del original. Lamentablemente, dado su carácter incompleto, ambos códices no bastan para poder editar la versión antigua.

#### 4. *Laus Gregorii*

Como ya se ha dicho, el extracto del capítulo 23 del *De uiris illustribus* de Isidoro se encuentra únicamente en la rama hispánica de la tradición manuscrita de este corpus, y si bien pudo haberse incorporado en el subarquetipo de ésta no es algo que se pueda certificar con total seguridad.

Las innovaciones sobre el texto de la fuente (la mayoría errores de transcripción) son escasas<sup>38</sup>, y tampoco es posible filiar la pieza con ninguna rama en concreto de la obra original.

<sup>36</sup> *G*, en lugar de la referencia a las demás obras de Gregorio, incorpora un texto difícil comprensión acerca del estilo y el método exegético de Gregorio, que debía culminar en el inicio del prólogo gregoriano propiamente dicho, del que se copian las dos primeras palabras. Todo indica que este texto remonta a un modelo copiado en esta posición, o que fue proyectado originalmente para ella. En cuanto a *P*, el texto termina abruptamente en *Dialogorum libri* (*Index*, 5), si bien debajo de él se deja un espacio en blanco – donde se impondría un ex libris reciente – lo suficientemente amplio para que se escribieran unas cuantas líneas más.

<sup>37</sup> La fuente de la cronología atribuida es oscura. Probablemente, como dice Díaz y Díaz, las obras mencionadas estuvieran a disposición en el monasterio en que se hallaba el redactor del índice, aunque en general la lista conviene con las obras de Gregorio más copiadas y difundidas en la península en la alta edad media (cf. L. CASTALDI, *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and Their Transmission. Te.Tra.5. Gregorius I papa*, Firenze, 2013, p. 38-43). Sorprendería la ausencia del *Registrum epistolarum*, aunque la difusión de esta obra en la península siempre fue reducida. De todas formas, sería de tener en cuenta si el copista consideró sólo los tratados de teología propiamente dichos, ya que ni siquiera menciona la carta de Gregorio a Leandro que cita Isidoro en el capítulo del *De uiris illustribus*, citando parte de la misma.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 2 humilitate] et humilitate *Isid.*; 3 in] *om. Isid.*; 8 idem] idem etiam *Isid.*; 10/11 quantam historiam] quanta mysteria *Isid.*; 22 monumenta potuit cognoscere] potuit cognoscere dicta *Isid.*

## 5. Testimonios

Se conservan, hasta donde yo sé, catorce testimonios manuscritos, ninguno anterior al siglo X:

### **B** Barcelona, Archivo Capitular, 102

*Estudios:* J. VILLANUEVA, *Viaje literario á las iglesias de España. Tomo XVIII: Viaje á Lérida y Barcelona*, Madrid, 1851, p. 93-95; Z. GARCÍA VILLADA, *Paleografía Española*, I, Madrid, 1923, p. 95; C. U. CLARK, *Collectanea Hispanica*, Paris, 1920, p. 95; A. MILLARES CARLO, *Estudios Paleográficos*, Madrid, 1932, p. 452; R. P. ROBINSON, "Some Newly Discovered Fragments of Visigothic Manuscripts", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 60 (1929), p. 52; P. BOHIGAS, *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña: contribución al estudio de la historia de la miniatura catalana*, I, Barcelona 1960, p. 24-25.

Pergamino. Primera mitad del siglo X. 485 × 330 / 360 × 230. A dos columnas. Letra visigótica. En origen contenía los prólogos jeronimianos, el libro de Job, los prólogos tajonianos y el texto de los *Moralia*. Numerosas miniaturas, pero prácticamente todas fueron arrancadas. Se ha conjeturado que pudiera encontrarse ya en el siglo X en Cataluña, dado que en los ff. 6r-7v la escritura muestra hábitos carolinos, pero sólo Villanueva lo considera de origen propiamente catalán. El resto piensa en el interior de la península, y Díaz apunta que es "indudablemente" de región burgalesa. En los prólogos tajonianos (ff. 10r-11v) se contienen el final de la carta a Eugenio (muy afectada por la mutilación de la primera parte del bifolio), la *Visio Taionis* y el elogio isidoriano, precedidos estos dos por un *Alius* en tinta roja.

### **C** Calahorra, Archivo Capitular, 2

*Estudios:* T. AYUSO MARAZUELA, "Un scriptorium español desconocido", *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), p. 3-27; J. LECLERQ, "Textes et manuscrits de quelques bibliothèques d'Espagne", *Hispania Sacra*, 2 (1949), p. 91-118; F. BUJANDA, "Archivo Catedral de Calahorra", *Berceo*, 77 (1965), p. 419-475; A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, "La edición riojana de los *Moralia* in Job en un códice calagurritano del siglo XII", *Berceo*, 142 (2002), p. 77-92.

Pergamino. Siglo XII. A dos columnas. Letra carolina de transición. Cabe situar su origen en la Rioja mismo. Muy mutilado, aunque debió de contar con una destacada iluminación. Contiene los prólogos jeronimianos y el libro de Job y, después (ff. 6v-7v), como en *B*, la epístola a Eugenio, la *Visio Taionis* y el elogio isidoriano.

### **P** Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Piana 3166

*Estudios:* D. FAVA, "La biblioteca di papa Pio VII", *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 16 (1942), p. 261; D. GNOLA, "I manoscritti della Biblioteca Piana", en *Due papi per Cesena. Pio VI e Pio VII nei documenti della Piancastelli e della Malatestiana*, ed. P. ERRARI, Bologna, 1999, p. 260-261.



Pergamino. Siglo XIII. 229 × 138. A dos columnas. Letra gótica. Perteneció a la familia Chiaramonti, cuyo sello figura en f. 1v, y fue donado a Pío VII en 1814 por el marqués Giacomo Lepri. Contiene los *Moralla in Iob* precedidos de la *Visio Taionis* y una transcripción parcial del índice (f. 1v). Su texto probablemente copie del mismo modelo que *V*.

**O** El Burgo de Osma, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 177 (primer volumen)

*Estudios*: T. ROJO ORCAJO, "Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma (Conclusión)", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 95 (1929), p. 271-272.

Pergamino. Siglo XII. 515 × 364. Transmite la serie habitual invertida, iniciándose con el corpus tajaniano (con las cuatro piezas: carta a Eugenio, *Visio Taionis*, índice y elogio isidoriano, f. 1r/v), al que siguen los prólogos jeronimianos y el libro de Job. La mayor parte de la carta se ha perdido por la mutilación del folio inicial.

**E** El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial, d.I.1

*Estudios*: G. ANTOLÍN, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, I, Madrid, 1910, p. 320-368; G. MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ, La colección canónica hispana. I. Estudio, Madrid, Barcelona, 1966, p. 117-120; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 155-162; A. MILLARES CARLO, *Corpus de códices visigóticos. I. Estudio*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999, p. 50-51; V. YARZA URQUIOLA, C. CODOÑER MERINO, *Ildephonsus Toletanus episcopus. De uerginitate sanctae Mariae. De cognitione baptismi. De itinere deserti, De uiris illustribus*, Turnhout, 2007 (CCSL 114A), p. 527; P. F. ALBERTO, "The Textual Tradition of the Carmen de ventis (AL 484): Some Preliminary Conclusions with a New Edition", *Aevum* 83 (2009), p. 341-375.

Pergamino. Año 992. 455 × 300. A dos columnas. Letra visigótica. Originario de San Millán. Se trata de una conocida copia de la colección canónica hispana junto a otros muchos suplementos. Contiene sólo la *Visio Taionis*, copiada en el interior de un fascículo (ff. 230r-234v) sin duda añadido con posterioridad, en el que se copiaron también la epístola de Eugenio de Toledo a Protasio de Tarragona, la *Vita Ildephonsi* y unos fragmentos de Burcardo de Worms. El modelo más verosímil es el también emilianense *A*, cuyo epígrafe de la *Visio Taionis* se reproduce aquí.

**L** León, Archivo San Isidoro de León, 10 (primer volumen)

*Estudios*: J. PÉREZ LLAMAZARES, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, León, 1923, p. 36; J. YARZA LUACES, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura románicas", *Compostellanum* 30 (1985), p. 369-393; T. MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, "Los códices de santo Martino, singularidades paleográficas", en *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre santo Martino en el VIII Cente-*



nario de su obra literaria (1185-1985), León, 1987, p. 429-458; A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León. Serie bibliográfica. Los códices VI-X.2*, León, 2001, p. 455-661.

Pergamino. Siglo XII/XIII. 480 × 460 / 330 × 320. Primero de dos volúmenes de los *Moralia*. A dos columnas. Aunque la copia está suscrita por Prudencio de Sandoval, el trabajo de composición recuerda al de otros códices de la Colegiata, según señala Suárez González. Se puede deducir que el código depende de un modelo copiado por un tal *Spassandus confesor*, cuyo nombre pasó por error a formar parte del título de la epístola a Eugenio (donde tras la titulación habitual se lee *Spassandus confesor dei misericordia*). Se inicia directamente con el corpus tajaniano, que incluye la serie habitual compuesta por la epístola, la *Visio Taionis*, el índice y el elogio isidoriano (ff. 1r-4r).

**R** Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 1

*Estudios*: F. VOLLMER, *MGH. Auct. ant.*, 14, Berolini, 1905, p. xlviii; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 337; S. DE SILVA Y VERÁSTEGUI, "Un nuevo ejemplar ilustrado de los Morales de Gregorio Magno (BAH cod. 1) del siglo XIII, inédito", *Archivo Español de Arte* 69 (1996), p. 407-422; E. RUIZ GARCÍA, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1997, p. 63-65.

Pergamino. Primer cuarto del siglo XIII. 570 × 410 / 410 × 125. A dos columnas. Letra carolina. Es un código producto una reactualización de la librería emilianense habida a inicios del siglo XIII, cuando se realizaron nuevas copias de los antiguos modelos visigóticos allí conservados. Éste, por lo que cabe deducir, es copia de *A*<sup>2</sup>, cuyo epígrafe para la *Visio Taionis* comparte. Se inicia con el corpus tajaniano (ff. 1r-2r, que contiene la serie constituida por la epístola, la *Visio Taionis*, el índice y el elogio isidoriano), sin el libro de Job ni los prólogos jeronimianos.

**A** Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 5

*Estudios*: M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, "De manuscritos visigóticos: nuevos fragmentos en León", *Archivos leoneses*, 53 (1973), p. 89.; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 122-127; E. RUIZ GARCÍA, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1997, p. 77-80.

Pergamino. Siglo X. 475 / 470 × 335. A dos columnas. Letra visigótica, del tipo de San Millán, donde fue copiado. Contiene dos bifolios (A-B) a modo de guarda, que se corresponden con el comentario jeronimiano a Job 2,8, a lo que sigue nuestro corpus (ff. 6v-8v, con la serie habitual compuesta por la epístola, la *Visio Taionis*, el índice y el elogio isidoriano) y el texto en sí de los *Moralia*, afectado por numerosas mutilaciones que han hecho que se perdiera la gran mayor parte del código original. Según Ruiz los ff. 1-8,

con la masa introductoria, podrían ser originarios de un volumen hoy perdido, al igual que A-B. Una mano del siglo XII realizó numerosas intervenciones. La labor de revisión afectó también al corpus tajoniano (*A*<sup>2</sup>), sobre el que se realizan algunas correcciones con vistas a mejorar o normalizar el texto, algo bien perceptible en la *Visio Taionis*. Esta última está precedida además de un epígrafe original que reza *De uisione habita Taioni epicopo in Romana ecclesia et de libro Morali in Spania ducto*.

**M** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 80

*Estudios*: M. DE LA TORRE, P. LONGAS, *Catálogo de códices. Bíblicos*, Madrid, 1935, p. 187-193; *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, I, Madrid, 1953, p. 84; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, "De manuscritos visigóticos: nuevos fragmentos en León", *Archivos leoneses*, 53 (1973), p. 90; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño 1979, p. 337-338.

Pergamino. Año 945. 488 × 337. A dos columnas. Letra visigótica. Copia elaborada por Florencio de Valeránica, cuya extensa suscripción se conserva al final del código. Estuvo custodiado en Toledo, donde habría sido conocido por Juan Bautista Pérez, copista de *T*. Contiene el corpus tajoniano más completo (ff. 14v-16r, con la epístola, *Visio Taionis*, índice y elogio isidoriano) tras el libro de Job con sus prólogos jerónimianos.

**X** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 590

*Estudios*: *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional. II (510 a 896)*, Madrid, 1956, p. 87-90.

Papel. Siglo XVII. 240 × 170. Procede de la Librería de Felipe V. Se trata de una miscelánea de textos antiguos elaborada por Martín Ximena Jurado y titulada *Collectio opusculorum aliquorum scriptorum e quam plurimis, qui in Hispaniam floruerunt, tam sub imperio regum Gothorum, quam Sarracenorum inter captivos Christianos Mozarabes*. Figura solamente la epístola de Tajón a Eugenio (p. 41-46). Es copia de *T*, cuyo texto reproduce con bastante fidelidad.

**H** Madrid, Real Biblioteca, 12

*Estudios*: <https://realbiblioteca.patrimonionacional.es/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=115202> (consultado 17/11/2017).

Pergamino. Siglo XIV. 445 × 295. A dos columnas. Letra gótica. Procede del monasterio de Las Huelgas, en Burgos, donde verosíblemente habría sido copiado. Presenta algunas correcciones al texto, en letra algo posterior (*H*<sup>2</sup>). Contiene el libro de Job seguido del corpus tajoniano (ff. 9r-11r), que incluye la serie habitual de la epístola, la *Visio Taionis*, el índice y el elogio isidoriano.

**G** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2213 (primer volumen)

*Estudios:* Bibliothèque Nationale. *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins. Tome II (1439-2692)*, Paris, 1939, p. 366-367; J. DUFOUR, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, Genève, Droz, 1972; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 340.

Pergamino. Siglo XI. 545 × 340. Primero de dos volúmenes de los *Moralia*. A dos columnas. Letra carolina. Su procedencia inmediata es la Biblioteca de Colbert, donde llevó la signatura 62. Fue copiado probablemente en la abadía de Moissac, pasando después a Le Puy. El códice es el testimonio más antiguo conocido de una edición de los *Moralia* dividida en capítulos temáticos y elaborada por el presbítero Rainiero de Arezzo en tiempos de Enrique II, emperador del Sacro Imperio, según se consigna justo antes del prólogo gregoriano<sup>39</sup>. El códice tiene trazas de haber sido objeto de revisión (numerosos tachados y correcciones incorporadas en los márgenes), y se inicia con el corpus tajaniano (ff. 1r/v), compuesto de la epístola, el índice en la recensión A y la *Visio Taionis* en una mano distinta del resto. En el corpus se observan síntomas paleográficos de un modelo en visigótica, como indica Díaz y Díaz.

**V** Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B136

*Estudios:* A. PONCELET, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanorum praeter quam Vaticanarum. Prodit in appendice ad Analecta Bollandiana*, XXIV-XXVII, Bruxelles, 1909, p. 383; M. T. ROSA, P. FORMICA, "Contributo per una ricostruzione della biblioteca manoscritta di Achille Stazio", *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 55 (1987), p. 1-16.

Pergamino. Siglo XII. 191 × 100. Se trata de un códice misceláneo, que incorporó al inicio (ff. 1r-2v) la *Visio Taionis*, cuyo texto se inserta sin duda en la rama de GP, aunque muestra mayor proximidad con este último. Contiene además una *Historia apostolica*, precedida de las cartas de Arator a Floriano y al papa Vigilio. Perteneció a los fondos del oratorio de San Felipe Neri.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. f. 8r: "In nomine dei patris et domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti et spiritus sancti incipit prologus super capitula moralium beati Gregori pape uenarabilissimi. Xpisti Ihesu Gregorius seruus ac urbis Rome papa uenarabilissimus composuit et pretitulauit multa uolumina librorum, preposuit etiam per libros seriem capitulorum, fecit quoque in uerba beati Iob expositionis, sed capitulorum ad eiusdem sententias non addidit ordinationem. Igitur Henrici secundi imperatoris tempore Rainerius Aretine ecclesie canonicus presbiter per omnes fere sententias supradicte expositionis uigilanti studio et cogitatione capitula supposuit, non propter inanis glorie fauorem, sed ductus diuini amoris zelo et utilitate legentium seu etiam legentes audientium, ut quicquid utile ad tempus in illis sententiis quaereretur, cito et quasi sine labore inueniretur".

**T** Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 27-24

*Estudios*: F. VOLLMER, *MGH. Auct. ant.*, 14, Berolini, 1905, p. xlviii; M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 337; J. C. MARTÍN IGLESIAS, “Une nouvelle édition critique de la Vita Desiderii de Sisebut, accompagnée de quelques réflexions concernant la date des Sententiae et du De uiris illustribus d’Isidore de Séville”, *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), p. 127-128; S. IRANZO ABELLÁN, J. C. MARTÍN IGLESIAS, “Toribio de Astorga, Epistula ad Isatium et Cepotium (CPL 564): Edición crítica”, *Sacris erudiri*, 54 (2015), p. 129-149.

Papel. Fines del siglo XVI. Contiene una miscelánea de textos epistolares, de Valerio del Bierzo, *uitae*, etc. Fue elaborada por Juan Bautista Pérez. Únicamente se copió la epístola a Eugenio de Toledo (ff. 131r-133r), para integrarla en el corpus epistolar de este último personaje, habiéndose sacado, según se indica, de un códice custodiado en Toledo (verosíblemente *M*, que se encontraba por entonces en dicha librería).

No incluyo aquí la versión del códice Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, Alc. 349 (manuscrito de los *Moralia* compuesto para dotar la nascente biblioteca de Alcobaça en el siglo XIII), cuyo texto fue publicado y estudiado por Nascimento<sup>40</sup>. Su versión parece inspirada en la forma extrahispánica de la *Visio Taionis* – verosímil tanto más en cuanto que el modelo para el texto de los *Moralia* posiblemente sea un códice francés-, posterior al siglo XII, que estaría detrás del interés por el formato adoptado, esto es, un retrato inicial de Gregorio Magno sólo tras el cual se pasa al relato fantástico de Tajón. El texto consignado, sin embargo, parecería el de la *Visio Taionis* de nuestro corpus, si bien, como indica Nascimento, el compilador realizó una confrontación con el texto de la *Crónica mozárabe* (y, quizá, el *De uiris illustribus*), incorporando importantes novedades. Se trata, pues, de una versión “híbrida” donde nuestro corpus constituye sólo el modelo a partir del cual se buscaron las fuentes originales.

Cabe hacer alusión, por otra parte, a algunos testimonios perdidos. Ya he mencionado que *L* debió de tener como modelo un códice copiado por un cierto *Spasandus*. El antropónimo parece ser ciertamente frecuente en la documentación medieval de Galicia y León, frente a la castellano-riojana, donde no se encuentra testimonio alguno y de donde cabría esperar, a priori, su procedencia<sup>41</sup>. Deja esto la puerta abierta a que nuestro corpus pudiera haber circulado también por el extremo más noroccidental de la península, donde los testimonios de los *Moralia* conservados hoy son escasos.

<sup>40</sup> A. A. NASCIMENTO, “Um testemunho da tradição hispânica dos *Moralia* in Iob: Lisboa, BN, Alc. 349. Subsídios para o seu enquadramento”, *Archivos leoneses*, 79-80 (1986), p. 313-332.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León. Serie bibliográfica. Los códices VI-X.2*, León, 2001, p. 465-468.

Se debe mencionar también el código Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 83, copiado en Cardeña en la segunda década del siglo X, hoy mutilo de sus bifolios iniciales. Que contuvo el corpus tajoniano es sabido de los estudiosos gracias a una indicación dada por Berganza<sup>42</sup>. No obstante, hay una copia de la epístola a Eugenio publicada por Matías de Villanuño (v) en 1790, que hasta donde yo sé ha pasado desapercibida hasta ahora.

Finalmente, las piezas han sido publicadas en las siguientes ediciones:

- g** G. DE LOAISA, *Collectio conciliorum Hispaniae*, Madriti, 1593.  
García de Loaisa publicó la edición príncipe de la *Visio Taionis* (p. 414-415) dentro de su colección de concilios hispánicos antes incluso de que fuera publicada la Crónica mozárabe. Indica haber sacado el texto "ex vetusto C[odice]", probablemente E.
- b** S. BALUZIVS, *Miscellaneorum liber quartus. Hoc est, collectio veterum monumentorum quae hactenus latuerant in variis codicibus ac bibliothecis*, Parisiis, 1683.  
Baluze editó la epístola de Tajón a Eugenio (p. 397-402) en el cuarto volumen de sus *Miscellaneae*, consagrado en su mayoría a textos epistolares. Indica basarse en el código 66 de la Biblioteca Colbertina, esto es, el actual Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2207, pero dicho código no transmite la carta. En cambio, por el texto cabe deducir que es una copia fiel de G. Este último llevó el número 62 de la Biblioteca Colbertina, por lo que probablemente se trate de un error de la edición al consignar la referencia. Baluze incluso editó, inmediatamente después la epístola, la nota de Rainiero de Arezzo que transmite nuestro código.
- a** J. SÁENZ DE AGUIRRE, *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniae et noui orbis epistolarumque decretalium celebriorum, necnon plurium monumentorum ueterum ad illam spectantium*, III, Salmanticae, 1686.  
La edición de la colección canónica hispana de Aguirre incluye (p. 427-428), como g, la *Visio Taionis*, siendo esta última edición su fuente exclusiva.
- b<sup>2</sup>** J. D. MANSI, *Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea novo ordine digesta et non paucis ineditis monumentis opportunisque animadversionibus aucta*, III, Lucae, 1762.  
La reedición de Mansi de las *Miscellaneae* de Baluze transmite fielmente el texto de la epístola (p. 28-29) según b.

<sup>42</sup> "Al principio de este libro de los Morales de San Gregorio puso el mismo Autor la Carta, que el Obispo Tayo escribió a Eugenio, arzobispo de Toledo" (F. DE BERGANZA, *Antigüedades de España*, I, Madrid, 1716, p. 177). Cf. también M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Ryland's Library at Manchester*, Manchester, 1921, p. 150-153; B. SHAILOR, "The Scriptorium of San Pedro de Cardeña", *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library Manchester*, 61 (1978-1979), p. 444-473.

- c J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, X, Florentiae, 1764.

La vasta colección conciliar de Mansi reproduce la *Visio Taionis* en su décimo tomo (p. 773-774) como apéndice al VII Concilio de Toledo, tomando expresamente el texto y las notas de *g*.

- r M. RISCO, *España Sagrada*, XXXI, Madrid, 1776

La publicación de Risco (p. 152-153) figura como apéndice a su estudio sobre Tajón, distribuido en los tomos XXX y XXXI de la *España Sagrada*, donde se publicaron también las *Sententiae*. Su fuente declarada es *b*, aunque se permite conjeturar ciertas enmiendas al texto, alguna de las cuales fue aceptada por Vollmer.

- l F. DE LORENZANA, *SS.PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant Opera nunc primum simul edita, ad codices mss. recognita, nonnullis notis illustrata, atque in duos tomos distributa*, I, Matriti, 1782.

Lorenzana edita la epístola de Tajón (p. 90-93) después de los poemas y la colección epistolar de Eugenio. Su fuente declarada es *b*, que reproduce con algunos errores.

- v M. DE VILLANUÑO, *Summa conciliorum Hispaniae, quotquot inveniri potuerunt ad usque saeculum proxime praeteritum, epistolarum ad Hispanos cum earum praeteritum, notis, novisque disserationibus adornata*, I, Madrid, 1785.

Se trata de un compendio de la colección canónica hispana basado en el de *a*, con unas pocas adiciones y notas críticas. El editor prescinde de volver a reproducir la *Visio Taionis*, pero cree ser el primero en encontrar la epístola a Eugenio, que publica en apéndice (p. 518-523) a sus consideraciones sobre Tajón y el VII Concilio de Toledo. Lo más interesante es que el autor afirma que su modelo es el actual código de Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 83, que había podido consultar en 1766 en Cardena, y que hoy carece de los folios iniciales donde se encontraría el corpus tajo-niano. Este detalle ha pasado sistemáticamente inadvertido a los críticos. Es interesante además que pone la fecha de este código en 919, frente a la de 911 leída por Berganza<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. p. 518: "Haec Epistola, quae numquam edita est, fortasse eruditus alicuius erit momenti. Eam invenimus anno millesimo septingentesimo sexto in Tabulario antiquissimi Monasterii S. Petri de Karadigna O. N. extat in Codice, ubi Moralia S. Gregorii M. continentur, descripto a Gomezio ejusdem Monasterii Diacono, de mandato Damiani Abbatis. Aera 957 (ann. 919), hunc enim notam habet in calce. De hoc tamen lectorem praemonere oportet, quod in Codice tam venerandae antiquitatis, immediate post Epistolam, sequitur Visio Tajo-nis, quam Romae habuit, ad inveniendum Moralia S. Gregorii [...]".



- p** J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae cursus completus... series Latina*, 80, Paris, 1867.

La edición de PL reproduce fielmente (coll. 723-728) el texto de la epístola publicado por *b*<sup>2</sup>.

- m** F. VOLLMER, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum Tomus XIV. Fl. Merobaudis reliquiae. Blossi Aemilii Dracontii carmina. Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina et epistulae*, Berolini, 1905.

Vollmer es el primero en editar críticamente la carta de Tajón a Eugenio (p. 287-290). Se valió de los manuscritos *RT* y la edición *b*, aceptando alguna enmienda conjeturada por *r*. Todos son *descripti* de testimonios actualmente conocidos, y su desconfianza sobre *b*, de la que sospecha puede contener correcciones carentes de indicación, le impide valorar como hubiera debido el texto que transmite. Además cree que la carta se difundió en dos ramas diversas, una constituida por *R* y *b* (la rama de los *Moralia*) y otra por *T* (con el corpus epistolar de Eugenio), lo que es falso, dado que *T* deriva de un códice de la rama hispánica de los *Moralia* (*M*) emparentado con *R*, y la integración de la carta dentro de la serie epistolar eugeniana no tiene lugar por primera vez, precisamente, hasta que se copia *T*, ya en época moderna.

- d** M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979.

Díaz y Díaz editó y estudió el corpus completo (p. 342-350), siendo la suya la edición de referencia en la actualidad. Utilizó los manuscritos *AMPRT* y las ediciones *bmr*. Aunque se valió de los testimonios más relevantes, contiene varios errores y omisiones a la hora de consignar las variantes en el texto y el aparato crítico, y dio un peso a las variantes de *A* que encuentro infundado. Señalo algunos ejemplos relevantes:

*Epistula ad Eugenium*

93 *recurrens G d*] *decurrens rel. (tantum ut lectio R constat in apparatu)*

98/99 *superius AM d*] *superioribus rel.*

99 *et iterum codd. et edd. sed om. d (non constat in apparatu)*

117 *praeue A d: paruae rel. (non constat in apparatu)*

119 *litoris coniecturam Baluzii putat d, sed in G constat*

*Visio Taionis*

2 *indixit A<sup>2</sup>R: indicit rel. (non constat in apparatu)*

3 *ordine A<sup>2</sup>R: ordinis rel. (non constat in apparatu)*

*Laus Gregorii*

5 *regula d: regule rel. (non constat in apparatu)*

14 *unam A d: una rel. (non constat in apparatu)*

23 *suo AR d: ipso rel. (non constat in apparatu)*



Estos errores han llevado a confusión a quienes han encontrado testimonios nuevos del corpus tajoniano, que han visto lecturas exclusivas o han hecho propuestas de filiación de sus hallazgos en base a estas lecturas fijadas incorrectamente<sup>44</sup>. Por otra parte, las consideraciones de Díaz acerca de la historia del texto resultan ahora incompletas ante la cantidad de testimonios descubiertos recientemente.

## 6. Orígenes e historia del texto

El origen del conjunto debe de partir de un modelo hispánico identificable con el primer código de una serie de seis tomos – uno para cada *parte* tal como fueron difundidas por Gregorio – de los *Moralia* al que se le había asociado un índice en que se daba cuenta de dicha distribución de las partes y de los libros que éstas contenían. Junto a él, aparecen en primer lugar la epístola de Tajón a Eugenio de Toledo, y en posiciones variables la *Visio Taionis* y el capítulo isidoriano. Se ha aducido aquí que este último es posible que fuera incorporado exclusivamente en una de las dos ramas de la tradición, exclusivamente hispánica.

Un caso particular presentan el manuscrito *B* y su probable descendiente, *C*. Los dos transmiten una presentación particular del conjunto donde las piezas, a excepción de la epístola, están introducidas por un *Alius* y, lo que es más relevante, el índice está ausente. Su texto, como se verá, se integra dentro de la rama de los códigos hispánicos, y la presencia del elogio isidoriano hace difícil que testimonie una fase anterior en la elaboración definitiva del corpus. El índice pudo haberse emplazado en otro lugar, afectados como están ambos códigos por mutilaciones en sus bifolios iniciales y justo después del final del elogio isidoriano, o bien es posible que el modelo de *B* presentase un fallo técnico por el que no se hubiesen llegado a incorporar las iniciales decoradas, dejando el espacio en blanco correspondiente, razón por la que *B* habría copiado el texto inmediatamente posterior a la *Visio Taionis*, esto es, el elogio isidoriano.

Las variantes textuales no son de gran entidad en los manuscritos más antiguos. De todos modos, por lo que respecta a la carta, parece que *G* (*Ep. Ad Eug.* 119) transmite una lectura que ha sido omitida en los demás

<sup>44</sup> Cf. a este respecto las consideraciones de A. A. NASCIMENTO, “Um testemunho da tradição hispânica dos *Moralia in Iob*: Lisboa, BN, Alc. 349. Subsídios para o seu enquadramento”, *Archivos leoneses*, 79-80 (1986), p. 313-332; A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, “La edición riojana de los *Moralia in Job* en un código calagurritano del siglo XII”, *Berceo*, 142 (2002), p. 77-92; A. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León. Serie bibliográfica. Los códices VI-X.2*, León, 2001, p. 455-661.

manuscritos: *ad optatam litoris requiem*, y que tiene visos de ser original<sup>45</sup>. Asimismo, sus lecturas me parecen preferibles en los siguientes casos de corrupciones de poca entidad:

14 *croceis G (R)] crocei rel. (corr. A<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>)*

59 *inuestigator G] uestigator rel.*

65 *efferat G] adferat ACHM sed ad- eras. A, non efferat L*

84 *saepe G] spe rel.*

87 *ad probationem G] approbationem rel.*

96 *quoniam G] quam rel.*

106 *animum G] animus rel.*<sup>46</sup>

Por otra parte, el índice de *G* se relaciona con el de *P* (que no transmite la carta) por la ausencia de un *in primis* (*Index*, 1) casi con seguridad añadido en la rama de los códices hispánicos para consolidar el carácter pretendidamente cronológico de la relación de obras gregorianas. Sólo a través del índice, que en ambos casos presentan un texto muy incompleto, no es posible establecer la relación de parentesco entre *GP*, pero sí con la *Visio Taionis*, donde es posible comprobar que ambos códices remiten en última instancia a un subarquetipo común y que no derivan el uno del otro. De todas formas, prefiero tratar después acerca de la *Visio Taionis*, ya que presenta unas particularidades diferenciadas del resto del conjunto. En cualquier caso, es posible aislar ya una familia hispánica de la tradición frente a una familia extrahispánica.

La mejor copia actualmente conservada tanto de la epístola como del elogio isidoriano y el índice, es *M*, que, al margen de los errores que transmite junto a los demás testimonios de la tradición hispánica, es portador de errores mínimos fácilmente corregibles por eventuales copias posteriores (2 *Otelanae* por *Toletanae*; 25 *decerpi* por *decerpsi*; 68 *promississent* por *prompsissent*; 74/75 *potissimam* por *potissimum*, etc.). El código de Manchester actualmente perdido debió de ser también una buena copia, al menos

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Hieronymus Stridonius, *Epistula II*, Vindobonae, 1910 (CSEL 54), p. 12: “ut sancti spiritus aura me ... ad portum optati litoris prosequatur”. Del mismo modo Beda Venerabilis, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: “decursisque breui spatiis pelagi optati litoris quiete potiuntur”.

<sup>46</sup> La gramática apoya considerar *animum* como acusativo dependiente de *offendens... fastidium* (interpretando la frase desde *proculdubio*, en la l. 105, como “indudablemente el tamaño de los volúmenes excedería la justa brevedad y las repeticiones provocarían un enojo que ofendería el ánimo de su lector al volver a lo que ya se ha dicho”). El subarquetipo del que derivan los códices hispanos, ante el hipérbaton entre *offendens* y *fastidium*, habría podido interpretar *offendens* como nominativo y construir un *animus* como elemento al que complementa. El resultado es una suerte de nominativo absoluto, como parecen interpretar los editores precedentes, que escriben *animus*, aunque lo esperable en ese caso sería el participio pasivo de *offendo*: *animus offensus* (“ofendido el ánimo de su lector al volver a repetir lo que ya se ha dicho, las repeticiones provocarían enojo”).

en lo que respecta a la epístola, a la luz de lo que es posible ver en *v*, de cuyos errores no es posible discernir si se deben a la copia misma de Villanuño o al propio original (7 *signis* por *segnis*; 45/46 omisión de *uidimus*). Una copia algo más imperfecta es la de *A*, con lecturas y errores propios que fueron reproducidos a su vez por *R*, con toda seguridad *descriptus* suyo:

*Ep. ad Eug.* 49 reuelatione *AR*] relatione *rel.*

*Ep. ad Eug.* 68 paragiricis *sed in* paralogicis *corr. A* paralogicis *R*] paniegiricis *CHMv* panagiricis *G des. BO*

*Index* 9 adita *AR*] edita *rel.*

*Laus* 23 ipso *AR*] suo *rel.*

No parece, pues, que *M* derive de *A*, como había llegado a sospechar Díaz. Por el contrario, que *A* derive de *M* sería una posibilidad a raíz de lo que se deduce del análisis de las variantes del corpus, aunque el texto de los *Moralia* no lo muestra así: se observa el incipit de algún libro que no reproduce el texto de *M* sino el de otros códices de la tradición<sup>47</sup>.

Por otra parte, pensar que el códice de Manchester hubiera podido ser modelo de *M* o de *A* exigiría considerar sin mayor fundamento que ciertos errores de *v* no estaban en su modelo; en concreto, la omisión de un *uidimus* en la secuencia *uidimus, uidimus Gregorium nostrum* (*Ep. ad Eug.*, 45/46) que tanto *A* como *M* copian correctamente sin que hubiese motivación para una posible enmienda<sup>48</sup>. Aun así, es de notar la proximidad de *M* con el manchestertriense en la presencia de una misma nota marginal, escrita para enmendar *paragiricis* por *panegiricis*, copiada literalmente por *v*<sup>49</sup>.

En cuanto a *HLO*, presentan cada uno errores exclusivos y no transmiten lecturas que permitan ponerlos en relación más que con la rama hispánica en general, y, si bien podrían derivar en última instancia de *M*, no es posible probarlo en base a errores conjuntivos. Su texto, evidentemente, es en cualquier caso de escasa utilidad frente a *M*. De todas formas, sabemos que *L* tuvo un modelo, actualmente no conservado, copiado por un escriba de

<sup>47</sup> Cf. así la titulación al final del libro XXVII e inicio del XXVIII en *M* (f. 282r): “EXPLICIT LIBER BICESSIMVS PARS” frente al que muestran en conjunto *A* (f. 107r) y el códice de Manchester (f. 274r): “EXPLICIT LIBER MORALIS PARS V / INCIPIT LIBER MORALIS BEATISSIMI ROMENSIS PAPE GREGORII XVIII<sup>is</sup> PARS VI”.

<sup>48</sup> Por otro lado, el códice *R*, que he supuesto copia de *A*, transmite un índice de citas bíblicas al inicio del libro XI (donde *A* se encuentra mutilo) que, como más adelante se verá, aparece también en otros códices de los *Moralia*, pero no en el manuscrito de Manchester, ni tampoco en *M*. En consecuencia, si *R* es exclusivamente copia de *A* y *A* contenía este índice, la derivación directa del manchestertriense (o de *M*) es igualmente imposible.

<sup>49</sup> *Ep. ad Eug.*, 68: “paragiricis dicta licentiosa plusquam decet at panegiricis *not. in marg. M v*”. No aparece en ningún otro códice de la tradición.

nombre *Spassandus*, visigótico y quizá escrito en una comarca, León o Galicia, que nos aleja de la zona de procedencia de los códices más antiguos.

En cuanto a *BC*, su texto aparece mejorado respecto de algunas lecturas comunes a *AHMLORv*, si bien se trata de errores fácilmente corregibles<sup>50</sup>. Aun así, *BC* comparten algunos errores mínimos:

*Ep. ad Eug.* 87 cuius *BC*] cuiusque *rel.*

*Ep. ad Eug.* 92 nec *BC*] ne *rel.*

*C* reproduce fielmente el texto de *B*, con algún error exclusivo. Nada obsta, pues, para considerarlo *descriptus* de éste.

Por lo demás, el testimonio tardío *T* (copia exclusiva de la epístola), aunque con numerosos errores de copia, debió de contar con buen modelo que no transmitía ninguno de los errores más destacados – a excepción de los de la tradición hispánica en general-, identificable con gran probabilidad con *M*, que se encontraba en Toledo cuando Juan Bautista Pérez estuvo activo en el archivo catedralicio de esta ciudad. Muy similar a *T* en la disposición general del texto y en lo que respecta a las otras piezas que se copian, es *X*, que parece *descriptus* de aquél. He aquí sus lecturas comunes:

61 namque] numquam *TX*

66 uel] *om.* *TX*

72 inuentaue... transcriberem] *om.* *TX*

85 percurri] *om.* *TX*

117 solitarius] sollicitarius *TX*

Por todo ello, es posible diferenciar todos estos testimonios de *GP*, siendo lo más probable que remonten a un modelo no conservado (que aquí llamaremos subarquetipo  $\beta$ ).

Finalmente, las ediciones no ofrecen problemas, ya que proporcionan indicaciones suficientes sobre sus modelos. Sobre ello ya se ha hablado en la descripción de las mismas.

En cuanto a la *Visio Taionis*, debemos sumar el texto de los códices extra-hispánicos *PV*, que, como era esperable, se relacionan con *G* en unos cuantos puntos significativos:

8 beati] *om.* *GPV*

10 praeuidit] uidit *GPV*

17 nimia] *om.* *GPV*

32 requisiti] exquisiti *GPV*

No obstante, *G*, el más antiguo, presenta algunos errores propios que lo aíslan a su vez de *PV*, lo que impide que haya sido modelo de alguno de los dos:

<sup>50</sup> *Ep. ad Eug.*, 98/99 superioribus *BC* (*G*)] superius  $\beta$ , 117 scafulae *BC*] scapulae  $\beta$ , y *Laus Gregorii*, 1 papa] papae  $\beta$

- 8 misericordiam] in ecclesiam *G*  
 18/20 expetit – apostoli] *om. G*  
 26 degebatur (degebat *PVH*)] uacabat *G*  
 30 nauigerium] nauigium *G*  
 37 ex illis] *om. G*

Creo, pues, que existió un modelo perdido al que en última instancia remiten estos tres códices (que llamaremos  $\alpha$ ), un manuscrito de los *Moralla* con la epístola de Tajón, la *Visio Taionis* y, seguramente, una versión del índice anterior a la que presentan los códices de  $\beta$ . Debía de tratarse de un modelo en visigótica, a raíz de las equivocaciones que comete *G* (*misericordiam* por *in ecclesiam*, por ejemplo).

Por su parte, *PV* presentan una cantidad importante de errores conjuntivos, lo que a su vez garantiza su parentesco frente a *G*:

- 7/8 Dominum] ad dominum *PV*  
 18 excubium] excubitum *PV*  
 29 fastigium] fastidium *PV*  
 31 consolatum] consolantes *PV*

Es muy poco verosímil que *V*, el testimonio más antiguo de los dos, hubiera sido el modelo de *P*, un códice de los *Moralla* que incorpora además el índice. Lo más probable es que ambos remitan a un subarquetipo  $\gamma$ , directamente descendiente de  $\alpha$ . Hay errores exclusivos de *V* que acaso sean prueba suficiente:

- 5 naualiter] noualiter *V*  
 20 faceret] facile *V*  
 41 eius] *om. V*

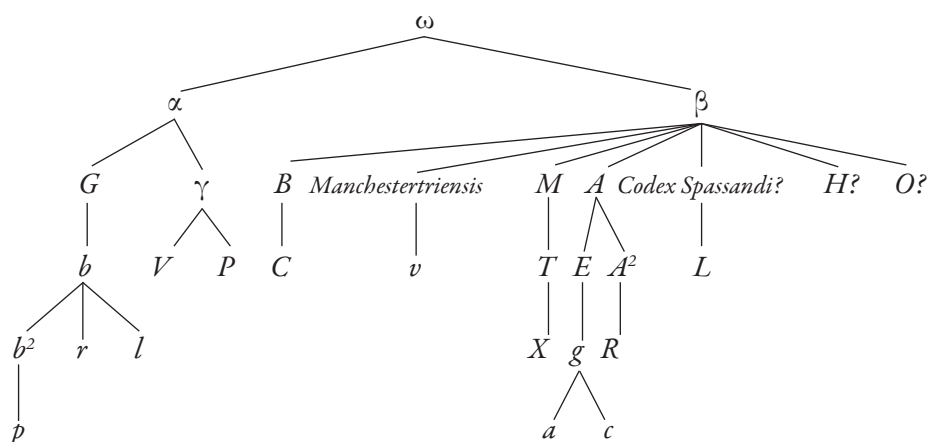
En cuanto a la rama hispánica de la tradición, los resultados de la colación no arrojan datos relevantes, ya que en general el texto de todos ellos es bastante homogéneo y próximo al original. Nada hace pensar que la *Visio Taionis* derive en ellos de un modelo diverso del de las demás piezas, por lo que verosímilmente descienden del mismo modelo  $\beta$ . El testimonio hispánico *E*, que presenta la *Visio Taionis* aislada, es probablemente copia de *A*, códice de su mismo monasterio y cuyo epígrafe inicial (*De uisione habita Taioni...*) reproduce. *E* es naturalmente anterior a la revisión – del siglo XII posiblemente – que dio lugar a *A*<sup>2</sup>, de la que sí deriva, en cambio, *R*.

En cuanto a la edición *g*, de la que derivan las restantes hasta el estudio crítico de *d*, parece remitirnos a *A* en razón nuevamente del epígrafe inicial, si bien el mantenimiento de determinadas lecturas corregidas por *A*<sup>2</sup> hace preferible que el modelo fuese *E*<sup>51</sup>, que conviene asimismo con *g* en

<sup>51</sup> Es fácil certificarlo con las siguientes lecturas, donde el texto de *A*<sup>2</sup>*R* presenta una morfología más correcta en el contexto: 2 indicit *AE g*] indixit *A*<sup>2</sup>*R*; 3 ordinis *AE g*] ordine *A*<sup>2</sup>*R*.

la presentación de la *Visio* entre los “apéndices” al texto de los concilios hispanos.

Dicho todo esto, puede ser de utilidad el siguiente *stemma* :



## 7. Criterios de edición

Como ya he indicado, seguiré principalmente las lecturas del manuscrito *M*, a excepción de sus evidentes errores, en los que sigo el consenso de los otros códices, y de las lecturas de *G* que he apuntado arriba para la epístola. He procurado hacer las mínimas correcciones: en la carta sólo le he hecho en corrupciones obvias de arquetipo, que deturpan el texto de tal modo que no podrían proceder de la mano de Tajón<sup>52</sup>, y, contra la costumbre de algunos de los editores que me preceden, he dejado sin corregir alguna construcción morfológica inhabitual, cuya originalidad no me parece inverosímil<sup>53</sup>. En la *Visio Taionis* y el capítulo isidoriano, ante la imposibilidad de determinar si aparentes errores de arquetipo responden a o no a la lectura del “original” derivado del proceso de extracción de la fuente, mantengo siempre la lectura de dicho arquetipo; en el caso particular de la *Visio*, mantengo también los errores comunes con el códice *Mz* de la *Crónica mozárabe*. Finalmente, doy la versión más completa del índice, esto es, la que ofrecen los códices de β, por todo lo que he dicho más atrás, si bien

<sup>52</sup> Esto es, **10** *ostentat* por *ostentans*, **15** *directis quae* por *directisque*, **28** *excellantiam* por *excellantiae/excellentia*, **71** *eius quae* por *eiusque* y **126** *non* por *nunc*. Ambas lecturas fueron corregidas también por testimonios tardíos.

<sup>53</sup> Así **41** *ducante* (los editores y algunos testimonios corrigen a *ducente*) y **89** *lactantium* (los editores y algunos testimonios corrigen a *lactentium*). Cf. J. GIL FERNÁNDEZ, “El tratado *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae* de S. Ildefonso de Toledo”, *Habis*, 6, 1975, p. 155.

indico entre corchetes lo que pienso que probablemente sean las adiciones propias de esta rama.

En el aparato crítico no aparecerán las lecturas de los *descripti*, aunque consigno las lecturas de *C* para la epístola al estar falto *B*, su modelo, de la mayor parte del texto de la misma. Por otra parte, la mayor parte de las ediciones no tienen relevancia alguna para la fijación del texto, aunque no he prescindido de omitir las elecciones de *dm* cuando se alejan del texto fijado por mí, y he incluido también las lecturas de *v*, por tratarse de la transcripción de los folios hoy perdidos del códice manchestertriense.

#### 8. Consideraciones finales: ¿una edición “tajoniana” de los *Moralia*?

Antes de finalizar conviene aclarar algunos puntos sobre la naturaleza de las copias de los *Moralia* que transmiten este corpus. Frente a las conclusiones a las que aquí he llegado, Díaz y Díaz mantuvo como tesis principal de su estudio sobre este particular que los manuscritos que contienen nuestro corpus constituían el remanente de un trabajo editorial de Tajón sobre el texto de los *Moralia*, que define de la siguiente forma:

De fiarse de cuanto Tajón dice a simple lectura en su carta a Eugenio, realizó luego una verdadera obra editorial, introduciendo resúmenes y pequeños prefacios que aclarasen mejor el contenido de cada libro; probablemente estos resúmenes a que hace referencia en su epístola se han convertido en las capitulaciones que actualmente encontramos en diversos manuscritos. En honor a la verdad hay que decir que, reconocida la importancia del papel jugado por Tajón, todavía no se ha estudiado la verdadera dimensión de su labor en la recensión que mandó a Toledo para someterla a consideración de Eugenio. Parece muy probable que la carta que conservamos haya servido de compañía a este envío y que, posiblemente por este camino, se haya convertido en una pieza importante para marcar la presencia de la actividad tajoniana<sup>54</sup>.

Creo que esta lectura de la carta es incorrecta, ya que, como ya se ha visto más atrás y según se deduce de la comparación con las palabras de Paterio, los prefacios y “resúmenes” que menciona Tajón hacen referencia a la composición de los *Excerpta* con extractos de las obras de Gregorio y prólogos de las mismas a modo de introducción de cada libro bíblico.

De todos modos, no se me oculta que la tradición hispánica de los *Moralia* es portadora de algunos elementos interesantes cuya vinculación con la figura de Tajón no sólo podría sospecharse, sino que llega a hacerse explícita

<sup>54</sup> M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 334.



en algún punto. El propio Díaz y Díaz se hace eco de algunas “anotaciones” del código de los *Moralia* de Manchester para ponerlas en relación, según parece, con la actividad de edición del texto llevada a cabo por Tajón. Por mi parte, he realizado una exploración de los manuscritos visigóticos conservados<sup>55</sup> – añadiendo otros donde la presencia de las notas ya es conocida por la crítica-, y efectivamente es posible comprobar la existencia de notas y adiciones textuales en buena parte de ellos, si bien este fenómeno no es exclusivo en absoluto de los códigos que transmiten nuestro corpus. Lo más interesante quizá sean unas notas incorporadas a los *explicits* – y en alguna ocasión confundidas con ellos – de algunos libros de la tercera parte de los *Moralia*, donde se alude a una *collatio* elaborada por Tajón con la ayuda de un cierto Ambrosio<sup>56</sup>:

[B] Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, 102 (ff. 173v-174r); El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo del Escorial, b.I.5 (f. 128r); León, Arch. San Isidoro de León, 1 (f. 130v); León, Arch. San Isidoro de León, 10<sup>2</sup> (f. 235r); Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 83 (f. 106r); Toledo, Bibl. y Archivo Capitulares, 11-14 (f. 153r).

<sup>55</sup> Además de los que transmiten el corpus tajianiano y que ya han sido mencionados, son León, Archivo San Isidoro de León, 1 y Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitulares, 11-14, de los siglos X y IX respectivamente. La relación más completa, con la mención de varios fragmentos que resultan inútiles aquí, es la de M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, “De manuscritos visigóticos: nuevos fragmentos en León”, *Archivos leoneses*, 53 (1973), p. 85-97.

<sup>56</sup> Lllaman también la atención algunas notas, incorporadas ya en algunos códigos al cuerpo del texto, que sirven a modo de epígrafes del contenido doctrinal de ciertos capítulos:

*Mor.* 4, *prol.*, 1: “Expositurus [-os T] uerba Iob, qui dicit: *Pereat dies in qua natus sum*, et uerba [*om. E*] quae in speciem maledicentis habere uidentur. Hoc proemium anteponit [in exponit *ad. T*], quo admoneat uirum iustum Iob non debere sentire maledictum, sed oportere lectorem attentum intra litterae medullam irreprehensibilem [*om. I ex T*] intelligentiam latentem exquirere” (en [*E*] El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial, b.I.5, f. 32v; [*I*] León, Arch. San Isidoro de León, 1; [*T*] Toledo, Bibl. y Arch. Capitulares, 11-14, f. 34r-v).

*Mor.* 8, 29, 48: “Visitatur homo diluculo, dum illuminatione diuina ab opere tenebrarum erubescit et iuste ipse coniungit. ‘Subito probas illum’, quando relictus ad modicum temptationi intelligit de quo hoc ceperit quod stetit [stent *BC*, steterit *P*]” (en [*B*] Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, 102; Madrid, BN, 80, f. 180v; [*C*] Manchester, John Ryland's Library marg., 83; [*P*] Paris, BnF lat. 2213, f. 87v marg.).

*Mor.* 12, 2, 2: “Quamuis omnipotens Deus illud tempus uniuscuiusque ad mortem praesciat, quo eius uita terminetur, nec alio in tempore quisquam potuit nisi [*om. BM*] in ipso [*om. C*] quo moritur” (en [*B*] Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, 102; [*M*] Madrid, BN, 80, f. 134r; [*C*] Manchester, John Ryland's Library, 83 marg.; Paris, BnF lat. 2213, f. 128r marg.).

Esta clase notas, en cualquier caso, son relativamente comunes en los manuscritos de los *Moralia*, utilizados como fueron para la instrucción monástica. Su vinculación con supuestas adiciones de Tajón es algo meramente especulativo.

<i>Fin del libro XIII</i>	Contuli diligentia qua potui cum collectore [lectore B].  El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo del Escorial, b.I.5 (f. 158r); [I] León, Arch. San Isidoro de León, 1 (f. 140r)
<i>Fin del libro XIV</i>	Contuli studio quo ualui cum collectore [cumque lectore I] Ambrosio.  El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo del Escorial, b.I.5 (f. 299v); [I] León, Arch. San Isidoro de León, 1 (f. 187v).
<i>Fin del libro XIX</i>	Contuli ego Taius indignus ut potui cum collectore meo [om. I] Ambrosio in gipsulis.

Como es sabido, con este tipo de notas suele indicarse únicamente una labor de revisión del texto del códice por su modelo<sup>57</sup>. En todo caso, la mención explícita del nombre de Tajón acredita que un códice por él supervisado salió del *scriptorium* de Zaragoza, información interesante si la ponemos en relación con otros datos que nos ofrecen los manuscritos.

En efecto hay que hacer mención de la presencia (creo que todavía no señalada por nadie) en varios de los códices referidos aquí de un índice de citas bíblicas de la tercera parte, ya sea colocado al inicio en sí de la misma o antes de cada libro en concreto<sup>58</sup>. En él se consignan las referencias de cada pasaje bíblico citado por Gregorio en el libro en cuestión seguidas del texto de la cita. Este fenómeno recuerda a un proceso similar de consignación de las referencias bíblicas al margen del texto conocido hasta ahora sólo en el códice de la *Regula Pastoralis* de Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 504, manuscrito elaborado en Roma probablemente bajo la supervisión del propio Gregorio, según se admite<sup>59</sup>. Martello<sup>60</sup> ha aducido que tales referencias bíblicas podrían responder a la labor previa de extracción del material exegético del *Liber testimoniorum*, indicando al compilador la presencia de los lemas bíblicos cuya explicación podría ser objeto de traslado al florilegio.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. P. PETITGEMIN, "Que signifie la souscription contuli?", en *Les lettres de saint Augustin découvertes pour Johannes Divjak*, Communications présentées au colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982, Paris, 1983, p. 363-374.

<sup>58</sup> En la primera forma lo encontramos en León, Archivo San Isidoro de León, 1, y Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitulares, 11-14. El segundo formato puede comprobarse en nuestro códice R.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. P. CHIESA, "Gregorio al lavoro, il processo testuale della *Regula pastoralis*", en *Codex Trecensis: la 'Regola pastorale' di Gregorio Magno in un codice del VI-VII secolo: Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne*, 504, ed. A. PETRUCCI, Firenze, 2006, p. 31-99.

<sup>60</sup> F. MARTELLO, *All'ombra di Gregorio Magno. Il notaio Paterio e il Liber testimoniorum*, Roma, 2012, p. 214-215.

La presencia de unas notas que aluden a una “colación” dirigida por Tajón junto a un índice de las citas bíblicas contenidas en los libros en que aquéllas aparecen parece sugerir, como intuye Martello para el códice trecense, que se trate de un remanente del ejemplar de la tercera parte de los *Moralia* utilizado por Tajón y sus colaboradores para la confección de los *Excerpta*, donde se habrían consignado las citas bíblicas para facilitar la búsqueda y extracción posterior del material exegético. En cualquier caso, su vinculación de la epístola a Eugenio parece meramente casual, producto de la supervivencia por un lado de un ejemplar quizá salido del círculo de Tajón y de la adición posterior de la carta en virtud de su contenido relativo al viaje del obispo a Roma, asociado al “hallazgo” de las partes de los *Moralia* faltantes en la península.

### *Resumen*

Varios manuscritos de los *Moralia in Iob* de Gregorio Magno transmiten un corpus preliminar constituido, en su forma más amplia, por una epístola de Tajón de Zaragoza a Eugenio de Toledo, la *Visio Taionis*, un índice de las obras de Gregorio Magno y el capítulo del *De viris illustribus* de Isidoro de Sevilla dedicado a Gregorio Magno (*De vir. ill.* 27). La primera y única edición completa de este conjunto fue llevada a cabo en 1979 por Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, quien además aventuró algunas consideraciones sobre su origen y finalidad. El descubrimiento de nuevos testimonios que ha tenido lugar en los últimos años me ha impulsado a presentar una nueva edición crítica corrigiendo algunas deficiencias de mi ilustre predecesor. He podido constatar la existencia de una primera familia ( $\alpha$ ) que circula desde época temprana en ámbito continental, y otra ( $\beta$ ), reducida a ámbito exclusivamente hispánico, que es la más completa. Asimismo, he dedicado un estudio específico al contenido y origen de cada una de las piezas que componen el corpus. Como apéndice final, establezco los límites de la posible relación que este corpus mantiene con algunas anotaciones manuscritas en varios códices hispánicos de los *Moralia* donde figura el nombre de Tajón.

### *Summary*

Several manuscripts of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* transmit a preliminary corpus constituted, in its broadest form, by a letter of Taio of Saragossa to Eugenius of Toledo, the *Visio Taionis*, an index of Gregory the Great's works and the chapter of Isidore's *De viris illustribus* dedicated to Gregory the Great (*De vir. ill.* 27). The first and only complete edition of this set

was published in 1979 by Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, who also suggested some considerations about its origin and purpose. Recent discoveries of new testimonies have prompted me to present a new critical edition correcting some deficiencies of my illustrious predecessor. I have been able to confirm the existence of a first family ( $\alpha$ ) that circulated from an early age in the continental area, and another ( $\beta$ ), reduced to an exclusively Hispanic area, which is the most complete. Also, I have dedicated a specific study to the content and origin of each of the pieces that are part of the corpus. As a final appendix, I establish the limits of the possible relationship that this corpus maintains with some handwritten annotations in several Hispanic codices of the *Moralla* where Taio's name appears.

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## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

$\alpha$

- G* PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2213 (s. XI)  
*P* CESENA, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Piana 3166 (s. XIII)  
*V* ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B136 (s. XII)

$\beta$

- A* MADRID, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemil. 5 (s. X)  
*B* BARCELONA, Archivo Capitular, 102 (s. X)  
*C* CALAHORRA, Archivo Capitular, 2 (s. XII)  
*H* MADRID, Real Biblioteca, 12 (s. XIV)  
*L* LEÓN, Archivo San Isidoro de León, 10 (s. XII-XIII)  
*M* MADRID, Biblioteca Nacional, 80 (a. 945)  
*O* EL BURGO DE OSMÁ, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 177 (s. XII)
- d* M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979
- m* F. VOLLMER, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum Tomus XIV. Fl. Merobaudis reliquiae. Blossi Aemilii Dracontii carmina. Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina et epistulae*, Berolini, 1905
- v* M. DE VILLANUÑO, *Summa conciliorum Hispaniae, quotquot inveniri potuerunt ad usque saeculum proxime praeteritum, epistolarum ad Hispanos cum earum praeteritum, notis, novisque disserationibus adornata*, I, Madrid, 1785

codd. consensus codicum

edd. consensus editionum

## EPISTVLA TAIONIS AD EVGENIVM

SANCTISSIMO AC VENERABILI DOMINO MEO EVGENIO EPISCOPO TOLETANAE VRBIS TAIVS VLTIMVS SERVVS SERVORVM DEI CAESARAVGVSTANVS EPISCOPVS.

Congrua satis ualdeque necessaria dispositione fortioris exquirat solacium,  
 5 qui propriae uirtutis caret officio, eoque facilius corporis gressum porrigit, quo trahitur dextera potioris, ut saltem desideratum cursum ualentioris auxilio possit explere, quam segnis in sui itineris medio remanere. Ita ego, mi uenerabilis domine, animo licet inualidus, tuis tamen adiutus orationibus, ardui operis auspicia quasi cuiusdam maximi montis malui adire  
 10 principia, qui uelut magni cuiusdam in sui superficie ostendat spatia paradisi nemorum proceritatibus obsita, floribus albescentia, foliis uiridantia, pomis etiam mellificantia, liliorum quoque pulchritudine nitentia, rosarum rubore candentia, uiolarum purpurantium, floribus splendentia, coloribusque croceis pleraque fulgentia, nullo unquam tempore marcescentia,  
 15 sed perpetua sui uiriditate uernantia, mirifica arte disposita, directis quae consistunt linearum ordinibus coaptata, tantam subministrantes amantibus gratiam, ut suauitate sui non solum exteriores corporum sensus, sed interiora cordium arcana sacietate sui perlustrent. Cumque talia intentis optutibus cernerem ac plerosque his multimodis dapibus satiari uiderem, inestimabili accensus desiderio, tamquam unus ex collegio esurentium puerorum  
 20 inediae coactus impulsu, eiusdem ianuam paradisi pedetemptim adgressus

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4 Congrua – fortioris] cfr BRAVL. CAES., *Ep.* 16 (ed. R. MIGUEL FRANCO, *Braulionis CaesarAugustani Epistulae*, Turnhout, 2018, *CCSL* 114B, p. 69, 3)      9/18 ardui operis – perlustrent] cfr GREG. M., *Mor.* 30, 19, 64 (p. 1534, 1-21)      14/15 nullo – uernantia] cfr GREG. M., *Mor.* 30, 20, 65 (p. 1535, 3-4)

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**Trad. text.** *G AB* (inc. ab 86 monumenta) *CHLM O* (inc. ab 112 anteponatur) *dmv*

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**1** SANCTISSIMO AC VENE-] *des. C* EVGENIO] FVLGENCIO *C*      **1/2** EPISCOPO TOLETANAE VRBIS] TOLETANAE VRBIS EPISCOPO *G* TOLETANAE] OTOLETANAE *M*      **7** segnis] signis *H v, corr. H<sup>2</sup>*      **10** qui] quod *G* ostendat] *correxī*, ostentans *codd. v* spatia] *om. G*      **14** croceis] crocei *A CHLM dv, corr. A<sup>2</sup> H<sup>2</sup>*      **15** directis quae] *correxī*, directisque *codd. v*      **16** tantam] tanta *M* subministrantes amantibus] subministrant examinantibus *coni. m*      **16/17** amantibus gratiam] gratiam amantibus *C*      **17** sui] *om. v*

et quasi temerarius introrsus explorator ingressus, dum per eadem spatia pulcherrima quaeque ac multimoda prospectando nimia admiratione suspensor, quaedam ramuscolorum floscula more pusillorum infantium ludendo  
25 collegi ac manu auida contrectando decerpsi.

Cursim ista praecipua quadam curiositate quibusdam comparationibus praemittens uerbis simplicibus quasi oris obstrusi aditum resero, nisi ut tam incomparabilis excellentiam uiri, sancti scilicet pape Gregorii, in ipso locutionis exordio quibusdam parabolis anteferrem eiusque magnitudinem  
30 sapientiae quo perspicuo lumine sanctam illustrauit ecclesiam, aliquatenus non scientibus, sed nescientibus propalarem. Optaueram siquidem tuae nunc adesse presentiae ut –sicut scriptum est, *interroga patrem tuum, et adnuntiabit tibi; maiores tuos, et dicent tibi*– ex tui oris prudentia formulam sumerem, quam in principio huius operis uelut cuiusdam telae uerborum  
35 texturam ponerem uel certe ex tui cordis artificiosa manu quasi in cuiusdam magni constructione aedificii politos atque quadratos humeris propriis uerborum lapillos deferrem, quoniam frater fratrem adiuuans exaltabitur sicut ciuitas munita.

Ordo namque rationis exposcit ut subsequencia praecedentibus quodam uin-  
40 culo tenacitatis nectantur, quatenus in utrumque rectitudinem sui prolata aequitas pandat ac ducante tramite ueritatis ad destinatum finem laeta succedat. Idcirco quod comparationibus paulo ante praetulimus, uerbis nunc apertioribus propalemus. De opusculis quippe eiusdem sanctissimi uiri sese infert subsequens sermo aliquantula narratione officiosissimus, dignumque  
45 fore censui de sanctis operibus eius primum pauca retexere. Vidimus, uidimus Gregorium nostrum Romae positum non uisibus corporis, sed obtuti-

32/33 interroga – tibi] Deut. 32, 7      37/38 frater – munita] cfr Prou. 18, 19

24/25 quaedam – decerpsi] cfr EVGIPO., *Excerpt. prol.* (ed. P. Knoell, CSEL 9,1, 1885, p. 2)  
33/37 ex tui – deferrem] cfr GREG. M., *Hom. in Hiez.* 2,1,5 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 142, 1971, p. 211, 150-156)

**Trad. text.** *G AB (inc. ab 86 monumenta) CHLM O (inc. ab 112 anteponatur) dm v*

25 decerpsi] decerpi *MH*, corr. *HP*      26 cursim] quorsum *con. m*      28 excellentiam] *correx*i, excellentiae *ACHLM v*, excellentia *G*      30 quo] qua *HP*      31 nescientibus] scientibus *G*      32 nunc] nam *G*      33 adnuntiabit] –uit *v*      34 quam] cum *G*      35 ponerem] praeponerem *G*      36 politos] pul- sed corr. *A*      39 rationis] orationis *con. m*  
41 ducante] ducente *A<sup>2</sup> HP edd.*      41/42 laeta succedat] laetus accedat *G*      succedat] –ant *H*      44 subsequens sermo] sermo subsequens *G*      44/45 dignumque] dignum *A*  
45 sanctis] suis *G*      primum pauca] pauca primum *G*      45/46 uidimus] *om. v*



bus mentis; uidimus eum non solum in suis notariis, sed etiam in familia-  
 ribus, qui ministerio corporali eidem fidelem exhibuerant famulatus obse-  
 quium, eorumque relatione de uirtutibus eius plura cognoscens, breuissime  
 50 pauca retexeam. Fuit denique gratia Christi omni morum probitate compo-  
 situs, animo uultuque serenus, corde benignus, conscientia purus, moribus  
 discretus, uirginitate nitens, caritate refertus, pietate praecipuus, patien-  
 tia insignis, modestia incomparabilis, abstinentia singularis, hospitalitatis  
 55 sector, peregrinorum susceptor, elemosynarum largitor, ecclesiasticarum  
 rerum optimus dispensator, amicitiiis deuinctus, oppressorum releuator,  
 tribulantium consolator, acris ingenii, consilio prouidus, sermonibus niti-  
 dus, eloquentia facundus, prudentia disertus, sapientia praeditus, doctrina  
 multimodus, scripturarum diuinarum mirabilis interpretator, abditorum  
 60 mysteriorum acerrimus inuestigator, fidei catholicae magnificus defensor,  
 contra haereticos fortis assertor, superbis auctoritate erectus atque humili-  
 bus prompta deuotione subiectus. Quatuor namque uirtutibus animi, pru-  
 dentia scilicet, temperantia, fortitudine atque iustitia ita exstitit perornatus,  
 ut non homo, sed angelus inter homines putaretur. Quis denique nostri  
 temporis eloquentia facundus, prudentia praeditus, sapientia profundus  
 65 sanctum condignis efferat laudibus Gregorium? Nec ipsi, ut censeo, Gre-  
 ciae Romanaeque facundiae philosophorum praecipui, Socrates scilicet uel  
 Plato, Cicero atque Varro, si nostris temporibus adfuissent, condigna eius  
 meritis uerba prompsissent. Sed ne panegyricis uti censear eloquiis, plurima  
 de eiusdem uirtutibus auditu comperta praemittens, ad eius opuscula, quae  
 70 sunt eloquia pulcritudinis, officia linguae retorqueam.

Igitur cum Romae positus eius quae in Hispaniis deerant uolumina sedu-  
 lus uestigator perquirerem inuenta quae propria manu transcriberem, tan-

51/52 uultuque – nitens] cfr EVG. TOL., *Carm.* 21, 6-7 (ed. P. F. Alberto, *CCSL* 114, 2005, p. 236): doctrina pollens, uirginitate nitens / corde pius, uultu placidus et mente benignus  
 71/110 Igitur – curauit] cfr PAT., *Lib. test. prol.* (ed. F. Martello, *All'ombra di Gregorio Magno. Il notaio Paterio e il Liber testimoniorum*, Roma, 2012, p. 192-196, 1-80)

**Trad. text.** *G AB* (inc. ab 86 monumenta) *CHLM O* (inc. ab 112 anteponatur) *dmv*

47 eum] enim *G* 48 ministerio] in (*sup. l.*) ministerio *C* exhibuerant] –unt *G*  
 49 relatione] reuelatione *A* 50 retexeam] retexam *MH* 55 amicitiiis] amici-  
 is *G* releuator] subleuator *G* 58 mirabilis] multimodus *G* 59 inuestigator]  
 uestigator *ACHLM* edd. 61 uirtutibus] uirtutibus *C* 63 denique] namque *G*  
 65 efferat] adferat *ACHM dv sed ad-eras. A*, non efferat *L* 65/66 Graeciae] grece  
*HP* 67/68 eius meritis] *om. G* 68 prompsissent] promississent *M, corr. A* pa-  
 negyricis] panagiricis *G*, paragiricis *AM sed in –logicis corr. A*, paniegiricis *CH*, paragiricis  
 dicta licentiosa plusquam decet at panegiricis *not. in marg. M v* 69 auditu] audita *G C*  
 71 eius quae] *correxī, eiusque codd. v*

- taque dulcedo uerborum animum meum inaestimabili suauitate mulceret, speciale quiddam in eadem sine cuiuspiam perspexi comparatione potissimum. Denique dum historiam beati Iob sub triplici indagatione, id est historica, typica uel morali, studuit explanatione discutere atque Ezechielis prophetae primam uel ultimam partem non impari expositione percurrere tantorumque profunda mysteriorum repulso ignorantiae nubilo serena patefactione monstrare, pene totius noui ac ueteris testamenti patefecit arcana.
- 80 Actumque est ut hac oportunitate panis ille qui de caelo descendit eiusdem fidelissimi oportuna satis dulcedine satiaret. Sed quoniam in eadem prolixitate uoluminum, dum testimonii uniuscuiusque requiritur explanatio, pene totius operis eius erat in ambiguo non minima perscrutatio atque animi ardentis saepe frigebat intentio, malui semel maximum perferre laborem
- 85 quam semper suspectam tolerare difficultatem. Percurri igitur omnia eiusdem monumenta librorum et pene totius scripturae sacrae testimonia, quae in eius opusculis ad probationem uel expositionem cuiusque rei adhibita diuersis in locis continebantur, conscripta, adiuuante Christo Ihesu, qui ex ore infantium atque lactantium perfecit laudem linguasque mutorum
- 90 uinculo taciturnitatis absoluit, suis coadunata ordinibus stili conscriptione collegi, quatenus studiosus quisque cum in eisdem uoluminibus cuiuslibet sacri testimonii explanationem requirit, ne multiplici lectione fatigatus non cito reperiat quod uoluerit, ad ista quae decerpsi recurrens repente quod desiderat libere satisfactionis discretione reperiet.
- 95 Lectorem quippe huius operis censeo ammonendum, ut uigili intentione praeuideat quoniam pleraque testimoniorum capitula in eisdem uoluminibus, ut supra meminimus, diuersis in locis sita, ita ut inuenta sunt exposita, a me ordinatim collecta fore noscuntur. Alia igitur quae iam in superioribus aut inferioribus partibus exposuisse uisus est et iterum atque iterum
- 100 quamlibet aliis uerbis, eodem tamen sensu diuersis in locis recapitulata expositione retexit, praecedentibus testimoniis, ut ordo exponendarum

89 ex ore – laudem] cfr Ps. 8, 3      89/90 linguasque – absoluit] cfr Sap. 10, 21

**Trad. text.** *G AB (inc. ab 86 monumenta) CHLM O (inc. ab 112 anteponatur) dmv*

73 mulceret] mulcerent *A*      74 speciale] –i *v*      perspexi] praespexi *v*      74/75 potissimum] potissimam *M v*, potissima *A d*      78 profunda] profundae *G*      79 ac] hac *G*      84 saepe] spe *ACHLM v*, corr. *C*      86 monumenta] moni- *G inc. B*      87 ad probationem] approbationem *ABCHLM v*      cuiusque] cuius *BC*      88 Christo Ihesu] Ihesu Christo *L*      89 lactantium] lactentium *H<sup>p</sup> m*      90/91 stili – quatenus] *om. G*      92 ne] nec *BC*      93 decerpsi] decerpi *MH*      recurrens] decurrens *ABCHLM mv*      94 libere] uidere *coni. m*      96 quoniam] quam *ABCHLM dv*      98/99 superioribus] superius *AM d*, corr. *H<sup>p</sup>*      99 atque iterum] *om. d*      100 diuersis] a diuersis *G*

rerum poposcit, aliqua inserenda, reliqua uero relinquenda curauī, quatenus  
 ex praecedentibus subsequētia penderent et subsequētia praecedentibus  
 sese utilius coaptarent. Nam si cuncta discreto ordine in huius operis serie  
 105 poneretur, proculdubio magnitudo uoluminum breuitatis modum excederet  
 atque sui recapitulatione lectoris animum offendens facerent nihilominus  
 repetita fastidium. Cuius rei quantitatem in sex codicibus, quatuor scilicet  
 ueteris instrumenti, duobus etiam noui testamenti, suis connexis ordinibus,  
 praetermissis scripturis quas isdem uirorum sanctissimus ex ordine trac-  
 110 tauit, adiutus orationibus uestris explere curauī. Praefatiunculas quoque  
 eiusdem codicibus consonantes decerpsi, quas etiam in capite librorum  
 praeposui, quatenus ipse sibi in suis anteponatur eloquiis qui largiente gra-  
 tia Christi copiosius nobis multiplicibus exstitit officiis. Ipsos etiam codices  
 laboriosa nimium intentione collectos prudentiae uestrae malui committere  
 115 contuendos, in quibus si quaedam sagacissima uestigatio uestra reppererit  
 inordinate composita, non tam neglegentiae culpam quam necessitati adscri-  
 bat, quia dum uehiculo paruae scaphulae quasi inmensum pelagus solitarius  
 nauta nauigaturus adgredior, cum maximis difficultatibus latissimi aequoris  
 huius spatia transmeauī tandemque ad optatam litoris requiem Christo  
 120 gubernante perueni.

En prudentissime uirorum, ut causarum ordines singillatim perstringerem,  
 modum breuitatis excessi et, ut ait quidam doctissimus, “dum figuli rota  
 currente urceum facere nitor, amphoram finxit manus”. Adst ego dum  
 breuem pagellam conscribere malui, libellum manus indocta composuit.  
 125 Obsecro igitur te, uirorum sanctissime, et omnes quibus huius operis lectio

110/113 praefatiunculas – praeposui] cfr HIER., *Ep.* 112, 20 (ed. I. Hilberg, *CSEL* 54, 1910-1918, p. 396-397, 27-29, 1-3) 88/90 adiuuante – absoluit] cfr GREG. M., *Mor. ad Leand.*, 2 (ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 143, 1979-1985, p. 3, 60-65) 119/120 tandemque – perueni] cfr HIER., *Ep.* 2 (p. 12, 19-20) 122/123 dum – manus] cfr HOR., *Ars* 21-22; HIER., *Ep.* 107, 3 (p. 292, 1-2); BRAVL. CAES., *Ep.* 11 (p. 84, 11-21), 36 (p. 146, 105-107), 44 (p. 182, 296-298)

Trad. text. *G AB* (inc. ab 86 monumenta) *CHLM O* (inc. ab 112 anteponatur) *dmv*

106 animum] animus *ABCHLM* edd. 111 eiusdem] eisdem *H* capite] capita *G*  
 112 ab anteponatur inc. *B* 113 copiosius] copiosus *H* 116 tam] tamen *BCLM*,  
 corr. *AH<sup>2</sup>* culpam] culpa *L* 118 paruae] prauae *A d* scaphulae] scabulae *G*,  
 scapulae *AHLM*, scaphae *O* 119 litoris] om. *ABCHLM O* edd. 121 prudentissi-  
 me uirorum] uirorum prudentissime *O* 123 adst] adest *A<sup>2</sup>H* ego] ergo *ABCHLM*  
*dmv* 124 pagellam] paginam *L* malui] uolui *O* 125 igitur te] te igitur *sed*  
 corr. *H*

non displicuerit, ut hos libellos uelut duo minuta in gazophylacio templi Domini conlocare dignemini ac pro meis abluendis delictis peruigili intentione eius misericordiam deprecare non dedignemini, ut aeternis ereptus incendiis sempiternis solari merear refrigeriis. Vale, mi uenerabilis ac sanctissime domine.

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**126/127** ut hos – dignemini] cfr Marc. 12, 41-44; Luc. 21, 1-4

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**Trad. text.** *G AB* (inc. ab **86** monumenta) *CHLMO* (inc. ab **112** anteponatur) *dmv*

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**126** non] *correx*i, nunc *codd.* *v*      hos] *om.* *O*      gazophylacio] gazofilacia *G*      **130**  
domine] EXPLICIT EPISTVLA TAGII EPISCOPI AD EVGENIVM *add.* *G*, amen *add.*  
*ABCHLMO v*

## VISIO TAIONIS

- Chindasuindus Gothorum rex in Toletanam urbem synodale decretum XXX  
episcoporum cum omni clero mirifice anno regni sui V<sup>o</sup> indicit celebran-  
dum. Hic Taionem Caesaraugustanum episcopum, ordinis litteraturae satis  
imbutum et amicum scripturarum, Romae ad suam petitionem pro residuis  
5 libris Moraliū naualiter porrigit destinatum. Qui dum a papa Romense  
de die in diem differetur in longum, quasi in archiuo Romanae ecclesiae  
prae multitudine quaesitum facile nequaquam repperirent libellum, Domi-  
num pernctans et eius misericordiam ad uestigiam beati Petri apostolo-  
rum principi deposcens, ei scrinium in quo degebatur ab angelo manet  
10 ostensum. Qui mox se papa ut praeuidit reprehensum, cum nimia uene-  
ratione ei adiutoria tribuit ad conscribendum et Hispaniis eum transmisit  
ad relegendum, quia hoc ex beati Iob libris expositum retemptabant solum,  
quod per beatum Leandrum Hispalensem episcopum fuerat aduectum et  
olim honorifice deportatum.
- 15 Requisitus uero et coniuratus est Taio episcopus a papa Romano quo-  
modo ei tam ueridice fuisset librorum illorum locus ostensus. Hoc illi  
post nimiam deprecationem cum nimia alacritate est fassus, quod quadam  
nocte se ab ostiariis ecclesiae beati Petri apostoli expetiit esse excubium.

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1/48 Chindasuindus – ignauus] *Chron. Muz. a. 754*, 23 (ed. J. E. López Pereira, *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754*, León, 2009, p. 190-194)

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**Trad. text.** *GPV ABHLM O d*

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ALIVS B, DE VISIONE HABITA TAIONI EPISCOPO IN ROMANA ECCLESIA ET  
DE LIBRO MORALI IN SPANIA DVCTO *A d* 1 Chindasuindus] Windasuindus *G*  
Gothorum rex] rex Gothorum *GPV* Toletanam urbem] Toletana urbe *GPV* 2  
indicit] indixit *A<sup>2</sup> O d* 3 ordinis litteraturae] litteratura *H* ordinis] ordine *A<sup>2</sup> d*  
4 Romae] Romam *PV* 5 naualiter] naualium *G*, noualiter *VH*, Romense] Romensi  
*PV* 6 diem] die *G* differetur] differetur tempus *H* 7/8 Dominum] ad Do-  
minum *PV* 8 pernctans] per noctem orans *coni. d* misericordiam] in ecclesiam  
*G* uestigiam (cfr *Chron. Muz. codex Mz*)] uestigia *GPV O d*, –m *eras. AH<sup>2</sup>* beati]  
*om. GPV* 9 principi (cfr *Chron. Muz. codex Mz*)] principis *GPV O d*, –s *sup. l. A<sup>2</sup> H<sup>2</sup>*  
degebatur] tegebatur *PV A<sup>2</sup> H O d* 10 praeuidit] uidit *GPV* 11 ei] in *G* con-  
scribendum] scribendum *G* 12 relegendum] legendum *P* ex] *om. O* 13 quod]  
qui *P* per – episcopum] a beato Leandro Hispalensi episcopo *L* aduectum] aduec-  
tus *PV* 14 deportatum] deportatus *PV* 15 et coniuratus est] est et coniuratus *G*  
est] *om. L* 16 hoc] et hoc *PV* 17 nimia] *om. GPV* 18 expetit – apostoli] *om.*  
*G* excubium] excubium *PV*, excubaturum *H<sup>2</sup>*

- At ubi hoc repperit impetratum, in noctis medium cum se nimiis lamentis  
 20 ante beati Petri apostoli loculum deprecando faceret cernuum, lux caelitus  
 emissa ita ab inenarrabili lumine tota ecclesia exstitit perlustrata, ut nec  
 modicum quidem lucerent ecclesiae candelabra, simulque cum ipso lumine  
 una cum uocibus psallentium et lampadibus relampantium introire sanc-  
 25 completa, paulatim ex illa sanctorum curia duo dealbati senes egressum in  
 ea parte qua episcopus orationi debebatur coeperunt dare praependulum.  
 At ubi eum reppererunt pene iam mortuum, dulciter salutatam reduxerunt  
 ad proprium sensum; cumque ab eis interrogaretur quam ob causam tam  
 grande exstaret fatigium uel cur ab occidente properans tam longum pete-  
 30 ret nauigerium, hoc et hoc ab eo quasi inscii relatum auscultant opere pre-  
 tium. Tum illi multis eloquiis consolatum, ei oportunum ubi ipsi libri late-  
 bant ostenderunt loculum. Igitur sancti illi requisiti quae esset sanctorum  
 illa caterua eis tam claro cum lumine comitantium, responderunt dicentes  
 Petrum esse Christi apostolum simulque et Paulum, inuicem se manu  
 35 tenentium, cum omnibus successoribus ecclesiae in loco illo requiescenti-  
 bus. Porro ubi et ipsi requisiti fuerunt qui domini essent qui cum eo tam  
 mirabile habebant conloquium, unus ex illis respondit se esse Gregorium,  
 cuius et ipse desiderabat cernere librum, et ideo aduenere, ut eius remunera-  
 ret tam uastum fatigium et auctum redderet longissimum desiderium.
- 40 Tunc interrogatus si tandem in illa sancta multitudine adesset sapiens  
 Augustinus, eo quod ita libros eius sicut et ipsius sancti Gregorii semper ab

19/22 At ubi – candelabra] cfr GREG. M., *Dial.* 4, 16 (p. 64-66, 41-47)

Trad. text. *GPV ABHLM O d*

19 hoc repperit] repperit hoc *L* medium] medio *PV* cum] dum *O* nimiis la-  
 mentis] lamentis nimiis *L* lamentis] lamentacionibus *P* 20 apostoli loculum] locu-  
 lum apostoli *O* faceret] facile *V* 21 emissa] fuit emissa *PV*, emissa est *H* ita]  
 et ita *PV* 23 introire] introiere *GV* 24 ubi – exstitit] et ubi extitit horrore nimio  
*G* ubi est orrore nimio *P* ubi extitit horrore nimio *V* 25 ex illa] ab illo *P* egressum]  
 gressum *HLM O d* 26 debebatur] uacabat *G*, debebat *PVH* 27 eum reppererunt]  
 reppererunt eum *GPV* reppererunt cum *O* 29 exstaret] excitaret *L* fatigium] fas-  
 tidium *PV*, fastigium *sed corr.* *O* 30 nauigerium] nauigium *G* hoc et hoc] hec et  
 hec *G* 31 tum] cum *G* consolatum] consolantes *PV*, consolato *H<sup>2</sup>* 31/32 la-  
 tebant] latebantur *ABM sed corr. A*, tegebantur *L* 32 requisiti] exquisiti *GPV* 33  
 claro] clero *O* 34/35 inuicem se manu tenentium] *tr. ante* responderunt *d* 35 te-  
 nentium] tenentes *PV A<sup>2</sup> H<sup>2</sup>* 37 ex illis] *om. G* 38 aduenere] aduenire *P AH<sup>2</sup> d*  
 39 fastigium (*cfr Chron. Muz. codex Mz*) fastidium *PV*, fatigium *AHMO d* auctum]  
 actum *GPV* 41 eo] et *H* eius] *om. GV*

ipsis cunabulis amaret legere satis peravidus, hoc solummodo respondisse refertur: “Vir ille clarissimus et omnium exspectatione gratissimus Augustinus quem quaeris, altior a nobis eum continet locus”. Certe ubi ad eorum  
 45 pedes coepit proruere uncus, ab oculis eius ostiariis et ipsis territis, simul cum luce euauit uir ille sanctissimus. Vnde et ab eo die a cunctis in eadem apostolorum sede uenerabilis Taio exstitit gloriosus, qui ante despicebatur ut ignauus.

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**Trad. text.** *GPVABHLM O d*

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42 satis] *om. P, semper V*    peravidus] *avidus P*    43 refertur] *fertur PVL*    44 ubi]  
 cum *G*    eorum] *eius G*    47 apostolorum] *apostolica G*    48 ignauus] *ignauis G,*  
 uale *add. VABH d, amen add. O*



## INDEX PARTIVM LIBRORVM MORALIVM

Hic est ordo librorum sancti Gregorii papae Romensis: in expositione Iob edidit [in primis] libros Moraliū XXXV diuisos partibus atque codicibus VI.

- Pars I<sup>a</sup> libri V, pars II<sup>a</sup> libri V, pars III<sup>a</sup> libri VI, pars IV<sup>a</sup> libri VI, pars  
5 V<sup>a</sup> libri V, pars VI<sup>a</sup> libri VIII.

Sequuntur hos codices Homiliae in Euangelis XXXX, Dialogorum libri IIII, Pastoralis liber I, Homiliae in Ezechielem duabus diuisae partibus XXII (pars I<sup>a</sup> homiliae XII, pars II<sup>a</sup> homiliae X). Haec sunt praefati uiri opera luculenta ordine praecedenti conscripta uel edita.

- 10 [Placuit ut ea quae beatus Isidorus, Hispalensis ecclesiae episcopus, in libris uirorum illustrium uel de laudibus ipsius inseruit nos in hoc uolumen ampliemus].

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**Trad. text.** *GP AHLMO*

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1/3 Hic – codicibus VI] *in marg. G* 2 in primis] *om. GP* 3 VI] **DIVISIO**  
XXXV LIBRORVM *add. G, hoc modo add. O* 4/5 libri<sup>1-6</sup>] liber *AHO*, libros *L*  
6/12 Sequuntur – ampliemus] Inter praefatio Gregorius papa prima libri Iob, quae dum tantum uiri imitabiliter per suos actus exprimens, uidelicet qualis quantusue enucleatius pandere non † mm † praefationis, quia etiam argumenti proprietatem in se perficit. Sed utriusque rei partibus proprie seruans, ita moraliter incipit: Inter multos \*\*\* *G, om. P* 6 Homiliae in Euangelis XXXX] omelie in ezechiele XXII *O* 7 Pastoralis] regule *add. L* Homiliae in Ezechielem – X] homelie uero quae sunt super Ezechielem diuise sunt in duabus uoluminibus: pars prima homelie XXII, pars secunda homelie X *O* duabus] *om. A, scr. A<sup>2</sup>*  
8 XXII] *om. A, scr. A<sup>2</sup>* praefati] –a *O* 9 edita] adita *A* 11 nos] *om. H*  
uolumen] uolumine *LO*

## LAVS GREGORII

Gregorius papa, Romanae sedis apostolicae praesul, compunctione timoris Dei plenus, humilitate summus tantoque per gratiam Spiritus Sancti scientiae lumine praeditus, ut non modo illi in praesentium temporum quisquam

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1/24 Gregorius – principis] *ISID., De uir. ill. 27* (ed. C. Codoñer Merino, *El De uiris illustribus de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edición crítica*, Salamanca, 1964, p. 148-149)

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**Trad. text.** *ABHLM O*

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1 ALIVS *add. B* papa] pape *AMO* 3 ut] et *O* in praesentium temporum] inpraesentibus temporibus *L*

doctorum, sed ne in praeteritis quidem par fuerit unquam. Hic in exordio  
 5 episcopatus sui edidit librum Regulae pastoralis, directum ad Iohannem  
 Constantinopolitanae sedis episcopum, in quo docet qualis quisque ad offi-  
 cium regiminis ueniat uel qualiter, dum uenerit, uiuere uel docere subiectos  
 studeat. Idem, efflagitante Leandro episcopo, librum beati Iob mystico ac  
 10 morali sensu disseruit totamque eius prophetiae historiam in XXXV uolu-  
 minibus largo eloquentiae fonte explicuit. In quibus quidem quantam his-  
 toriam sacramentorum aperiantur quantaque sint in amore uitae aeternae  
 morum praecepta uel quanta clareant ornamenta uerborum, nemo sapiens  
 explicare ualebit, etiamsi omnes artus eius uertantur in linguam. Scripsit  
 15 etiam et quasdam epistolas ad praedictum Leandrum, e quibus una in eis-  
 dem libris Iob titulo praefationis adnectitur, altera eloquitur de mersione  
 baptismatis, in qua inter caetera ita scriptum est: “Reprehensibile, inquit,  
 esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismo mergere uel semel uel ter,  
 quando in tribus mersionibus personarum trinitas et in una potest diuini-  
 tatis singularitas designari”. Fertur tamen isdem excellentissimus uir et alios  
 20 libros morales scripsisse totumque textum quatuor Euangeliorum sermocin-  
 ando in populis exposuisse, incognitum scilicet nobis opus. Felix tamen et  
 nimium felix, qui omnium studiorum eius monumenta potuit cognoscere.  
 Floruit autem Mauricio Augusto imperante obiitque in ipso exordio Focati  
 Romani principis.

16/19 Reprehensibili – designari] GREG. M., *Reg.* 1, 41 (ed. D. Norberg, *CCSL* 140, p. 48, 43-45)

Trad. text. ABHLM O

5 Regule] Regula *d*    6 docet] decet *O*    7 subiectos] *om. O*    8 idem] etiam *add. L*  
 efflagitante] afflagitante *O*    10/11 quantam historiam sacramentorum] quanta historiae  
 sacramenta *L*, misteria sacramentorum *d*    11 aperiantur] aperiat *O*    amore] amorem  
*H*    14 una] unam *sed corr. A*    17 esse nullatenus] nullatenus esse *O*    in] uel *L*  
 22 monumenta] monimenta *H*    23 ipso] suo *A*    24 principis] uale mi uenerabilis et  
 mei memento *add. B*



# Une profession de foi et une lettre inédites d'Alcuin

Warren PEZÉ

(Paris)

La *Clavis* des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge a rangé parmi les pseudépi-graphes d'Alcuin une *Doctrina magistri Albini de fide*, inédite, figurant, avec tout un corpus alcuinien, dans un manuscrit des augustins de Seckau du treizième siècle (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 724, dorénavant *G*), une date tardive qui entretient naturellement le soupçon sur son authenticité<sup>1</sup>. Or, ce même texte se trouve aussi dans un manuscrit bien plus précoce, copié à Freising dans la première moitié du neuvième siècle (Munich, BSB, clm 6314, ff. 43-46, dorénavant *M*), dont les rubriques divisent le texte en deux sections distinctes : une profession de foi (*fides*) suivie d'une lettre (*ammonitio*)<sup>2</sup>. L'examen des deux textes et de leurs témoins manuscrits montre qu'Alcuin est l'auteur de l'un et de l'autre, qu'il devient donc urgent de mettre à la disposition des chercheurs. Nous en proposons l'édition, accompagnée de la démonstration de la paternité alcuinienne et de

<sup>1</sup> *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Âge, territoire français 735-987*, 2. *Alcuin*, éd. M.-H. JULLIEN et F. PERELMAN, Turnhout, 1999, ALCPs 16, p. 525 : « Le ms Graz 124 contient, parmi des traités théologiques de divers auteurs, un écrit intitulé *Doctrina magistri Albini de fide*. Celui-ci fut peut-être attribué à Alcuin par le copiste du fait qu'il suit dans le ms. trois œuvres d'Alcuin, le *De fide*, le *De Trinitate* [cf. *ibid.*, p. 134 et 151] et le *De animae ratione*, souvent rattachés dans la tradition manuscrite pour former un *corpus* de traités théologiques. Cet écrit non identifié semble inédit ». La description d'A. KERN, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, B. 2 (713-2066), Vienne, 1956, est disponible en ligne à l'adresse suivante : <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/katalog/> (consultée le 15 juillet 2018). On lit : « 11) Bl. 270v-272: *Doctrina magistri Albini [= Alcuini] de fide*. Beg. *Catholica fides habet patrem ... Schl. ... impleat desiderium, dne desiderantissime* ». Une simple allusion est faite à ce manuscrit par D. BULLOUGH, « Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven », dans ID., *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester, 1991, p. 203 : « In the late thirteenth century a well-educated priest in southern Austria, apparently ignorant of Abelard and finding Aquinas too difficult, included a full text [du *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*] in a solid trinitarian handbook ».

<sup>2</sup> G. GLAUCHE, *Katalog der lateinischen handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising*, 1, *Clm 6201-6316*, Wiesbaden, 2000 (*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae monacensis*, 3, series nova, 2,1) p. 196-197. Glauche a bien remarqué qu'il s'agit du même texte que dans *G*, sans se prononcer sur l'attribution à Alcuin.

quelques observations. Il sera fait référence aux numéros de ligne de l'édition ci-dessous. Mais il faut commencer par une analyse du contenu du texte.

## 1. Analyse du texte

### a. La *fides*

L'*incipit* du premier texte (*catholica fides habet*, l. 1), tout comme son titre dans l'un et l'autre manuscrit (G: *doctrina de fide*; M: *fides*), attestent qu'elle se rattache au genre des professions de foi et des *expositiones symboli*. Le texte, exclusivement trinitaire et christologique, ne contient aucun article relatif aux sacrements ou à l'Église, ce qu'il revendique d'ailleurs en conclusion (§ 3, l. 53: *hanc fidem de sancta Trinitate*). Sa structure, d'abord trinitaire, ensuite christologique, est proche de celle du *Quicumque vult*.

La *fides* proteste d'abord (§ 1, l. 1-6) de la plénitude de la nature divine de chacune des trois personnes; Père, Fils et Esprit partagent la même « substance, essence et nature », énumération peu rigoureuse mais balayant toute objection lexicale quant à l'unité des trois personnes. Père, Fils et Esprit, poursuit le texte (l. 6-14), forment ensemble le Dieu unique, tout en étant chacun Dieu dans la plénitude de sa substance. Dès lors, chacun partage ses qualités: éternité, immuabilité, majesté, pouvoir. Dans le Père réside l'unité, dans le Fils l'égalité, dans l'Esprit la concorde entre les trois personnes (l. 14-16). La substance divine ne se divise pas, ne s'additionne pas, ne se transforme pas, et toute opération de l'une des trois personnes est commune aux deux autres (l. 16-20). Cela étant (l. 20-26), certaines opérations relèvent en propre de chacune des trois personnes, comme la nativité ou la crucifixion (le Fils), la descente sous la forme de la colombe (l'Esprit) ou la voix céleste bénissant le Christ (le Père) – références au baptême du Christ, qui réunit en une scène les trois personnes de la Trinité (Matthieu 3, 13-17). Des trois personnes, le Père n'est pas engendré, le Fils est engendré par le Père, et l'Esprit procède également de l'un et de l'autre (l. 26-29).

On entre dans la partie christologique de la profession de foi (§ 2). Le Fils seul s'est incarné de l'Esprit Saint et de la Vierge Marie. Il ne doit pas être dit « fils de l'Esprit Saint », bien qu'il se soit incarné sous l'action de celui-ci, car il est à la fois vrai homme et vrai Dieu en une personne et deux natures, et fils unique et naturel du Père (l. 30-35). Cette unité des deux natures ne signifie pas qu'elles se confondent, que la divinité devienne humanité, ou l'humanité divinité: en se conjuguant l'une à l'autre, chaque nature garde sa propriété, l'une éternelle, l'autre temporelle, l'homme devenant vraiment Dieu en tant que Dieu le reçoit (*suscipere*), Dieu devenant vraiment homme en tant que l'homme est reçu (l. 35-42). Vient alors (l. 42-52), en guise de preuve scripturaire, un commentaire de Jean 1, 1 et

14, où Jean 1, 1 (« Au commencement était le Verbe ») fait référence à la nature divine du Fils, et Jean 1, 14 (« Et le verbe s'est fait chair... »), à sa nature humaine. Le Christ, achève le texte, reviendra juger le monde avec le corps ressuscité dans lequel il est monté aux cieux et siège à la droite du Père. La confession s'achève par la déclaration solennelle que c'est la foi de l'Église, qu'il faut prêcher dans un souci de charité, de concorde et de paix ; associée à l'amour de Dieu et du prochain, elle mène à coup sûr au paradis (§ 3, l. 53-57).

De l'analyse de cette profession de foi strictement chalcédonienne (une substance en trois personnes quant à la Trinité, deux substances en une personne quant au Christ) ressort une première évidence : ce texte est autant un commentaire du symbole qu'un symbole de foi. On y retrouve, en ordre dispersé, la plupart des articles du *Credo* de Nicée-Constantinople (à l'exclusion des articles ecclésiologiques et sacramentels) : l'éternité du Père (l. 26-27), l'engendrement du Fils unique et consubstantiel (l. 27, 32), la procession du Saint-Esprit (l. 27-29), la nativité et l'incarnation (l. 20 et 30), la crucifixion sous Ponce Pilate (l. 20-21, 49-50), la mort, la résurrection, l'ascension à la droite du Père et le retour dans la gloire pour juger les vivants et les morts (l. 49-52). Néanmoins, ces articles sont glosés sous une forme argumentative, comprenant des négations (*non tamen ... sed*, l. 5 ; *non tamen ... quamuis*, l. 31-32 ; *nec... nec... sed*, l. 9-12, 16-18, 20-22, 23-25, 28, 35-37), des citations et allusions évangéliques, et des prépositions et propositions causales (*propter*, l. 15, 16, 40, 41 ; *quia*, l. 27), concessives (*quamuis*, l. 19, 25, 32), consécutives (*ut* + subjonctif, l. 35-36 ; *tanta ... ut*, l. 38 ; *ita ... ut*, l. 41) et temporelles (*cum* + indicatif, l. 23-24 ; *quando*, l. 24). La fonction du texte est doctrinale, pastorale, voire catéchétique, comme le proclame l'*explicit* : cette foi, apprise dans l'Église, il faut « s'y tenir et la prêcher », toujours dans l'Église (l. 53-54). C'est l'origine des négations dont regorge le texte : il s'agit à la fois d'énoncer des contenus orthodoxes et de dénoncer, en creux, des contenus hétérodoxes. Quant à ceux-ci, nous y reviendrons plus loin.

#### b. La lettre-admonition

Le second texte est intitulé « admonition » par *M*, mais il s'agit d'une lettre accompagnant la profession de foi, amputée de son adresse. *M* et *G* en présentent deux versions légèrement différentes. Dans *G*, la lettre a un seul destinataire auquel est destiné un eschatocole (§ 3) réclamant sa prière assidue. Dans *M*, version amputée de cet eschatocole, toutes les références au destinataire sont au pluriel. La lettre a donc été réécrite dans des conditions que nous devons éclaircir.

Le destinataire est invité d'emblée à observer la profession de foi qui précède et à la prêcher à tous, dans la charité à laquelle faisaient référence ses

dernières lignes (§ 1, l. 1-3). Suit un bref éloge de la charité, qui est un signe d'observance des commandements de Dieu (l. 3-6). Hélas, l'époque donne rarement l'exemple de pasteurs (qui sont la cible principale du texte, comme le montrent les lignes suivantes) suivant avec zèle le double précepte de l'amour de Dieu et du prochain; les uns invitent leurs ouailles à garder les commandements sans les observer; les autres, ce qui est pire, n'y invitent même pas. « La moisson est abondante et les ouvriers peu nombreux », disait la parabole, et Jérôme, ajoute le texte, déplorait que la terre soit pleine d'évêques mais vide de docteurs (l. 6-13).

Contrairement à ces mauvais pasteurs, le destinataire de la lettre doit se consacrer à l'œuvre de Dieu, à la lecture et à la prédication fréquente (§ 2, l. 14-16). Le tableau se fait sombre à nouveau: le monde est sur une mauvaise pente; les prêtres sont corrompus car contraints eux-mêmes de corrompre par divers cadeaux; enfin, rares sont ceux qui obéissent de plein gré aux ordres et admonitions de l'empereur (l. 16-20). Pour sa part, que le destinataire garde à l'esprit le jugement dernier, lorsque le Juge, entouré de l'armée des anges, ouvrira le livre contenant les bonnes et mauvaises actions de chacun; alors, tout homme n'aura plus que sa conscience pour s'accuser et se défendre (l. 20-25). Il faut s'y préparer tant que reste le temps d'agir, pour s'assurer la miséricorde de Dieu et paraître la conscience pure devant lui. Que chacun prenne pitié de soi-même et ne cause pas cruellement sa propre mort en se livrant par le péché au diable et aux châtiments éternels (l. 25-31). Voilà, pour finir, ce que le destinataire (décidément un pasteur) doit prêcher au peuple pour lui inspirer la crainte de se perdre; la miséricorde de Dieu est facile à fléchir, pourvu que l'on se donne la peine de la mériter (l. 37-39).

La lettre s'achève, dans *G*, par un eschatocole (§ 3) omis par *M*. L'auteur s'y déclare libéré des occupations du monde et accaparé par la rédaction des réponses à de multiples sollicitations écrites, au point de le priver, lui et ses « enfants », du temps de se restaurer avant la tombée du jour (l. 35-38). Si le travail de l'auteur a été de quelque profit au destinataire, que celui-ci n'oublie pas de prier pour que l'auteur produise une œuvre digne des fils de l'Église (l. 38-42).

La lettre, en somme, est indissociable de la *fides*. Adressée, selon le manuscrit, à un ou plusieurs évêques (appelés *pater/patres* et qualifiés par la « sainteté », l. 1, 14, 20, 40), soigneusement distingués des mauvais pasteurs qui donnent le mauvais exemple à leurs ouailles (l. 6-13 et 18-20), elle leur recommande non seulement l'étude et la prédication (l. 15-16), mais la prédication spécifique de cette même profession de foi (l. 1-3) et de la peur du jugement dernier dans un souci de conversion des mœurs (l. 32-33). Dans *G*, le destinataire, appelé « fils, frère et père » (l. 14), est l'objet d'une affection très particulière.



## 2. La paternité alcuinienne

### a. Le contexte codicologique

*G* et *M*, bien qu'ils transmettent tous deux le bloc profession+lettre, sont indépendants l'un de l'autre. D'une part, *G* contient l'eschatocole de la lettre, et pas *M*. D'autre part, *M* contient le texte complet des l. 44-45 de la *Fides*, affecté dans *G* par une omission. Enfin, comme on l'a dit, la lettre a un destinataire unique dans *G* et des destinataires multiples dans *M*. *G* n'a pas été copié sur *M*, ni *M* sur un éventuel antigraphes semblable à *G*. Et malgré tout, les rubriques de ces deux témoins attribuent les deux textes au *magister Albinus* : resté simple diacre, Alcuin est souvent désigné comme *magister* et se réclame encore du titre dans le prologue du *De fide sanctae trinitatis* en 802<sup>3</sup>. Dans les deux témoins manuscrits, nos textes sont inclus dans des corpus en partie alcuiniens, mais totalement différents l'un de l'autre (voir en gras) :

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 724

Pierre le Chantre, *Distinctiones seu summa quae dicitur Abel*, ff. 1-187

*Expositio super symbolum* (scolastique), ff. 188-218

Fulgence, *De fide ad Petrum* (Keefe<sup>4</sup> 131 – CPL 826), ff. 219-234

Fulgence, *Epistula de fide ad Donatum* (Keefe 121 – CPL 817), ff. 234-239

Fulgence, extrait de l'*Epistula ad Faustinum* (Keefe 148 – CPL 817a), ff. 239-240

Symbole du pseudo-Jérôme (Keefe 45 – CPL 638, CPM 2A 939), ff. 240-241

Symbole de Grégoire le Thaumaturge (Keefe 389), f. 241

Alcuin, *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*, ff. 241-263

Alcuin, *Quaestiones de Trinitate ad Fredegisum*, ff. 263-265

Alcuin, *De ratione animae liber ad Eulaliam*, ff. 265-270

**Alcuin, *Doctrina de fide***, ff. 270-272

*Interrogationes*, ff. 272-273

pseudo-Athanase (Eusèbe de Verceil?), *Contra Arianos dialogus* (Keefe 93 – CPM 2, 1692), ff. 273-288

Préface de l'*Altercatio Athanasii* (Keefe 97 – CPL 807), f. 288

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 6314

sommaire, f. 5

Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, ff. 6-41

Grégoire de Nazianze, *Oratio de pace*, ff. 41-42

**Alcuin, *De fide et admonitio***, ff. 43-46

Julien Pomère, *De vita contemplativa*, III, 13 et 15, ff. 46-49

Pseudo-Athanase, *De Trinitate*, VI, 1-10

(fragment, CPL 105 : CCSL 9<sup>5</sup>, p. 80-84, l. 117), ff. 49-52

Défenseur de Ligugé, *Liber scintillarum*, ff. 1-4 et 52-192

Pseudo-Augustin, et pseudo-Bède, sermons divers (ajouts postérieurs), ff. 192-205

<sup>3</sup> M. GARRISON, « Les correspondants d'Alcuin », dans *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 111. *Alcuin, de York à Tours*, éd. Ph. DEPREUX et Br. JUDIC, Rennes, 2004, p. 319-332 (321). Cf. ALCUIN, *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi, Quaestiones de sancta Trinitate*, éd. E. KNIBBS et E. ANN MATTER, Turnhout, 2012 (CCCM 249), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> S. KEEFE, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 2012 (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 63).

<sup>5</sup> *Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi quae supersunt*, éd. V. BULHART, Turnhout, 1957 (CCSL 9).

Dans *G*, la profession de foi et la lettre figurent au milieu d'un corpus carolingien (ff. 219-288) : aucun texte n'est postérieur à Alcuin. Le *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*, avec ses textes d'accompagnement habituels (l'hymne *Adesto*, la confession *Credimus*, les *Quaestiones de Trinitate* à Fridugise et le *De ratione animae*), en représente le noyau<sup>6</sup> : il est entouré de plusieurs textes sur la Trinité et par des symboles de foi, fréquents dans les compilations carolingiennes<sup>7</sup>. La nature dogmatique de cette compilation carolingienne ne fait aucun doute. Quant à *M*, copié dans les quelques décennies qui suivent la mort d'Alcuin<sup>8</sup>, les textes principaux qui y figurent sont le *De virtutibus et vitiis* du maître anglo-saxon et de larges extraits du *Liber scintillarum* de Défenseur de Ligugé : c'est donc une compilation plus morale que dogmatique, sur laquelle nous reviendrons.

#### b. Critères internes : la profession de foi

Dans *M* comme dans *G*, le contexte codicologique conforte largement l'attribution à Alcuin. Les critères internes lui apportent maintenant des éléments décisifs. C'est d'abord vrai de la profession de foi, qui, comme on l'observe sur le tableau ci-dessous, est étroitement apparentée au *De fide sanctae trinitatis*.

##### *Fides magistri Alcuini*

l. 1-2 et 7-9

catolica fides habet **Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum esse Deum omnipotentem, aeternum, incommutabilem, immensum** [...] Ita Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus et **singulus quisque horum Deus et simul omnes unus Deus et singulus quisque horum plena substantia et simul omnes una substantia.**

l. 3-6

[...] **Patrem Deum plenum perfectumque, Filium Deum plenum perfectumque, Spiritum Sanctum Deum plenum perfectumque. Non tamen tres deos sed unum Deum plenum et perfectum** [...]

##### Alcuin, *De fide sanctae trinitatis*

I, 4 (p. 22-23, l. 1-6)

Plane ane absque omni dubitatione credendum est **Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum esse Deum, omnipotentem, aeternum, incommutabilem. Et singulus horum Deus, et simul omnes unus Deus, et singulus quisque horum plena et perfecta et aeterna substantia, et simul omnes una substantia.**

I, 10 (p. 30-31, l. 3-9)

Absque omni scilicet dubitatione credi necessarium est quod **Pater plenus et perfectus est Deus, Filius plenus et perfectus est Deus, Spiritus Sanctus plenus et perfectus est Deus. Non tamen tres dii, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, sed unus Deus plenus et perfectus. Nec aliquid maius tres simul dicti, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, quam unusquislibet, uel Pater uel Filius uel Spiritus Sanctus...**

<sup>6</sup> Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. xiv.

<sup>7</sup> KEEFE, *A Catalogue* (cité n. 4), n°45, 93, 97, 121, 131, 389.

<sup>8</sup> GLAUCHE, *Katalog* (cité n. 2), p. 196-197, qui place la copie sous Hitto (811-835), ne s'accorde que partiellement avec B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts, T. III: Padua-Zwickau*, éd. B. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden, 2104, n°3044, p. 238 (« Freising, IX. Jh., 2. Viertel »).

*Fides magistri Alcuini*

l. 16-23

**Nec tres** scilicet **aliquid maius quam unusquisque**, nec aliqua diuersitas in substantia uel essentia eorum, sed omnibus una **substantia**, una essentia communisque **operatio inseparabilisque** deitas, **quamuis quedam opera singulis conueniant personis**, nec tota Trinitas nata est de Virgine Maria et sub Pontio Pilato crucifixa, sed solus **tantummodo Filius**, nec eadem Trinitas **descendit in specie columbae super Iesum baptizatum**, sed tantummodo **Spiritus Sanctus**, ...

l. 23-26

...nec eadem Trinitas dixit de celo: **Tu es filius meus**, siue cum **baptizatus est** a Iohanne, siue in monte quando cum illo erant tres discipuli, sed tantummodo Pater, **quamuis** hec omnia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sicut **inseparabiles sunt**, ita **inseparabiliter operarentur**.

l. 26-28

**Pater ingenitus quia a se ipso est non ab alio**; **Filius genitus quia ei Filius esse a Patre est**; **Spiritus Sanctus nec ingenitus nec genitus sed procedens de Patre et Filio**...

l. 29

**amborum spiritus equaliter ex ambobus procedens qui et donum dei dicitur**.

l. 30-32

Et Filius solus incarnatus **est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine**, non tamen idem homo Iesus **Christus Filius Spiritus Sancti dicendus est**, quamuis **opere** Sancti Spiritus incarnatus sit ex **Maria Virgine**...

l. 35-38

Nec in eo naturarum commixtio est, ut uel **diuinitas mutaretur** in naturam humanitatis, uel humanitas **mutaretur** in naturam **diuinitatis**, sed **utriusque naturae sua manet proprietas** in perpetuum.

*Alcuin, De fide sanctae trinitatis*

III, confessio (p. 145-146, l. 34-41)

Sicut enim eadem sancta Trinitas inseparabilis est in **substantia**, ita **inseparabilis est in operibus**. **Quamuis quaedam opera Dei quibusdam personis specialiter conueniant** - sicut [...] ad **Filii** personam humanitatis **tantummodo** pertinet susceptio, et Spiritus Sancti personae proprie congruit illa **columba**, in cuius **specie** idem **Spiritus Sanctus descendit super** eundem Filium Dei secundum hominem **baptizatum**...

I, 14 (p. 35, l. 3-9)

Indubitanter siquidem credere debemus ipsam sanctam Trinitatem **esse inseparabilis** substantiae atque essentiae, **inseparabiliterque operari** quicquid a singulis personis legimus operatum esse. **Quamuis** certissimum sit Patrem esse solum qui dixit, **Hic est Filius meus** dilectus, in quo mihi conplacui; et Filium esse solum super quem illa uox solius Patris sonuit, quando in Iordane secundum hominem **baptizatus est**...

II, 9 (p. 60, l. 8-12)

Quod **ingenitum** est **Pater** est solus qui a **nullo esse habet quod est nisi a se ipso**; quod **genitum** est **Filius** est cui a **Patre est esse** quod est; quod uero **nec ingenitum est nec genitum** **Spiritus Sanctus** est cui est esse a **Patre et Filio** **procedere**...

I, 13 (p. 34, l. 11-12)

**quod ex Patre et Filio aequaliter procedit**, et est **amborum Spiritus**...

III, 3 (p. 94, l. 3-7)

Illud uero mouere poterit, quomodo dictum sit **Christum de Spiritu Sancto natum et Maria uirgine**, cum **filius nullo modo sit Spiritus Sancti** - an ideo dicitur de Spiritu Sancto natus, quia fecit eum de uirgine nasci? Quia hoc opus mirabile totum dono Dei factum est, et **donum Dei** proprie **Spiritus Sanctus dicitur**?

II, 10 (p. 64, l. 27-29)

nec **diuinitas** quippe in creaturam **mutata est** ut desisteret esse diuinitas, nec creatura in **diuinitatem** ut desisteret esse creatura.

III, 10 (p. 106, l. 7-9)

quia **utraque natura**, id est diuinitatis et humanitatis, in **sua permansit proprietate**.

*Fides magistri Alcuini*

l. 38-41

Tanta tamen coniunctio est naturarum ut idem qui **aeternaliter** ex Deo **Patre** genitus est homo sit uerus et ille qui **natus** est **temporaliter** de Virgine Deus sit uerus. Homo **propter suscipientem Deum** Deus uerus, Deus Dei Filius **propter susceptum hominem** homo uerus.

l. 41-47

ita tamen ut nulla confusio naturarum intelligatur in hac unitate **personae**. De eodem de quo ait euangelista: *In principio erat uerbum*, post pauca subiunxit: *Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis, et uidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et ueritatis*. Quod uero ait: *Verbum caro factum est*, hoc est, **plenum gratiae**; quod itaque ait: *uidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti*, hoc est: **plenum ueritatis**.

l. 49-52

[...] qui **iudicaturus erit mundum in ea** forma qua pendit **in cruce**, in qua mortuus est, **in qua resurrexit** uera resurrectione carnis suae, **in qua** etiam uidentibus apostolis **ascendit in caelum** et **sedet a dextris Dei**, id est in maiestate paternae gloriae.

l. 53-57

Hanc **fidem** de sancta Trinitate in ecclesia catholica didicimus, hanc tenemus, hanc praedicamus, huic etiam **fidei caritas** coniungenda est et **concordia** pacifice **unitatis** in ecclesia **Christi**. Hec uero **fides** si dilectio Dei et proximi illi cooperatur, habentem ad **eternam** certissime perducit **beatitudinem**.

*Alcuin, De fide sanctae trinitatis*

III, confessio (p. 146, l. 43-46)

Credimus eundem Filium Dei uerbum Dei **aeternaliter** natum de **Patre**, consubstantialem Patri per omnia, **temporaliter natum** de Spiritu Sancto et Maria semper **uirgine**...

II, 10 (p. 64, l. 23-25)

Ergo quia forma Dei accepit formam serui, utrumque Deus et utrumque homo - sed utrumque **Deus propter accipientem Deum**, utrumque autem **homo propter acceptum hominem**.

III, 7 (p. 100, l. 16-19)

Illud enim propter formam Dei, hoc autem propter formam serui, sine ulla **personae** discretionem intellegitur. In forma Dei: *In principio erat uerbum*; in forma serui: *Verbum caro factum est*.

III, 2 (p. 92-93, l. 3-8)

De ipso autem Domino Iohannes euangelista, cum dixisset: *Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis*, adiunxit: *Vidimus, inquit, gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et ueritatis*. Quod ait, *Verbum caro factum est*: hoc est **plenum gratiae**; quod ait, *Gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre*: hoc est **plenum ueritatis**.

III, 11 (p. 108, l. 17-22)

[...] totus Filius ex utero eiusdem beatae uirginis carnem adsumens, **in qua crucifixus est** et sepultus, **in qua resurrexit** et **in caelum ascendit** et **in dextera Dei sedet**, in qua etiam uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos, et in qua uidebunt eum omnes tribus terrae: non in ea humilitate qua iudicatus est, sed **in ea claritate qua iudicaturus est uniuersum mundum**.

Epistola dedicatoria (p. 9, l. 67-70)

Nec aliud omnipotenti Deo munus amabilius esse probatur quam in catholica **fide** diuinae **concordia caritatis**, ut omnes **unum** sint in **Christo**, qui pro omnibus mortuus est, per quem cuncti credentes in eum efficiuntur filii **aeternae beatitudinis**.

En de nombreux points, la profession de foi a des parallèles dans le traité le plus connu d'Alcuin. Certains passages semblent repris d'un bloc (l. 1-2 = *De fide*, I, 4; l. 3-6 = *De fide*, I, 10; dans une moindre mesure, l. 26-28 = *De fide*, II, 9). La plupart relèvent d'un remploi subtil, enchâssant parfois des éléments de deux chapitres différents du traité, sans que la similitude

du vocabulaire et de l'argumentation n'autorise à remettre en cause un lien direct entre les deux œuvres. Il s'agit donc non pas d'un florilège d'extraits, mais d'un texte neuf – et l'on verra plus loin que c'est parce que les deux ont sans doute été écrits en même temps, avant la publication du *De fide*.

Les parallèles entre la profession de foi et le *De fide* ne suivent pas l'ordre du texte, mais l'ordre suivant (avec ici les titres de sections du *De fide*):

I, 4 *quod sit unus deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus*

I, 10 *quod non sit maius aliquid Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus simul dicti quam unaquaelibet persona ex eis*

III, confession *Credimus*

I, 14 *quod quaedam opera sanctae Trinitatis quibusdam personis proprie conveniunt*

II, 9 *de diversitate eorum quae sunt*

I, 13 *quae sint propria unicuique personae sanctae Trinitate*

III, 3 *quomodo non sit Christus filius Spiritus Sancti dum in simbulo dicitur: de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine natus*

II, 10 *quod vero quaedam mirabilis facta est coniunctio creatoris ad creaturam*

III, 10 *quod nec Pater nec Spiritus Sanctus, sed solus Filius incarnatus sit*

III, confession *Credimus*

II, 10 *quod vero quaedam mirabilis facta est coniunctio creatoris ad creaturam*

III, 7 *quare Filius nunc aequalis, nunc minor Patri dicatur*

III, 2 *ad commendationem eiusdem gratiae, beatus evangelista christum ait: plenum gratia et veritate*

III, 11 *De eo quod verbum Dei suae carnis conceptione conceptum sit in utero Virginis*

*Epistola dedicatoria*

Les trois livres du traité d'Alcuin sont représentés de manière égale. La dispersion des différents chapitres dans la profession de foi est importante. Cela suppose un travail d'écriture minutieux de la part de l'auteur de cette dernière. On s'aperçoit néanmoins de la cohérence thématique des parallèles. Le début de la profession de foi est proche des chapitres relatifs à l'unité et à l'égalité des personnes de la Trinité (I, 4 et 10). Viennent ensuite plusieurs passages proches des chapitres relatifs aux distinctions entre les trois personnes (I, 13-14 et II, 9). Tout le reste est proche des chapitres proprement christologiques. Thématiquement, la répartition des

parallèles reflète la progression de la profession de foi de la Trinité vers la christologie : l'auteur a parfaitement su où chercher les arguments pertinents.

Cette méthode de travail trahit un auteur d'une grande qualité et non un excerpteur. On observe comment il enchâsse des passages ayant des parallèles dans différents chapitres du *De fide* (l. 16-23, proche à la fois du *De fide*, I, 10 et de la confession finale du livre III; l. 29-32, proche à la fois du *De fide*, I, 13 sur l'Esprit Saint et III, 3, sur l'objection à l'idée que le Christ soit fils de l'Esprit Saint; l. 35-38, proche à la fois de *De fide* II, 10 et de III, 10; l. 38-41, proche à la fois de la confession finale du livre III du *De fide* et de II, 10; l. 41-47, où le rapprochement entre Jn 1, 1 et Jn 1, 14 se rapproche de deux chapitres du *De fide*, III, 7 et III, 2) ou, au contraire, semble couper en deux un même passage (l. 1-2 et 7-9, proches d'un même passage du *De fide*, I, 4).

Cette méthode trahit de surcroît un auteur lettré qui a incorporé à sa profession de foi un long emprunt au *De doctrina christiana* d'Augustin (l. 6-16) en renfort à sa première partie sur l'unité des trois personnes. Dans le *De fide*, Alcuin cite ce passage, mais tronqué et sans en dévoiler l'origine<sup>9</sup>. L'auteur de la profession de foi, décidément trop bien renseigné, a identifié la source et la cite intégralement. En réalité, ces emprunts si librement inspirés du *De fide* dévoilent un auteur encore plein de son œuvre, ne recopiant pas à livre ouvert mais se citant de mémoire, avec les formules bien en tête. Il ne s'agit pas d'un simple abrégiateur ou plagiaire. Le propos trinitaire et christologique, la subtilité de la réécriture et l'intelligence des sources suggèrent que l'auteur est bien celui auquel les deux manuscrits attribuent le texte : Alcuin<sup>10</sup>.

### c. Critères internes : la lettre-admonition

La paternité alcuinienne de la profession de foi ne s'étend pas à la lettre-admonition sans autre forme de procès : une tierce personne a aussi bien pu être à la manœuvre. Or, des preuves internes accablantes montrent qu'Alcuin est aussi l'auteur de la lettre. Celle-ci, nous l'avons vu dans l'analyse, est pour l'essentiel une admonition à un ou plusieurs évêques : c'est

<sup>9</sup> Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. 22-23, l. 4-6 = Augustin, *De doctrina christiana*, éd. Kl.-D. DAUR et J. MARTIN, Turnhout, 1962 (CCSL 32), p. 9, l. 8-10 (non repéré par les éditeurs du CCCM 249). Un autre fragment de ce même chapitre I, 5 du *De doctrina christiana* est cité dans la confession *Credimus*, cf. *De fide*, p. 145, l. 32 (repéré par les éditeurs).

<sup>10</sup> D. BULLOUGH, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester, 1991, p. 202, montre qu'Alcuin, dans le *De fide*, fonde le *De Trinitate* d'Augustin et bien des préoccupations de ses œuvres antérieures dans une nouvelle œuvre qui « transcende ses sources » : la profession de foi en apporte une nouvelle preuve.



une caractéristique fréquente des lettres d'Alcuin, volontiers admonitoires, parfois de véritables miroirs épiscopaux (c'est la raison pour laquelle Notker, vers 885, en déconseille la lecture au futur Salomon III de Constance, encore trop jeune pour se permettre de telles audaces)<sup>11</sup>. La lettre contient de nombreuses idiosyncrasies d'Alcuin ou des citations et motifs fréquents chez lui : le fait que l'observation des commandements soit un signe de charité (l. 5-6)<sup>12</sup> ; les versets Luc 10, 2-3 relatifs aux ouvriers pour la moisson (l. 10-11)<sup>13</sup> ; l'expression *pasce animam* (l. 15)<sup>14</sup> ; l'expression *lectionis studium* (l. 15)<sup>15</sup> ; l'expression *aeternae beatitudinis sedem praeparare* (l. 15-16)<sup>16</sup> ; l'expression *sedulae predicationis officium* (l. 16)<sup>17</sup> ; le verset 1 Jean 5, 19 (l. 16-17)<sup>18</sup> ; le verset Philippiens 2, 21 (l. 17-18)<sup>19</sup> ; la référence à la *sancta uoluntas* de l'empereur (l. 19)<sup>20</sup> ; plusieurs expressions relatives au jugement dernier, notamment *in conspectu Dei apparere et dum tempus habeat operandi* (l. 26-27)<sup>21</sup> ; l'expression *si nos non sumus pigri*

<sup>11</sup> C. VEYRARD-COSME, *Tacitus nuntius. Recherches sur l'écriture des Lettres d'Alcuin (730?-804)*, Paris, 2013 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 50), p. 195-278, en particulier p. 237 ; EAD., « Les motifs épistolaires dans la correspondance d'Alcuin », dans *Alcuin, de York à Tours, op. cit.* n. 3, p. 193-208 (203) et GARRISON, « Les correspondants d'Alcuin » (cit. n. 3), p. 325. Pour Notker, voir E. RAUNER, « Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris', Teil I: Kritische Edition », *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 21, 1986, p. 34-69 (64), cité par VEYRARD-COSME, *Tacitus nuntius*, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> Comparer à « Alcuini siue Albini epistolae », dans *Epistolae Karolini aevi tomus 2*, éd. E. DÜMMER, Berlin, 1895 (MGH Epistolae 4), lettre 122, p. 180, l. 20 : *Dominum Deum diligite et eius mandata servate* ; lettre 187, p. 314, l. 36 : *et in opere bono signum perfectae dilectionis* ; lettre 16, p. 44, l. 25-27 : *eandem caritatem in observatione mandatorum eius ostendite*.

<sup>13</sup> Comparer à MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 111, p. 161, l. 24-25 : *Dicit et ipsa veritas* : « *Messis quidem multa est, operarii autem pauci: rogate dominum messis, mittat operarios in messem suam* ».

<sup>14</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 39, p. 83, l. 3 : *His aepulis animam tuam pasce*.

<sup>15</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 21, p. 59, l. 15 : *Lectionis studium exercete* ; lettre 128, p. 190, l. 7 : *Tua quoque veneranda sapientia specialiter deducat in domum Dei lectionis studio* ; lettre 285, p. 444, l. 9 : *Lectionis vero studium nullatenus dimitte* ; lettre 287, p. 446, l. 10 : *Et lectionis studium diligenti cura exercete*.

<sup>16</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 184, p. 310, l. 11-12 : *quatenus [...] ad aeternae beatitudinis sedem pervenire merearis*.

<sup>17</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 110, p. 159, l. 11 : *evangelica praecepta danda sunt per sedulae praedicationis officium*.

<sup>18</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 260, p. 418, l. 19.

<sup>19</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 253, p. 409, l. 18-19.

<sup>20</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 202, p. 336, l. 20 : *uestra uero sancta uoluntas*.

<sup>21</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 1, p. 18, l. 29-31 : *Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum, quia post mortem non est tempus operandi, sed tempus mercedem recipiendi* ; lettre 131, p. 196, l. 14 : *Dum habes tempus operandi...* ; lettre 154, p. 249, l. 16 : *Non tempus est operandi* ; lettre 270, p. 429, l. 11 : *ut iugiter mundus anima et corpore appareas in conspectu altissimi iudicis*.



dans un contexte pénitentiel (l. 34)<sup>22</sup>; et, dans l'eschatocole de la version de *G*, l'expression latine rare *sudere* + datif dans le sens « travailler dur pour quelqu'un » (l. 39)<sup>23</sup>. En somme, la structure de la lettre-admonition, son contenu, ses citations et son vocabulaire sont parfaitement familiers à Alcuin.

Un passage renforce cette présomption de façon décisive. Le cœur de l'admonition est une méditation sur le jugement dernier, jour terrible où le Christ placera chaque fidèle, abandonné à sa seule conscience, devant ses bonnes et mauvaises actions. L'auteur invite son destinataire à prêcher cette admonition à ses ouailles. Or, tout le passage se laisse aisément confronter à une lettre d'Alcuin à Léon III de 801 :

<i>Ammonitio</i> , l. 75-80	Lettre 234, p. 379, l. 25-33
Cogitet itaque sancta prouidentia tua de aeterna retributione et de die terribili ultimi examinis, quando iudex cum <b>agminibus</b> celi <b>uenturus est</b> nos nostraque discutere. Tunc <b>aperientur</b> singulorum <b>libri</b> , <b>laudes uel uituperationes uitae prioris</b> tenentes, <b>conscientia</b> cordis nostri nosmetipsos <b>defendente uel accusante</b> , nec longe testes quaerendi sunt.	[...] dum <b>venerit</b> rex Christus sedere in sede maiestatis paternae, angelorum atque omnium sanctorum circumstantibus tronum gloriae suae <b>agminibus</b> , et <b>libri aperientur</b> meritorum in <b>laudes vel vituperationes</b> uniuscuiusque personae [...], teste semper unicuique propria adstante <b>conscientia, vel accusante vel defendente opera prioris vitae</b> .

Le Christ reviendra pour le jugement dernier entouré des « armées célestes » ; on ouvrira pour chacun « un livre des mérites » renfermant la « louange et la critique » de « sa vie passée » ; il n'aura « que sa conscience pour l'accuser et le défendre ». La réécriture est tout aussi subtile que dans le cas de la profession de foi : un même auteur rumine les mêmes concepts, en sachant les exprimer avec des nuances différentes. Alcuin est aussi l'auteur de la lettre.

### 3. Le contexte

#### a. La date

La profession de foi et la lettre s'insèrent parfaitement dans le contexte des années 801-802. La lettre-admonition fait allusion à « la sainte volonté du seigneur empereur » (dans *G*, l. 19) : on se situe donc après le couronnement de Noël 800. Le *De fide*, auquel la profession de foi est apparentée, fut achevé pendant l'été 802, avant le concile d'Aix (octobre) : la préface

<sup>22</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 131, p. 197, l. 28 : *paratus est nos accipere, si nos non erimus pigri ad eum venire*.

<sup>23</sup> Alcuin, *Contra Felicem libri septem*, PL 101, col. 126 : *cui maxime sudauit*. MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 200, p. 331, l. 3 : *Maxime tamen vestrae sanctissimae dilectioni in hac gratia meum sudare ingenium...*

fait référence à un concile imminent et Alcuin, dans une lettre à Arn du 24 mai 802, fait allusion à la rédaction de son traité, soit déjà en cours, soit imminente<sup>24</sup>.

Cette chronologie éclaire l'eschatocole de *G* où Alcuin écrit : « Quant à moi, ton fils, libéré des occupations séculières » (l. 35). À quelles occupations séculières est-il fait allusion ici ? Alcuin était abbé non seulement de Saint-Martin de Tours, mais aussi de Ferrières, Saint-Loup de Troyes, Flavigny, Saint-Josse, Cormery et Berge (diocèse de Liège) : cet abbatiat multiple, véritable fardeau administratif et pastoral, lui imposait d'incessants déplacements<sup>25</sup>. D'après le témoignage de sa *Vita*, un Alcuin vieillissant, qui n'avait pas cherché à faire carrière dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, a demandé à Charlemagne à en être soulagé pour aller préparer sa mort à Fulda, retiré parmi les moines dans la vie parfaite<sup>26</sup>. À la toute fin de l'année 801, semble-t-il, Charlemagne y consent enfin et l'autorise à abandonner les *onera saeculi*, c'est-à-dire ses charges administratives, bientôt réparties entre ses disciples, mais lui impose de garder l'*honor* de Saint-Martin, c'est-à-dire d'y rester abbé<sup>27</sup>. De cette « libération », une salve de lettres se font l'écho dans les mêmes termes que l'eschatocole de *G* : Alcuin est « libéré des occupations du monde »<sup>28</sup>. Parmi ces lettres se trouve celle à

<sup>24</sup> Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. ix. Le consensus des historiens date le traité de 802, depuis DÜMMLER, MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12) p. 414 ; BULLOUGH, « Alcuin and the Kingdom of heaven » (cité n. 1), p. 202-203 ; J. CAVADINI, « The Sources and Theology of Alcuin's 'De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis' », *Traditio*, 46, 1991, p. 123-146 (129, n. 22) et MATTER et KNIBBS, dans Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. ix-xiv. L'un des meilleurs connaisseurs d'Alcuin, W. HEIL (« Der Adoptionismus, Alkuin und Spanien », dans *Karl der Grosse, lebenswerk und Nachleben*, éd. W. BRAUNFELS, II. *Das geistige Leben*, éd. B. BISCHOFF, Düsseldorf, 1965, p. 95-155, surtout p. 141-142), date le traité de 801. La datation en 802 semble pourtant assurée par la lettre 254 d'Alcuin, datée de façon certaine du 24 mai 802 (MGH *Ep.* 4, cité n. 12, p. 411) : *De catholicae fidei vero ratione tempore oportuno divino inspirante spiritu non me abnego aliquid inde considerare secundum catholicorum scripta patrum atque ad vestrae augmentum sanctitatis transscribere*. Si Alcuin semble ici impliquer qu'il doit encore accomplir le gros du travail de rédaction, il peut aussi bien annoncer plus généralement la publication prochaine de son œuvre et son envoi à Arn.

<sup>25</sup> M. HARTMANN, « Alcuin et la gestion matérielle de Saint-Martin de Tours », dans *Alcuin, de York à Tours* (cité n. 3), p. 91-102.

<sup>26</sup> *Vita Alcuini*, c. 11 : C. VEYRARD-COSME, *La Vita beati Alcuini* (IX<sup>e</sup> s.), *les inflexions d'un discours de sainteté*, Paris, 2017 (Collection des Études augustinienes, Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 54), p. 266. Confronter ce témoignage à la lettre 229, MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), p. 374 : *nam fere ante hoc quinquennium saeculares occupationes Deum testor non ficto corde declinare cogitavi*. Voir également la lettre solennelle de demande à Charlemagne, *ibid.*, n°238, p. 383.

<sup>27</sup> HARTMANN, « Alcuin et la gestion matérielle » (cité n. 25), p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 233 (au moine anglo-saxon Calvinus), p. 378, l. 36 : *Nos vero [...] deposito onere pastoralis curae, quieti sedemus apud Sanctum Martinum* ; lettre 234 (au pape Léon III), p. 380, l. 10 : *Ego filius vestrae bonitatis saecularis nutricii occupatione libe-*

Léon III où l'on a repéré un long parallèle relatif au jugement dernier : les deux documents doivent être chronologiquement proches.

La lettre d'Alcuin offre également des parallèles saisissants avec la lettre 254 à Arn de Salzbourg du 24 mai 802 que nous avons évoquée. Cette lettre a été dictée, dit Alcuin, dans la plus grande hâte : le messenger, arrivé en milieu de matinée, devait repartir en milieu d'après-midi<sup>29</sup>. Alcuin commence par s'inquiéter du sort des quatre lettres envoyées à Arn depuis environ un an. Il se réjouit ensuite de recevoir de ses nouvelles. Il se dérobe avec une modestie affectée aux requêtes d'Arn, qui lui réclamait deux mémoires sur la vie canoniale et régulière et sur le tribunal séculier. Alcuin annonce la publication prochaine d'un livre sur « la raison de la foi catholique », dans lequel on reconnaît bien sûr le *De fide*. Alors viennent les parallèles. Alcuin se dit sûr de la bonne volonté de l'empereur quant à la juste organisation du royaume ; hélas, il n'a pas tant d'adjuteurs que de fauteurs de troubles et pas tant de prêcheurs que de prédateurs (cf. l. 19-20) ; nombreux sont ceux qui désirent davantage leur propre bien que celui de Dieu (cf. l. 17-18)<sup>30</sup>. Arn, poursuit Alcuin, doit se garder de recevoir des *munera* au tribunal, un mal qui fait des ravages parmi les chrétiens : l'archevêque doit l'interdire à tous ceux qui se trouvent sous sa *legatio*, c'est-à-dire son *missaticus* (cf. l. 18)<sup>31</sup>. La lettre se conclut sur la référence aux deux préceptes de la charité<sup>32</sup> (cf. l. 5-6). Tant dans les thèmes que dans le lexique (*bona voluntas domni imperatoris*, *adiutor/adiuvare*, *desiderat/desiderium*), la proximité est grande et l'on peut supposer qu'Alcuin reprend, dans cette lettre dictée dans la précipitation, des éléments qui lui occupaient alors l'esprit, voire s'inspire du contenu de lettres récentes, dont notre *ammonitio*.

*ratus, soli Deo servire desiderans* ; lettre 235 (à un ami anonyme), p. 380, l. 29 : *Tu scis tamen, quod negotiis secularibus utcumque me liberatum habeo, Deo soli vacare desiderans* ; lettre 236 (à un archevêque), p. 381, l. 6 : *Sciat dulcissima paternitatis vestrae dilectio, quod ego filius tuus saeculi occupationibus depositis soli Deo vacare desidero* ; lettre 237 (à Adalhard de Corbie), p. 382, l. 35 : *Ego, militaris cingulo laboris deposito, quietus Deo servire desiderans* ; lettre 239 (à Arn de Salzbourg), p. 384, l. 31 : *saecularisque negotii deposito onere Deo soli servire licet pigro corde et inposito gradu eligam...*

<sup>29</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cité n. 12), p. 410.

<sup>30</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cité n. 12), p. 411, l. 22-25 : *De bona siquidem voluntate domni imperatoris valde certus sum, quod omnia ad rectitudinis normam in regno sibi a Deo dato disponi desiderat, sed tantos non habet iustitiae adiutores, quantos etiam subversores, nec tantos praedicatores, quantos praedatores. Quia pluriore sunt qui sua desiderant quam Dei.*

<sup>31</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cité n. 12), p. 411, l. 26-30 : *Tua vero sanctitas a nemine munera suscipiat pro causis [...] Quod malum nimis inter christianos viget [...] Hoc vero maxime tua bona providentia prohibeat omnibus, tuae venerandae veritatis legationem spectantibus.*

<sup>32</sup> MGH Ep. 4 (cité n. 12), p. 411, l. 35 : *Direximus benedictionis gratia caritati vestrae duo capitula propter duo praecepta caritatis.*

Les parallèles entre notre lettre et les deux lettres à Léon et Arn semblent imposer une datation au premier semestre 802.

La *Vita Alcuini*, soucieuse de présenter une fin de vie conforme à la perfection monastique, décrit les mortifications auxquelles le vieil abbé soumet son corps : en dehors de Pâques et des fêtes, il jeûne toute la journée jusqu'au soir<sup>33</sup>. Ce passage trouve dans la lettre une confirmation inattendue. Alcuin, quoique libéré de ses tâches administratives, est si occupé à dicter sa correspondance en réponse à de nombreux solliciteurs, que ni lui ni les jeunes moines qui l'assistent dans sa tâche n'ont le temps de manger avant la tombée du soir (l. 36-38)<sup>34</sup>. Cette description donne une image frappante d'Alcuin au scriptorium, accaparé par sa correspondance et entouré d'assistants. De fait, d'après la lettre 254, s'il a fallu répondre au messenger entre son arrivée vers 9 heures et son départ vers 15 heures, il a sans doute fallu sauter le déjeuner...

Les travaux exigeants décrits par l'eschatocole de *G* (l. 38-41), ne s'agit-il pas précisément de la rédaction du *De fide*, fort proche de la profession de foi ? Si le destinataire d'Alcuin est satisfait de ses travaux (allusion à la profession de foi qu'il est en train de lui envoyer), qu'il ne néglige pas de prier pour qu'Alcuin produise encore « quelque chose de digne des fils de l'Église », allusion probable au *De fide sanctae Trinitatis* auquel il consacre ses derniers efforts. La dédicace à Charlemagne demande que le traité soit transmis au concile s'il en est « digne » : on retrouve également le verbe *efficere*<sup>35</sup>. Il n'y a donc aucun doute sur la date des deux textes édités ici, contemporains de la démission d'Alcuin de ses charges administratives et de la rédaction du *De fide* (premier semestre 802).

#### b. Le destinataire

La question du destinataire de la lettre pose davantage de difficultés. La lettre, comme beaucoup de lettres d'Alcuin, est une sorte de miroir de l'évêque, insistant sur ses devoirs<sup>36</sup>. Il en existe, nous l'avons vu, deux versions. Dans *M*, elle est adressée à un groupe d'évêques (*deuotissimi atque carissimi patres*, l. 1; *carissimi*, l. 14), chargés d'admonester et de prêcher. Dans *G* en revanche, elle est adressée à un seul évêque. Est-il possible d'en esquisser le profil ? Cet évêque est honoré par des titres habituels chez les

<sup>33</sup> VEYRARD-COSME, *La Vita beati Alcuini* (cité n. 26), p. 268.

<sup>34</sup> Les *infantes* de la lettre sont certainement de jeunes moines ou oblates. On retrouve l'expression dans la lettre 259, où Alcuin dit avoir composé une *Epistola de confessione* pour les *infantes et pueri* (MGH Ep. 4, cité n. 12, p. 417, l. 13).

<sup>35</sup> Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. 7, l. 33 : *Quid exinde efficerem uestrae probationis spectat iudicium, si digne meus iste labor in sacerdotales procedere ualeat aures.*

<sup>36</sup> VEYRARD-COSME, *Tacitus nuntius* (cité n. 11), p. 257-278.

correspondants d'Alcuin qui sont aussi évêques (*sanctissima deuotio*, l. 1 ; *carissime pater*, l. 1 ; *sancta prouidentia tua*, l. 20-21 ; *pater optime* et *uestra sanctitas*, l. 39-40). Mais quelques expressions sont plus rares. L'expression *domine desiderantissime* est réservée à des personnes de rang royal proches d'Alcuin : Charlemagne, Offa et Cenwulf de Mercie<sup>37</sup>. La seule exception est Arn de Salzburg, proche ami de l'abbé de Tours<sup>38</sup>. Arn, derrière Charlemagne, est le correspondant le plus fréquent d'Alcuin, entre autre parce qu'on lui doit deux compilations de leur correspondance (mss. Vienne, ÖNB, 795 et 808)<sup>39</sup>.

Se pourrait-il que le destinataire de la version *G* soit Arn de Salzburg ? Le destinataire est appelé *fili carissime*, *frater amantissime*, *pater sanctissime* (l. 14). Rares sont les correspondants d'Alcuin à cumuler les titres de « fils, frère et père ». Or, Arn, de dix ans son cadet, était à la fois un ami très proche et le supérieur hiérarchique d'Alcuin : ordonné évêque de Salzburg en 785, il reçoit le pallium à l'érection du diocèse en métropole en 798. Cette tension est sensible dans leur correspondance. Alcuin, en authentique « grand frère », n'épargne à Arn aucune admonition, tout en lui écrivant avec toute l'humilité due à son rang<sup>40</sup>. Cela explique la triple adresse comme « fils, frère et père », soigneusement écartée de la version *M*. Cette combinaison ne se rencontre dans la correspondance d'Alcuin que pour deux personnes : son autre ami proche et ancien élève Ricbod de Trèves (une fois), et Arn (sept fois)<sup>41</sup>. La combinaison *fili frater amice* se rencontre

<sup>37</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 101, p. 148, l. 1 5 (à Offa de Mercie) ; lettre 118, p. 173, l. 34 (à Charlemagne) ; lettre 123, p. 181, l. 23 (à Cenwulf de Mercie) ; lettre 198, p. 329, l. 3-4, lettre 202, p. 336, l. 27 ; lettre 211, p. 352, l. 31, lettre 229, p. 374, l. 17, lettre 249, p. 404, l. 10 (toutes à Charlemagne).

<sup>38</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 242, p. 388, l. 33 ; lettre 252, p. 410, l. 9 ; lettre 2 54, p. 412, l. 8.

<sup>39</sup> GARRISON, « Les correspondants d'Alcuin » (cité n. 3), p. 320-321 ; M. DIESENBERGER et H. WOLFRAM, « Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804 : zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften », dans *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, éd. M. NIEDERKORN-BRUCK et A. SCHARER, Munich et Vienne, 2004 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 40), p. 81-106. Sur l'expression *dominus*, voir P. DEPREUX, « Dominus. Marques de respect et expression des rapports hiérarchiques dans la désignation des personnes d'autorité », dans *Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge : conception, perception et réalisation sociale*, éd. F. BOUGARD, H.-W. GOETZ et R. LE JAN, Turnhout, 2011 (Haut Moyen Âge, 13), p. 187-220. La place d'Arn parmi les correspondants épiscopaux d'Alcuin est bien décrite dans Veyrard-Cosme, *Tacitus nuntius* (cité n. 11), p. 230.

<sup>40</sup> DIESENBERGER et WOLFRAM, « Arn und Alkuin » (cité n. 39), p. 82.

<sup>41</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 78 à Ricbod de Trèves, p. 120, l. 1 : *carissime fili, frater, pater et amice* (voir aussi l. 7) ; lettre 107 à Arn, p. 154, l. 14 (*pater sancte, amice fidelis, frater dilecte, fili carissime*) ; lettre 156 à Arn, p. 253, l. 10 : *venerabili patri et maabili fratri et desiderabili filio*, et p. 255, l. 15 : *carissime pater, frater et fili* ; lettre 173 à Arn, p. 287, l. 33 : *carissime pater, frater, fili* ; lettre 179 à Arn, p. 297, l. 37 : *noli oblivisci patrem senio*,

aussi pour Ricbod, Adalhard et un disciple anglais inconnu – mais sans *pater*<sup>42</sup>. Par ailleurs, Arn est appelé *frater amantissime*, comme le destinataire de *G*<sup>43</sup>. Ainsi, Arn est de loin le correspondant d'Alcuin qui offre le plus de parallèles avec les adresses très personnelles de *G*. N'y a-t-il pas un obstacle à voir dans Arn le destinataire, au vu des parallèles avec la lettre 254? Alcuin aurait-il envoyé deux fois quasiment les mêmes contenus à la même personne? Il faut ici garder à l'esprit que la lettre-admonition accompagnant la profession de foi est adressée à tout un épiscopat. Seul l'eschatocole est spécifiquement adressé à Arn.

On pourra objecter que la comparaison est faussée par la perte de la majorité des lettres à la petite poignée d'évêques que l'on sait très proches d'Alcuin, notamment Ricbod de Trèves et Pierre de Milan<sup>44</sup>: de fait, l'expression *ego filius tuus* (l. 35) se rencontre deux fois dans des lettres à ce dernier<sup>45</sup>. Si tant est que ces objections convainquent, la tradition manuscrite n'en vient pas moins en renfort des parallèles textuels. Les deux seuls témoins, indépendants l'un de l'autre, proviennent de la province de Salzbourg. Or, de Graz (mais cette fois de l'abbaye bénédictine Saint-Lambrecht) provient également un manuscrit carolingien contenant les lettres 113 et 161 d'Alcuin (Graz, UB, 790, ff. 64r-72r) présentes aussi dans l'un des deux recueils d'Arn (Vienne, ÖNB, 795)<sup>46</sup>. Le ms. Graz 790 a été copié à Salzbourg à l'instigation du maître carolingien Baldo avant de rejoindre Graz, proche au neuvième siècle du territoire de mission des Avars: l'antigraphe de *G* a dû suivre le même trajet<sup>47</sup>. Quant à *M*, il a été copié à Freising dans les décennies suivant la mort d'Alcuin: Freising, cité épiscopale où Arn a commencé sa carrière cléricale<sup>48</sup>. *M* contient le *De virtu-*

*filium meritis, fratrem caritate*; lettre 193 à Arn, p. 320, l. 1-2: *ad filium caritatis memae, qui est pater meritis, frater caritate, filius aetate*; lettre 218 à Arn, p. 362, l. 34: *domine pater fili frater et amice*; lettre 265 à Arn, p. 424, l. 22: *pater, frater, fili carissime*. Cf. également C. Veyrard-Cosme, *Tacitus nuntius* (cit. n. 11), p. 151.

<sup>42</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 49, p. 93, l. 24; lettre 175, p. 291, l. 6; lettre 294, p. 451, l. 17.

<sup>43</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cit. n. 12), lettre 159, p. 258, l. 31.

<sup>44</sup> GARRISON, « Les correspondants d'Alcuin » (cit. n. 3), p. 320-321.

<sup>45</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cit. n. 12), lettres 83, p. 126, l. 11-12 et 190, p. 317, l. 31.

<sup>46</sup> DIESENBERGER et WOLFRAM, « Arn und Alkuin » (cit. n. 39), p. 92.

<sup>47</sup> Ex libris au f. 238v: *hunc humilis thomum Baldo craxare rogavit. cui rogo mercedem altithronus tribuat*. Cf. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts, I. Aachen-Lambach*, Wiesbaden, 1998, n°1459, p. 305 (« Salzbourg, IX. Jh., Mitte »). Voir D. A. BULLOUGH, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation. Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Leiden-Boston, 2004 (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 16), p. 123.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. GLAUCHE, *Katalog* (cit. n. 2); W. STÖRMER, « Der junge Arn in Freising. Familienkreis und Weggenossen aus dem Freisinger Domstift », dans *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (cit. n. 39), p. 9-26.



*tibus et vitiis*, *G*, le *De fide*; or, un autre manuscrit lié à Arn, copié pour partie dans son abbaye de Saint-Amand, pour partie à Salzburg, où il est passé entre les mains du même Baldo (Munich, BSB, clm 15813), contient à la fois les deux traités (quoique le *De virtutibus et vitiis* y soit abrégé), le corpus habituel des textes accompagnant le *De fide* (l'hymne *Adesto*, la confession *Credimus*, les *Quaestiones* à Fridugise, le *De ratione animae*) et un fragment alcuinien sur l'adoptianisme souvent négligé (f. 102)<sup>49</sup>. Il n'y a aucun doute : le corpus représenté aujourd'hui par *G* et *M* était connu à Salzburg, et certainement avec lui la profession de foi et la lettre. Tout suggère que les évêques auxquels s'adresse la lettre dans *M* sont, à tout le moins, les évêques de la province de Salzburg, et que celui d'entre eux qui a reçu une version personnalisée, *G*, est leur archevêque, Arn.

#### 4. Le propos de la profession de foi

##### a. L'ombre de l'adoptianisme

La profession de foi a un but catéchétique et pastoral : les nombreuses négations sont là pour écarter des erreurs dogmatiques. Lesquelles ? Dans la partie christologique, Alcuin insiste lourdement sur les deux natures du Christ, qui ne doivent être ni « confondues » (*confusio*, l. 42), ni « mélangées » (*commixtio*, l. 35). C'est là un thème prégnant de la récente controverse adoptianiste<sup>50</sup>. Felix avait reproché aux Francs de confondre les deux natures du Christ, alors que sa doctrine de la filiation adoptive réalisée lors du baptême permettait selon lui de préserver leurs prérogatives respectives, comme le montre ce passage des *Libri septem* d'Alcuin (799) :

Tu [Felix] cites un passage de notre lettre, où [...] nous disions : 'Ô par combien d'exemples des saints Pères pourrions-nous prouver la foi suivante : Jésus Christ est le vrai Fils de Dieu le Père, vrai Dieu ensuite conçu par la conception virginale, vrai Dieu né' ; et à ces mots, tu réponds : 'Voilà les sentences de votre croyance dans les deux natures du Christ, que vous confondez dans l'unicité de sa personne, de manière

<sup>49</sup> *Explanationes fidei aevi Carolini*, éd. S. KEEFE, Turnhout, 2012 (CCCM 254), n° 17 (p. 94-95) ; EAD., *A Catalogue* (cit. n. 4), n°167, p. 118. Sur le manuscrit clm 15813, voir B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 2. *Laon-Paderborn*, éd. B. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 266, n°3281 (« Salzburg (Schreiber : u.a. Baldo), IX. Jh., 2. Viertel ») et 3282 (« Saint-Amand, IX. Jh., 1. Viertel »).

<sup>50</sup> Voir W. HEIL, « Der Adoptianismus. Alkuin und Spanien » (cit. n. 24) ; J. CAVADINI, *The last Christology of the West. Adoptianism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820*, Philadelphie, 1993 ; F. CLOSE, *Uniformiser la foi pour unifier l'empire. Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée politico-théologique de Charlemagne*, Bruxelles, 2011 (Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 59).



à anéantir toute différence entre Dieu et l'homme, entre le Verbe et la chair, entre le Créateur et la créature, entre celui qui reçoit et celui qui est reçu<sup>51</sup>.

On retrouve dans ce reproche de Felix plusieurs concepts-clés de la profession alcuinienne : la confusion des deux natures, la distinction entre celui qui reçoit et celui qui est reçu (*suscipiens, susceptus*), la crainte de la commutation des deux natures<sup>52</sup>. La toile de fond adoptianiste est particulièrement perceptible dans ces quelques mots de la profession de foi insistant sur la filiation naturelle du Christ (l. 33-34) : « Fils vrai, naturel (*proprius*) et unique de Dieu dans ses deux natures ». L'expression *filius proprius* est en effet le contraire de l'expression *filius adoptivus*, et par là même l'enjeu décisif de la controverse<sup>53</sup>. Comme l'écrit Alcuin dans les *Libri IV* : « Il ne peut pas être à la fois naturel [*proprius*] et adoptif. Ou bien il est entièrement naturel, ou bien entièrement adoptif »<sup>54</sup>. L'expression *filius unicus* s'entend de la même manière : à Felix, qui insistait sur le « premier-né

<sup>51</sup> Alcuin, *Contra Felicem libri septem*, III, 17 (PL 101, col. 171-172) : *Ponis itaque verba epistolae nostrae, ubi post convenientem sermonis nostri exhortationem diximus: « O quantis sanctorum Patrum exemplis hanc fidem probare possimus, quod Christus Jesus verus est Dei Patris Filius, et mox a conceptione virginalis uteri verus conceptus est Deus, verus et natus Deus » ; et ad haec respondit: « Hae sunt sententiae credulitatis vestrae de geminis in Christo naturis, quas ita in singularitatem personae confunditis, ut inter Deum et hominem, inter Verbum et carnem, inter creatorem et creaturam, inter suscipientem et susceptum nullam esse differentiam astruatis ».*

<sup>52</sup> Voir aussi Alcuin, *Contra Felicem libri septem*, I, 8 (PL 101, col. 133-134), où Alcuin répond à l'accusation de Felix selon laquelle Beatus de Liébana aurait confondu les deux natures : *Sed si verum est quod dixistis, eos duas naturas Christi in unum confundere, sicut vinum et aquam, hoc nullatenus consentimus: sed in eo, si verum est, valde eos esse reprehensibiles judicamus. Catholica enim fides habet, quam nos defendimus, praedicamus et amamus, in Christo duas naturas esse proprias et perfectas, divinam scilicet, qua ex Deo Patre ante omnia tempora consubstantialiter natus est: humanam vero qua in plenitudine temporum ex Virgine idem ipse Filius Dei carnem assumpsit, et factus est verus homo, qui est verus Filius Dei totus in suo, ut beatus Leo papa ait, et totus in nostro; idem in utroque, non alter in suo, et alter in nostro. Quia enim Verbum cum carne ita est ineffabili modo unitum, ut ipsum Verbum, de quo beatus Joannes evangelista dicit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, carnem dicamus factum; sicut idem ipse evangelista dicit: et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, id est, nobiscum; licet illud Verbum non sit mutatum in carnem: et caro illa dicatur Deus, licet non sit in deitatis naturam mutata: et est unus Filius Deus, et unus Deus Dominus Jesus Christus.*

<sup>53</sup> Alcuin, *Contra Felicem libri septem*, I, 11 (PL 101, col. 136) : *vestra indocta temeritas in duos eum dividit filios, unum proprium, alterum adoptivum.* Cf. I, 13 (col. 138) : *ubi locum habet vestra contentio eum negare Filium Dei esse proprium, quem suo testimonio summus Pater suum esse proprium, etiam et dilectum testatus est ?* Cf. II, 11 (col. 155) : *vestris adhuc blasphemiiis Filium proprium et verum Deum negare non metuitis.*

<sup>54</sup> Alcuin, *Adversus Elipandum libri IV*, I, 22 (PL 101, col. 258) : *Non potest proprius esse et adoptivus. Aut totus est proprius, aut totus est adoptivus.*

des croyants » (*primogenitus*) que serait le Christ selon la chair, adopté comme tous les hommes, Alcuin répond qu'il est le fils unique (*unigenitus*) dont seule la filiation naturelle permet la filiation adoptive de tous les croyants<sup>55</sup>. On retrouve le *Filioque* (l. 28), indispensable à la théologie trinitaire franque : le *De fide* d'Alcuin lui apporte un important *nihil obstat* en soutenant que la double procession assure le lien entre Père et Fils – comme la profession de foi<sup>56</sup>. Les références bibliques évoquées (la nativité, le baptême du Christ – où Felix situait l'adoption – et la transfiguration) sont aussi les lieux communs de la controverse<sup>57</sup>. Certains passages sont clairement inspirés de textes alcuiniens relatifs à l'adoptianisme<sup>58</sup>.

L'expression même *catholica fides habet* semble dériver d'un contexte polémique, animé par la distinction entre orthodoxes et hérétiques. Elle apparaît plusieurs fois dans les *Libri septem*, jamais dans le *De fide*<sup>59</sup>. La référence à la foi reçue et préservée dans l'Église et garante de son unité (l. 53-54) est là pour insister sur les points non-négociables de la doctrine catholique (*tenemus*, avec aussi *fortiter teneat* dans la lettre l. 1-2, ce qui rappelle les fameux *firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites* du *De fide ad Petrum* de Fulgence de Ruspe, qui ont inspiré des expressions semblables à Alcuin dans les *Libri septem*<sup>60</sup>). Elle évoque la topographie dogmatique qui revient régulièrement sous la plume d'Alcuin, pour qui la foi n'est orthodoxe qu'à l'abri des « murailles de l'Église »<sup>61</sup>. Il est fort probable qu'Alcuin s'inspire aussi du *Quicumque vult* pseudo-athanasien, qui proclame d'em-

<sup>55</sup> Alcuin, *Contra Felicem libri septem*, IV, 4 (PL 101, col. 176-177) : *Nec secundum vestram assertionem unigenitus est tantum in divina natura, et primogenitus in humana; quia beata Virgo alterum non genuit, nisi verum et hunc unigenitum Dei Patris et suum. Item primogenitus in humanitate, ut ait Evangelista: Donec peperit filium suum primogenitum (Matth. I, 25): in divina vero nativitate, sicut ait Apostolus: Primogenitus omnis creaturae (Coloss. I, 15). Au sujet de l'impact de la controverse adoptianiste sur la formule *unigenitus* dans les symboles de foi, voir K. MITALAÏTÉ, « La transmission de la doctrine dans la prédication carolingienne », *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 97, 2013, p. 243-276 (263-269).*

<sup>56</sup> D. DALES, *Alcuin, Theology and Thought*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 95 (cf. *De fide*, I, 7, cité n. 3, p. 26) ; A. E. SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy*, Oxford, 2010, p. 95.

<sup>57</sup> DALES, *Alcuin, Theology and Thought* (cité n. 56) p. 87.

<sup>58</sup> Confronter les l. 38-40 à la lettre à Elipand, MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), n°166 : *idem ipse, qui ex Deo Patre aeternaliter natus est, ex Matre Virgine temporaliter natus esset*; et à la lettre aux moines de Gothie, MGH *Ep.* 4, n°205, p. 340 : *qui Deus aeternaliter ex Patre natus est, temporaliter nasceretur ex Virgine...*

<sup>59</sup> *Contra Felicem libri septem*, I, 8 (PL 101, col. 133) ; III, 7 (col. 166).

<sup>60</sup> *Contra Felicem libri septem*, II, 3 (PL 101, col. 148) ; II, 20 (PL 101, col. 161) ; lettre 201 à Leidrade, Nebridius et Benoît d'Aniane (accompagnant les *Libri quatuor*), MGH *Ep.* 4, p. 334, l. 9 ; lettre 205 aux moines de Gothie, MGH *Ep.* 4, p. 341, l. 15.

<sup>61</sup> MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), lettre 23 à Felix, p. 61, l. 4 ; préface aux *Contra Felicem libri septem*, PL 101, col. 128 et VI, 8, col. 209.

blée la nécessité pour les croyants d'adhérer à la *fides catholica* (v. 1, 3, 28, 42) pour obtenir le salut, et voit se succéder trois paragraphes sur l'unité des trois personnes (v. 3-20), sur leurs relations d'engendrement et de procession (v. 21-28), et sur les deux natures du Christ et son retour au Jugement dernier (v. 29-41)<sup>62</sup>.

#### b. Un propos doctrinal général

L'arrière-plan de la profession de foi est la réfutation définitive de la christologie adoptianiste, mais elle abandonne ici toute intention polémique en renonçant à faire référence aux « hérésiarques » Felix et Elipand et aux concepts réfutés lors de la controverse (*adoptivus*, *nuncupativus*, *servus conditionalis*). La profession de foi est empreinte d'un irénisme teinté de références à la charité, à la concorde, à la paix et à l'unité (l. 54-55, et dans la lettre l. 3-4). Le propos s'est déplacé de la polémique à la dogmatique et même à la pastorale. Cet irénisme se retrouve dans le *De fide*, qui se proclame au service de la paix et de l'unité de l'Église et a presque oublié Felix et Elipand.

La rédaction d'un tel document dans ce contexte ne saurait surprendre. La mise en circulation de symboles de foi ponctue les quelques années entourant 800 et occupe une place centrale dans l'œuvre des théologiens francs du règne de Charlemagne<sup>63</sup>. L'Occident latin, Alcuin s'en plaint, manque encore d'une profession de foi simple à apprendre, problème auquel remédie Paulin d'Aquilée en faisant éditer le *Credo* de Nicée-Constantinople au concile de Frioul<sup>64</sup>. Cette initiative, malgré son impact historique énorme, n'a pas entièrement rempli le besoin de mettre au point des professions de foi ou expositions du symbole ramassées et efficaces. Le *Credo* édité par Paulin a trouvé sa place dans la liturgie mais, en contexte catéchétique, pouvait être complété par des symboles ou expositions plus précis. La confession *Credimus* jointe par Alcuin au *De fide*, dont on sait qu'elle a circulé indépendamment du traité<sup>65</sup>, et les nombreuses compilations de symboles pseudépigraphes (Jérôme, Ambroise, Grégoire le Thaumaturge, Damase...)

<sup>62</sup> *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, éd. H. DENZIGER, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1963 (32<sup>e</sup> éd.), p. 41-42.

<sup>63</sup> K. MITALAITÉ, « Le Credo dans la méthode théologique de la première période carolingienne », *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 74, 2007, p. 377-422.

<sup>64</sup> D. BULLOUGH, « Alcuin, Arn and the Creed in the Mass », dans *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (cit. n. 39), p. 128-137. Alcuin, dans une lettre de 798 (MGH *Ep.* 4, cit. n. 12, lettre 139, p. 220), se réjouit qu'il existe enfin un symbole *in unam cartulam*, comme il l'avait fréquemment demandé à Charlemagne.

<sup>65</sup> Il se trouve dans une addition au ms. VATICAN, BAV, pal. lat. 487, f. 24r-v. Il s'agit d'un recueil liturgique contenant plusieurs *ordines romani*, ce qui suggère que le symbole alcuinien fut récité en contexte liturgique. On sait par ailleurs que le même symbole *Credimus* et

qui prolifèrent à l'époque carolingienne en témoignent. Ces compilations semblent trouver leur origine dans l'atelier de Théodulf d'Orléans et leur premier écho dans la collection de symboles de l'*Opus Caroli contra synodum* de 791-793<sup>66</sup>. Notre texte alcuinien s'inscrit dans ce mouvement. C'est d'autant plus certain que la fin du texte est empruntée au *Libellus fidei* de Pélage (repris dans l'*Opus Caroli contra synodum*), alors considéré comme une profession de foi hiéronymienne (cf. l. 53).

Comme dans le *De fide*, Alcuin s'est affranchi de la polémique anti-adoptianiste et cherche à mettre au point un texte normatif que les clercs et les fidèles puissent apprendre et comprendre, pour servir d'antidote radical à l'erreur dogmatique. Contrairement au propos de Paulin lors de l'édition du symbole de Nicée-Constantinople, la profession de foi d'Alcuin a une visée moins liturgique que didactique. Il est bien conscient que le *De fide*, traité exigeant proposant une synthèse du *De Trinitate* d'Augustin, ne sera accessible qu'à une élite lettrée et qu'il doit être complété par des documents plus courts et plus digestes, d'où la mise à disposition, en annexe au traité, de l'hymne *adesto*, du symbole *Credimus*, et des *quaestiones* à Fridugise<sup>67</sup>. Dans un contexte polémique, pendant la controverse sur la double prédestination, un demi-siècle plus tard, Hincmar et Prudence de Troyes ne procèdent pas autrement en annexant à leurs traités indigestes de brèves récapitulations et, pour le premier, en synthétisant son interminable *De praedestinatione* en une confession d'un seul feuillet<sup>68</sup>.

### c. *La correctio carolingienne*

Comme le montre la lettre d'accompagnement, la profession de foi se comprend comme un support doctrinal à l'usage des savants et moins savants (l. 1-3) : on retrouve ici la traditionnelle dichotomie entre doctes et simples<sup>69</sup>. Le principal souci d'Alcuin est la correction des mœurs et l'ins-

l'hymne *Adesto* ont fait partie de l'office du dimanche de Trinité ; Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. xviii.

<sup>66</sup> Mitalaïté, « Le Credo » (cité n. 63), p. 399-411.

<sup>67</sup> Sur la distinction entre publics simple et lettré chez Alcuin, pour qui seuls les seconds peuvent espérer atteindre une véritable compréhension des mystères, voir MITALAÏTÉ, « Le Credo » (cité n. 63), p. 392-393.

<sup>68</sup> W. PEZÉ, *Le virus de l'erreur. La controverse carolingienne sur la double prédestination, essai d'histoire sociale*, Turnhout, 2017 (HAMA 26), p. 349-350 ; ID., « Une confession inédite d'Hincmar sur la prédestination », dans *La controverse carolingienne sur la prédestination. Histoire, textes, manuscrits*, éd. P. CHAMBERT-PROTAT, J. DELMULLE, W. PEZÉ et J. C. THOMPSON, Turnhout, 2018 (HAMA 32), à paraître.

<sup>69</sup> M. C. FERRARI, « Potere, pubblico e scrittura nella comunicazione letteraria dell'alto medioevo », dans *Comunicare e significare nell'alto medioevo, 15-20 avril 2004*, vol. 1, Spolète, 2005 (Settimane del CISAM, 52), p. 575-604.

truction du clergé, d'où la plainte sur les pasteurs négligents, indifférents à leur devoir d'exemplarité morale et d'admonition. Avec la réforme carolingienne, c'est un sujet de nature politique, d'où la référence aux résistances rencontrées par la volonté de réforme de l'empereur et aux *munera* (l. 18-20), «cadeaux», au vu des parallèles avec la lettre 254, reçus par les évêques au tribunal dans le cadre de leurs fonctions de *missus*. Alcuin, comme son rival Théodulf dans le *Contra iudices*, décrit cette corruption comme un cercle vicieux et un mal endémique<sup>70</sup>. Enfin, en reprenant «Jérôme», Alcuin se plaint que les pasteurs ne soient pas aussi des docteurs – en d'autres termes, il se plaint du manque d'instruction du clergé. La cible d'Alcuin, comme dans la lettre 254, est bien le clergé.

Le contexte est on ne peut plus favorable à ces récriminations et, du même coup, à la mise en circulation de la profession de foi<sup>71</sup>. Au concile d'Aix d'octobre 802, auquel Alcuin souhaite faire présenter son *De fide* pour l'y faire approuver, est adopté un programme de réforme générale dans lequel les clercs s'engagent à vivre conformément au droit canon, les moines, à la Règle bénédictine, et les dignitaires laïcs, à juger les *pauperes* sans recevoir de *munera*<sup>72</sup>. De plus, Arn, en 802-807, est *missus* en Bavière avec le comte Odulf<sup>73</sup>. La diffusion dans ce seul *missaticus* de la profession de foi, dont la lettre d'accompagnement contient des griefs caractéristiques de la *correctio* carolingienne et des références explicites à l'action réformatrice de l'empereur, peut s'expliquer par là : elle serait liée à l'activité d'Arn comme *missus*. On connaît d'Arn plusieurs synodes provinciaux (les seuls dont on possède une trace écrite autour de 800), qui le mettaient en mesure de faire circuler le texte de son maître<sup>74</sup>. Cette combinaison de facteurs (l'amitié

<sup>70</sup> Voir J. NELSON, « Munera », dans *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, éd. R. LE JAN, L. FELLER et J.-P. DEVROEY, Turnhout, 2010 (HAMA 10), p. 383-401.

<sup>71</sup> Sur le programme carolingien de correction du clergé et les textes sur lesquels il s'appuie, voir S. A. KEEFE, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vol., Notre Dame, Ind., 2002 ; C. VAN RHIJN, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Turnhout, 2007 (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 6) ; KEEFE, *A Catalogue* (cité n. 4) et *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, éd. S. PATZOLD et C. VAN RHIJN, Berlin, 2016.

<sup>72</sup> *Concilia aevi karolini* I.1, éd. A. WERMINGHOFF, Hannovre et Leipzig, 1906 (MGH Conc. 2.1), p. 229-230.

<sup>73</sup> H. WOLFRAM, « Arn von Salzburg und Karl der Grosse », dans *1200 Jahre Erzbistum Salzburg. Die älteste Metropole im deutschen Sprachraum, Beiträge des Internationalen Kongresses in Salzburg vom 11. bis 13. Juni 1998*, éd. H. DOPSCH, P. KRAMML et A. S. WEISS, Salzburg, 1999 (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 18 und Salzburger Studien. Forschungen zu Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur, 1), p. 21-32 (26).

<sup>74</sup> H. WILLJUNG, « Arn von Salzburg und das Aachener Reichskonzil vom November 809 », dans *1200 Jahre Erzbistum Salzburg* (cité n. 73), p. 33-44 (33-34).

entre Alcuin et Arn, le statut de *missus* de celui-ci en Bavière et son activité pastorale dans sa province) explique la circulation du document en Bavière.

Si la datation au premier semestre 802 est assurée, la profession de foi fut mise en circulation avant la publication du *De fide* et certainement, à se fier à la lettre 254, avant même le gros-œuvre de la rédaction. Il ne s'agit donc définitivement pas d'un abrégé du traité, mais d'une œuvre concomitante, inspirée de ce qu'Alcuin avait déjà pu rédiger et, surtout, baignant dans les mêmes thèmes et les mêmes éléments de langage. Il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner outre mesure que l'eschatocole de *G* mentionne la libération d'Alcuin des soucis du siècle quelques mois après l'événement; la lettre 254 montre qu'Alcuin tente depuis quelque temps de communiquer avec Arn, sans avoir obtenu de réponse.

La version envoyée à Arn contient une référence à la volonté de réforme de l'empereur qui, nous l'avons vu, a un parallèle précis dans la lettre 254 (l. 19-20)<sup>75</sup>. Or, dans *M* (la version collective), cette allusion à l'empereur et aux résistances que rencontrent ses mandements a été remplacée par *sancta Scriptura*; c'est à l'Écriture que résistent les mauvais pasteurs de *M*. La raison de la réécriture est évidente. Les destinataires de *M* sont précisément les évêques peu zélés contre lesquels récrimine Alcuin dans la lettre 254 et dans *G*. Prudent, il n'évoque pas devant eux le thème de la désobéissance à l'empereur, le réservant à leur supérieur, Arn, précisément chargé de les admonester. C'est sans doute aussi l'origine d'une autre variante: dans le passage attribué à Jérôme, la terre est vide de docteurs mais pleine d'évêques (*G*) – et de prêtres, ajoute *M*. La version adressée à Arn (*G*) ne fait référence qu'à ses subordonnés directs, les évêques; la version adressée aux évêques (*M*) fait aussi référence à leurs subordonnés directs à eux, les prêtres, qu'ils doivent corriger.

Pour terminer, nous ne pouvons omettre une interprétation possible: que ce *De fide* de poche soit destiné à la mission auprès des Avars, comme la province-cible, Salzburg, et le lieu de conservation de l'un des deux témoins, Graz, pourraient le suggérer. La soumission des Saxons et des Avars est évoquée dans la préface du *De fide*, mais, il faut le noter, d'abord comme un compliment à Charlemagne, et sans évoquer l'usage du traité par les missionnaires<sup>76</sup>. De fait, le contenu de la profession, qui subsume la quintessence du *De fide*, n'a pas grand-chose à voir avec le programme catéchétique décrit par le même Alcuin, focalisé sur l'éternité de l'âme, le

<sup>75</sup> Ajoutons à cela que l'expression *in omni bonitate* se retrouve, associée à Charlemagne, dans la lettre à Nebridius et Leidrad de 799, MGH *Ep.* 4 (cité n. 12), n°200, p. 331, l. 13: *mandante glorioso principe et devotissimo in omni bonitate Carolo rege.*

<sup>76</sup> Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. 5-6.



jugement des œuvres et le salut individuel<sup>77</sup>. Inaugurer un programme catéchétique par un contenu si technique, si condensé fût-il, aurait sans doute été de mauvaise méthode et, de fait, la lettre d'accompagnement n'y fait aucunement référence. Seule l'admonition sur les fins dernières vise explicitement les ouailles (l. 32-33), dans un but conforme à la pastorale missionnaire alcuinienne : inspirer la crainte du jugement et le souci du salut. Si l'on ne saurait écarter totalement l'hypothèse que la profession de foi représente une simplification du *De fide* à usage missionnaire, il est plus probable, comme le suggère la lettre, qu'elle ait pour but l'instruction des clercs et, indirectement, des ouailles. On avouera penser la même chose de sa « version longue » qu'est le *De fide*, contrairement à l'interprétation retenue par les éditeurs.

Il reste à remarquer la cohérence des *corpus* réunis dans *M* et *G. M*, avec le *De virtutibus et vitiis* et le *Liber scintillarum*, a tous les caractères d'un recueil moral à destination du clergé. La *fides* et la lettre d'Alcuin y sont entourées de textes qui renforcent singulièrement son propos. L'*Oratio de pace* de Grégoire de Nazianze d'une part, des extraits du *De vita contemplativa* de Julien Pomère sur la charité d'autre part font écho aux considérations sur la concorde, la paix et la charité des deux opuscules alcuiniens. L'extrait du pseudo-Athanase (avec la profession de foi alcuinienne, le seul morceau dogmatique du manuscrit), en plus d'insister sur l'unité substantielle de la Trinité, contient (50v-51r) un long passage sur la béatitude de ceux dont la foi trinitaire est orthodoxe, qui s'accorde remarquablement avec le *De fide sanctae Trinitatis* d'Alcuin, dont le prologue du livre I affirme que la vraie béatitude est une foi droite, et le dernier chapitre (III, 22) se conclut emphatiquement sur la béatitude des élus. Ainsi, les compilateurs de *M* ont perçu, derrière le propos dogmatique de la profession de foi, l'intention morale de son auteur. Quant à *G*, il s'agit d'une compilation de symboles et traités dogmatiques, probablement à usage scolaire (d'où les *interrogationes* ff. 272-273) : on y retrouve deux des symboles (Jérôme et Grégoire le Thaumaturge) mis en circulation à partir du règne de Charlemagne.

## Conclusion

Quelle fut, en définitive, la portée de la démarche alcuinienne ? La tradition manuscrite suggère que l'envoi s'est limité à la Bavière. La profession de foi, toujours accolée à la lettre, ne semble pas avoir été utilisée en contexte

<sup>77</sup> J.-P. BOUHOT, « Alcuin et le 'de catechizandis rudibus' de saint Augustin », *Recherches augustinienes et patristiques*, 15, 1980, p. 176-240. On s'écarte ici de l'interprétation des éditeurs d'Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. xi-xiii, qui estiment que le *De fide* et le *De animae ratione* d'Alcuin représentent les dernières étapes du cursus catéchétique des missionnaires.



liturgique, mais, au vu du contenu de *G* et *M* et des récriminations de la lettre d'accompagnement, en contexte scolaire et pastoral, d'abord à destination du clergé. Comme le montre la correspondance d'Alcuin, la lettre semble légèrement antérieure à l'envoi à Charlemagne du *De fide* (été 802) et doit être située au premier semestre 802. Il ne faut pas se représenter Alcuin abrégant le traité fini et approuvé, mais soit rédigeant les deux textes concurremment, soit reprenant des passages déjà achevés. Il semble assuré, vu la nature des parallèles, que la profession de foi ne représente pas une source du traité, qui supposerait un Alcuin saupoudrant dans le *De fide* des particules de sa profession de foi. Le *De fide* fut d'ailleurs abrégé par la suite. Deux manuscrits ont préservé une courte récapitulation de passages relatifs aux différences entre la nature de Dieu et celle des créatures, sans doute pas réalisée par Alcuin lui-même<sup>78</sup>. Charlemagne publia aussi dans un capitulaire une partie du traité, insistant sur la béatitude éternelle à la manière des extraits du pseudo-Athanase dans *M*<sup>79</sup>.

Les lettres d'Alcuin, c'est bien connu, nous sont parvenues en grand nombre grâce à plusieurs collections. Rares sont celles qui ont survécu par d'autres canaux<sup>80</sup>. La profession de foi est digne d'intérêt car elle montre Alcuin, comme Paulin ou Théodulf, profondément préoccupé par la rédaction de professions de foi ou d'expositions du symbole claires et concises. Elle jette aussi une certaine lumière sur l'activité d'Alcuin vieillissant. Il reste à espérer que ces deux textes attireront l'attention des spécialistes d'Alcuin, qui développeront les réflexions esquissées ici.

Pour l'édition de la lettre, la version individuelle adressée sans doute à Arn, plus longue, a été choisie comme texte de base. Les variantes orthographiques mineures n'ont pas été prises en compte dans l'apparat critique et ont été normalisées dans l'édition : les diphtonges *ae* ont été restituées à la place de *e* ; les *k* (de *G*) ont été remplacés par des *c*. Une difficulté a été posée par la citation de Jérôme (l. 67-68), qu'il m'a été impossible d'identifier dans les bases de données textuelles de Brepols en combinant les mots *episcop*\* ou *presbyt*\*, *doctor*\* et *vac*\*. La quantité des pseudépigraphes hiéronymiens rend une recherche exhaustive pratiquement impossible. Saint Jérôme est de toute manière un candidat peu crédible pour une telle déclaration, lui l'auteur d'un *De viris illustribus* dont le propos est précisément de montrer que l'Église ne manque pas de docteurs. Mais la préface du même *De viris illustribus* offre peut-être la solution ? Jérôme y rappelle que

<sup>78</sup> Ms. MUNICH, BSB, clm. 14614, f. 243r-v et WOLFENBÜTTEL, HAB, Weissenburg 3, f. 71v : cf. Alcuin, *De fide* (cité n. 3), p. xxix-xxx (avec édition du texte) et xlv-xlvi.

<sup>79</sup> H. MORDEK, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, Munich, 1995 (MGH Hilfsmittel 15), Annexe 1, texte 12, p. 981-982.

<sup>80</sup> BULLOUGH, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (cité n. 47), p. 80.

les détracteurs du christianisme, au premier rang desquels Celse, Porphyre et Julien l'Apostat, « pensent que l'Église n'a pas eu de philosophes et de rhéteurs et n'a pas eu de docteurs »<sup>81</sup>. Il est possible qu'Alcuin, citant de mémoire, mette ici dans la bouche de Jérôme (épistolier qu'il cite volontiers) un reproche que celui-ci ne faisait que rapporter<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Jérôme, *Liber de viris illustribus*, éd. E. C. RICHARDSON, Leipzig, 1896 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, 14), p. 2: *Discant igitur Celsus, Porphyrius, Iulianus, rabidi adversum Christum canes, discant sectatores eorum qui putant ecclesiam nullos philosophos et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, quanti et quales viri eam fundauerint...*

<sup>82</sup> Sur l'influence de Jérôme et de son abondante correspondance sur le modèle épistolaire alcuinien, voir C. VEYRARD-COSME, « Saint Jérôme dans les lettres d'Alcuin : de la source matérielle au modèle spirituel », *REA*, 49, 2003, p. 323-352 ; EAD., *Tacitus nuntius* (cité n. 11), p. 151-153.

## ÉDITION DU TEXTE

- G* GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 724, f. 270v-272r
- M* MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 6314, f. 43r-46v
- ALC., *De fide* Alcuin, *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi, Quaestiones de sancta Trinitate*, éd. E. KNIBS et E. ANN MATTER, Turnhout, 2012 (CCCM 249)
- ALC., *Ep.* « Alcuini siue Albini epistolae », dans *Epistolae Karolini aevi tomus 2*, éd. E. DÜMMLER, Berlin, 1895 (MGH Epistolae 4)
- AVG., *Doct.* Augustin, *De doctrina christiana*, éd. J. MARTIN, Turnhout, 1962 (CCSL 32)
- HIER., *Vir.* Jérôme, *Liber de viris illustribus*, éd. E.C. RICHARDSON, Leipzig, 1896 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, 14)
- PEL., *Lib.* Pélage, *Libellus fidei*, PL 45, col. 1716-1718.
- a. c.* ante correctionem    *p. c.* post correctionem *om.* omittit

## FIDES ALBINI MAGISTRI

〈1〉 Catholica fides habet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum  
 esse Deum omnipotentem, eternum, incommutabilem, immensum, unius  
 substantiae, unius essentiae, uniusque naturae, Patrem Deum plenum per-  
 5 perfectumque, Filium Deum plenum perfectumque, Spiritum Sanctum Deum  
 plenum perfectumque, non tamen tres deos, sed unum Deum plenum et  
 perfectum. Haec etiam Trinitas Deus est unus ex quo omnia per quem  
 omnia in quo omnia. Ita Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus et singulus  
 quisque horum Deus et simul omnes unus Deus et singulus quisque horum  
 10 plena substantia et simul omnes una substantia. Pater nec Filius est nec Spi-  
 ritus Sanctus, Filius nec Pater est nec Spiritus Sanctus, Spiritus Sanctus nec  
 Pater est nec Filius, sed Pater tantum Pater, Filius tantum Filius, Spiritus  
 Sanctus tantum Spiritus Sanctus propter personarum proprietates. Eadem  
 in tribus aeternitas, eadem incommutabilitas, eadem maiestas, eadem potes-  
 15 tatisque concordia, et tria hec unum omnia propter Patrem, equalia omnia  
 propter Filium, connexa omnia propter Spiritum Sanctum. Nec tres sci-  
 licet aliquid maius quam unusquisque, nec aliqua diuersitas in substantia  
 uel essentia eorum, sed omnibus una substantia, una essentia communisque  
 operatio inseparabilisque deitas, quamuis quedam opera singulis conueniant  
 20 personis. Nec tota Trinitas nata est de Virgine Maria et sub Pontio Pilato  
 crucifixa, sed solus tantummodo Filius, nec eadem Trinitas descendit in  
 specie columbae super Iesum baptizatum, sed tantummodo Spiritus Sanc-  
 tus, nec eadem Trinitas dixit de celo: *Tu es filius meus*, siue cum baptizatus

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1, 23 Marc. 1, 11      23/24 cum baptizatus est] cfr Matth. 3, 13-17

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1, 1/2 Patrem – incommutabilem] cfr ALC., *De fide*, I, 4 (p. 22, l. 2-4)      3/6 Patrem –  
 perfectum] cfr ALC., *De fide*, I, 10 (p. 30-31, l. 3-6)      6/16 Haec – sanctum] AVG.,  
*Doct.*, I, 5, 5 (p. 9, l. 6-18)      7/9 Ita – substantia] cfr ALC., *De fide*, I, 4 (p. 22-23, l. 4-6  
 16/23 Nec tres – Spiritus Sanctus] cfr ALC., *De fide*, I, 10 (p. 31, l. 6-9); ALC., *De fide*, III,  
 conf. *Credimus* (p. 145-146, l. 34-41)      23/26 Nec eadem – operarentur] cfr ALC., *De*  
*fide*, I, 14 (p. 35, l. 3-9)

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**Tit.** FIDES ALBINI MAGISTRI *M*] DOCTRINA MAGISTRI ALBINI DE FIDE *G*

1, 6 Deus est unus *G*] unus est Deus *M*      11 tantum Pater *G*] tantum Pater est *M*  
 13/14 eadem potestas *om. M*      16 conexa *M*      20 Pylato *G*      21 tantummodo *G*] tantum *M*

- est a Iohanne, siue in monte quando cum illo erant tres discipuli, sed tantummodo Pater, quamuis hec omnia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sicut inseparabiles sunt, ita inseparabiliter operarentur. Pater ingenuus quia a se ipso est, non ab alio, Filius genitus quia ei Filius esse a Patre est, Spiritus Sanctus nec ingenuus nec genitus sed procedens de Patre et Filio, amborum Spiritus aequaliter ex ambobus procedens qui et donum Dei dicitur.
- 30 <2> Et Filius solus incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine, non tamen idem homo Iesus Christus filius Spiritus Sancti dicendus est, quamuis opere Sancti Spiritus incarnatus sit ex Maria Virgine, qui utrumque uerus Deus et uerus est homo in unitate personae, uerus, proprius atque unicus in utraque natura Dei Filius, in una persona duabusque naturis, id est deitatis et humanitatis. Nec in eo naturarum commixtio est, ut uel diuinitas mutaretur in naturam humanitatis, uel humanitas mutaretur in naturam diuinitatis, sed utrique naturae sua manet proprietas in perpetuum. Tanta tamen coniunctio est naturarum ut idem qui aeternaliter ex Deo Patre genitus est homo sit uerus et ille qui natus est temporaliter de Virgine Deus sit uerus, homo propter suscipientem Deum Deus uerus, Deus Dei Filius propter susceptum hominem homo uerus, ita tamen ut nulla confusio naturarum intelligatur in hac unitate personae. De eodem de quo ait euangelista: *in principio erat uerbum*, post pauca subiunxit: *et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis, et uidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et ueritatis*. Quod uero ait: uerbum caro factum est, hoc est, plenum gratiae; quod itaque ait: uidimus

24 in monte] cfr Matth. 17, 1-8      43 Ioh. 1, 1      43/45 Ioh. 1, 14

26/28 Pater ingenuus – et Filio] cfr ALC., *De fide*, II, 9 (p. 60, l. 8-12)      28/29 Amborum – dicitur] cfr ALC., *De fide*, I, 13 (p. 34, l. 11-12)

2, 30/31 Et Filius – dicendus est] cfr ALC., *De fide*, III, 3 (p. 94, l. 3-7)      36 diuinitas mutaretur] cfr ALC., *De fide*, II, 10 (p. 64, l. 27-29)      37 sed – proprietas] cfr ALC., *De fide*, III, 10 (p. 106, l. 7-9)      38/39 Tanta – uerus] cfr ALC., *De fide*, III, confession *Credimus* (p. 146, l. 43-46)      40/41 homo propter – homo uerus] cfr ALC., *De fide*, II, 10 (p. 64, l. 23-25)      42/47 De eodem – plenum ueritatis] cfr ALC., *De fide*, III, 7 (p. 100, l. 16-19); ALC., *De fide*, III, 2 (p. 92-93, l. 3-8)

24 erant tres discipuli G] tres erant discipuli M      24/25 tantummodo G] tantum M  
26 operarentur G] operantur M      ingenuus M<sup>ac</sup>. G] ingenuus est M<sup>p.c</sup>  
2, 30 Et filius M] filius G      36 mutaretur M] conuerteretur G      38 tamen G] quippe M  
40 de Virgine G] ex Virgine M      41 susceptum G] suscipientem M      42 intelligatur G M<sup>p.c</sup>] intellegatur M<sup>ac</sup>.  
44/45 et uidimus – ueritatis om. G      46 gratiae] gratia M

gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti, hoc est: plenum ueritatis, ostendens  
 utrumque et plenum Deum esse et plenum hominem Christum esse Iesum  
 Dominum nostrum, qui iudicaturus erit mundum in ea forma qua pepen-  
 50 dit in cruce, in qua mortuus est, in qua resurrexit uera resurrectione carnis  
 suae, in qua etiam uidentibus apostolis ascendit in caelum et sedet a dextris  
 Dei, id est in maiestate paternae gloriae.

⟨3⟩ Hanc fidem de sancta Trinitate in ecclesia catholica didicimus, hanc  
 tenemus, hanc praedicamus. Huic etiam fidei caritas coniungenda est et  
 55 concordia pacificae unitatis in ecclesia Christi. Hec uero fides si dilectio  
 Dei et proximi illi cooperatur, habentem ad eternam certissime perducit  
 beatitudinem.

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49/52 iudicaturus – dextris Dei] cfr ALC., *De fide*, III, 11 (p. 108, l. 17-22)

3, 53/57 Hanc fidem – beatitudinem] cfr ALC., *De fide*, epistola dedicatoria (p. 8, l. 67-70)  
 53/54 Hanc – tenemus] cfr PEL., *Lib.*, 14 (col. 1718)

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48 Christum esse *G*] Christum *M*      51 in caelum *G*] in caelos *M<sup>ac</sup>*, ad caelos *M<sup>p.c</sup>*      ad  
 dextris *G*

3, 56 habentem – beatitudinem *G*] habentem ad aeternam beatitudinem perducit *M*

## AMMONITIO EIVSDEM MAGISTRI

(1) Vestra itaque sanctissima deuotio, carissime pater, hanc fidem forti-  
 ter teneat, fideliter nescientes doceat, instanter scientes ammoneat, adden-  
 tes quoque sanctae praecepta caritatis. Quid prodest Deum credere nisi  
 addatur etam et diligere, cuius dilectio in obseruatione praeceptorum eius  
 5 ostenditur, sicut ipse ait: *Si diligitis me, mandata mea seruate*. Signum  
 est dilectionis mandatorum Dei obseruatio. Facile inuenietur qui se dicat  
 Deum diligere, sed uix repperietur qui pleno corde eius mandatis inhereat.  
 Aliqui sunt aliis suadentes ea quae ipsi facere nolunt et adhuc, quod peius  
 est, plurimos esse constat qui nec aliis suadent, nec ipsi facere uolunt, quia  
 10 *mensis quidem multa est, operarii autem pauci*. Quid igitur agendum est nisi  
 quod sequitur: *Rogate dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*.  
 Ait quidem Hieronimus: « Plena est terra presbyteris et episcopis et paene  
 doctoribus uacua ».

(2) Tu uero fili carissime, frater amantissime, pater sanctissime, insta  
 15 operi Dei diebus et noctibus, pasce animam lectionis studio, praepara tibi  
 aeternae beatitudinis sedem sedulae predicationis officio. *Mundus hic in  
 maligno positus est*; auaritia regnat, non iustitia; *omnes quaerunt quae sua  
 sunt, non quae Dei*. Sacerdotes munera desiderant accipere, quia coguntur  
 dare. Sancta domini imperatoris uoluntas ammonet de omni bonitate, sed

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1, 25 Ioh. 14, 15      10 Luc. 10, 2      11 Luc. 10, 3  
 2, 16/17 I Ioh. 5, 19      17/18 Phil. 2, 21

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1, 12/13 plena – uacua] cfr Hier., *Vir.*, praef. (p. 2)

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**Tit.** AMMONITIO EIVSDEM MAGISTRI *om. G*

1, 1 Vestra – pater *G*] vos itaque deuotissimi atque carissimi patres *M*      2 teneat *G*]   
 tenete *M*      fideliter *G*] fideliterque *M*      2 doceat *G*] docete *M*      instanter scientes   
 ammoneat *G*] et instanter scientes ammonete *M*      6 inuenietur *G*] inuenitur *M*      se   
 dicat *G*] dicit se *M*      7 repperietur *G*] repperitur *M*      8 facere uolunt *G*] faciunt *M*   
 10 Quid *M*] Quod *G*      11 mittat *G*] ciciat *M*      operarios *G* *M<sup>p.c.</sup>*] operios *M<sup>a.c.</sup>*   
 12 presbyteris et *om. G*

2, 14 Tu – sanctissime *G*] Ideoque karissimi *M*      insta *G*] instate *M*      15 pasce ani-   
 mam *G*] pascite animas *M*      praepara tibi *G*] praeparate uobis *M*      16 sedem *G*] sedes   
*M*      19 domini imperatoris uoluntas *G*] nos Scriptura *M*



- 20 rarus est qui pleno desiderio adiuuet ammonentem. Cogitet itaque sancta  
prouidentia tua de aeterna retributione et de die terribili ultimi examinis,  
quando iudex cum agminibus celi uenturus est nos nostraque discutere.  
Tunc aperientur singulorum libri, laudes uel uituperationes uitae prioris  
tenentes, conscientia cordis nostri nosmetipsos defendente uel accusante,  
25 nec longe testes quaerendi sunt. Nostra nos iudicat conscientia et iudican-  
tis iudicium iustum approbat. Qualis tunc quisque cupiat in conspectu  
Dei homo apparere, talem se modo preparet dum tempus habeat operandi.  
Misereatur in bonis operibus sui ipsius homo, ut misereatur eius Deus.  
Quomodo a Deo sperat misericordiam, qui sibi ipsi crudelis est? Quae est  
30 maior crudelitas quam quod se ipsum homo tradat peccando inimicissimo  
hosti, id est diabolo, ut aeternis cum eo pro peccatis suis torqueatur penis?  
Talia tibi saepius dicenda sunt populo conuenienter ut terrorem habeant  
perdere se ipsos. Facilis est misericordia Dei ad misericordiam flecti nobis-  
que ignoscere, si nos non simus pigri eam uotis omnibus promereri.
- 35 <3> Ego uero filius tuus, secularibus utcumque liberatus occupationibus,  
sed spiritalibus in dictando propter precantium pacem ualde occupatus  
<sum>, ut uix clara luce cibum mihi sumere meisque infantibus conceda-  
tur. Si quid uero dignum Deo miserante nostrae deuotionis studium pere-  
gerit, tibi sudauerit tuisque profectibus, pater optime, peractum erit, uestra  
40 sanctitas assidius me auxiliare precibus recordetur, ut aliquid filiis ecclesie  
dignum Deo donante efficere ualeam. Sancti Spiritus gratia tuum in omni  
bono augeat et impleat desiderium, domine desiderantissime.

2, 20/25 Cogitet – quaerendi sunt] cfr ALC., *Ep.*, 234 (p. 379, l. 25-33)

20 adiuuet ammonentem G] oboediet ammonenti M Cogitet itaque M] Cogitet G  
21 prouidentia tua G] prudentia uestra M et om. M 26 Qualis tunc cupiat in  
conspectu Dei homo apparere G] Qualis tunc quisque cupiet apparere in conspectu Dei M  
27 habeat G] habet M operandi M] miserandi G 28 sui G M<sup>p.c.</sup>] suis M<sup>p.c.</sup> eius  
G] ei M 29/30 Quae est maior crudelitas om. M 30 quod om. G tradat  
peccando M] tradat G inimicissimo G M<sup>p.c.</sup>] inimicis siue mo M<sup>p.c.</sup> 31 dyabolo G  
32 tibi G] uobis M saepius dicenda sunt G] dicenda sunt saepius M populo con-  
uenienter scripsi] uel populo conueniente G populo M 33 se ipsos G] semetipsos M  
34 simus M] sumus G  
3, 35/41 Ego – ualeam om. M 35 utcumque scripsi] utrumque G 37 sum scripsi  
37/38 concedatur scripsi] conceditur G 41 tuum G] uestrum M 42 impleat G]  
adimpleat M domine desiderantissime om. M

### Résumé

Cet article propose l'attribution à Alcuin et l'édition critique de deux textes (une *doctrina de fide* et sa lettre d'accompagnement intitulée *admonitio*), conservés dans les manuscrits Graz, UB 724 (XIII<sup>e</sup> s.) et Munich, BSB, clm 6314 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.). Jusqu'à présent, ces textes ont été considérés comme des pseudépigraphes et n'ont par conséquent pas été édités. L'attribution repose d'abord sur des critères externes. Les textes sont attribués à Alcuin par les deux témoins manuscrits. Dans chaque manuscrit, les textes figurent dans un corpus alcuinien. L'attribution repose aussi sur des critères internes. Les parallèles entre la lettre d'accompagnement et les lettres d'Alcuin, et entre la *doctrina* et le *De fide sanctae Trinitatis* d'Alcuin, sont nombreux. Une référence à « l'empereur » impose une datation postérieure à 800 ; les parallèles avec le *De fide*, une allusion à la retraite d'Alcuin de son abbatiat multiple et des parallèles avec deux lettres datant de fin 801 – mi 802 imposent une datation dans cet intervalle, au moment même de la rédaction du *De fide*. La lettre est préservée en deux versions : la première accompagnait l'envoi de la *doctrina* à plusieurs évêques, la seconde, légèrement réécrite et augmentée d'un post-scriptum, était adressée à un évêque en particulier. L'origine des témoins manuscrits et plusieurs parallèles dans les lettres d'Alcuin invitent à voir dans les destinataires de la première version les évêques de Bavière et dans celui de la deuxième leur supérieur, Arn de Salzbourg. La *doctrina* est un témoin supplémentaire de l'effervescence correctrice du règne de Charlemagne, en particulier de la diffusion de symboles et commentaires du symbole dans le contexte de la controverse adoptianiste finissante.

### Summary

This article proposes the edition of two short texts (a *doctrina de fide* and a letter appended to it, called *admonitio*) and discusses their attribution to Alcuin of York and their datation in the first semester 802. Both texts are preserved in both mss. Graz, UB 724 (13th c.) and Munich, BSB, clm 6314 (9th c.). The *doctrina* and the appended letter have been considered as pseudepigraphs until now and therefore were never edited. They can be attributed to Alcuin on the basis of external criteria. They are explicitly attributed to Alcuin in both manuscripts, where they also figure in Alcuinian corpora. They can also be attributed to Alcuin on the basis of internal criteria. There are several textual parallels between the appended letter and Alcuin's letters on the one hand, and between the *doctrina de fide* and Alcuin's *De fide sanctae Trinitatis* on another hand. From a reference to

« the emperor », we infer that the letter was written after 800. Parallels with the *De fide* and a straightforward reference to Alcuin's withdrawal from his multiple abbacy, together with parallels with two letters from the first half of 802, strongly suggest a datation in that period, exactly when Alcuin started to write the *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*. Each of the two manuscripts has preserved a slightly different text of the letter appended to the *doctrina*. Alcuin sent the first version to a group of bishops; he sent the second one, rewritten and with a post-scriptum added to it, to one specific bishop. The place of origin of the manuscripts and several parallels with Alcuin's letters suggest that the bishops of the first version were the bishops of Bavaria and the bishop of the second version was their superior, archbishop Arn of Salzburg. The *doctrina* is one more piece of evidence for the Carolingian *correctio* in the years around 800, and more specifically of the search for, compilation, and composition of professions of faith and commentaries on the creed in the years that followed the end of the Adoptionist controversy.

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# Two Alleged Witnesses of the Catena of the Paris Psalter: *Vaticani graeci* 617 and 1519

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The Psalter was one of the most popular books in the field of biblical exegesis in Byzantium. An enormous amount of catenae were written to explain the text of this liturgical book. One cannot be surprised by the complexity of the tradition of this exegetical form: newly composed catenae rely either on the direct tradition of patristic commentaries or on previously composed catenae and the relations between them are not unambiguous.<sup>1</sup> A lot of work has already been done, but there is still a large unexplored area in the study of catenae on the Psalms.

Illustrative of the dynamics in this large corpus of catenae is the type III catena contained in the Paris Psalter. This famous manuscript from the tenth century (*Parisinus graecus* 139 = Rahlfs 1133) contains a text composed in different stages of time and from different sources, catenae as well as patristic commentaries. The Paris Psalter is known not to be the only witness of the catena it transmits.<sup>2</sup> However, the complexity of the corpus of Psalter catenae has hitherto limited attempts to list the witnesses of this catena (K-L type III = *CPG* C16).<sup>3</sup> The most systematic attempts were

<sup>1</sup> The two categories mentioned here are respectively primary and secondary catenae, see G. DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, vol. 1; Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 43, Leuven, 1986, p. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Lietzmann already described *Parisinus graecus* 148 (Rahlfs 1734) as a copy of the Paris Psalter in 1897: *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung*, Freiburg, 1897, p. 44. Five years later, the same Lietzmann, this time together with Georg Karo, listed more witnesses in their catalogue of catenae, see note 4 below.

<sup>3</sup> Despite a considerable amount of literature on the Psalter catenae, studies are mostly limited to the Paris Psalter itself, see e.g. M. RICHARD, "Les premières chaînes sur le Psautier", *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 5 (1956), p. 94 [reprint *Opera Minora* III, 70, Leuven, 1977]. Other works connect the Paris Psalter with *MS Venetus Marcianus graecus* 17 (10<sup>th</sup> century, Rahlfs 1215) which is wrongly called its twin (see below), see E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung. Band II*, PTS 16, Berlin, 1977, p. xiii; J. J. LOWDEN, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters", *The Art Bulletin*, 70 (1988), p. 242-260 and G. R. PARPULOV, "Psalms and Personal Piety",

undertaken by Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann,<sup>4</sup> Ekkehard Mühlenberg<sup>5</sup> and Gilles Dorival:<sup>6</sup> their lists are of great value, as they give us an idea of the tradition of the catena in question, which extends from the tenth to the seventeenth century. However, those lists do not always correspond with each other: some critical assessment might be in order.

Two witnesses are listed only by Dorival: *Vaticanus graecus* 617 (Rahlfs 1783) and *Vaticanus graecus* 1519. Brief and superficial as they are, the descriptions of these two manuscripts in Dorival's survey and in the relevant catalogues suggest that neither of the two is a regular witness of the catena.

My research on a selection of Psalms from the type III catena confirmed that neither of them should be taken into account for my critical edition of this selection.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the purpose of this article is to illustrate why the Vatican manuscripts are not to be incorporated in my edition among the witnesses of the type III catena.

## 1. Description of the Vatican Manuscripts<sup>8</sup>

MS *Vaticanus graecus* 617 (*K*) is described by Robert Devreesse as a sixteenth-century manuscript with three parts: (1) a catena on Psalm 1, (2) Theodoret of Cyrillus' commentary on Psalms 2 to 150 and (3) a catena on the Odes.<sup>9</sup> For each of these three parts, Devreesse identifies its content more precisely by referring to a manuscript which contains the same

in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. by P. MAGDALINO and R. NELSON, Washington, 2010, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Based on the indices of Psalms 22 and 115, Karo and Lietzmann classified the catenae on the Psalms into 27 categories, see G. KARO and I. LIETZMANN, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen, 1902, p. 25-28. The Paris Psalter is the best witness for the type III catena.

<sup>5</sup> E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Ketenenüberlieferung. Band I*, PTS 15, Berlin, 1975, p. xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 246-247.

<sup>7</sup> The selection of Psalms in my PhD research comprises Psalms 1, 3, 5, 11, 17, 21 and 31 and is based on, among other aspects, earlier research by Dorival and Mühlenberg. Both researchers did also have to make a selection to focus on, since the corpus of Psalms is too extensive (see DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. ix-xi and E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Ketenenüberlieferung. Band III*, PTS 19, Berlin, 1978, p. 7). This unfortunately limits the conclusion at the end of this article: the specific place where the source of the text in the manuscripts changes cannot be precisely identified.

<sup>8</sup> I consulted both manuscripts on a digital copy of a microfilm.

<sup>9</sup> R. DEVREESSE, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Graeci. Tomus III. Codices 604-866*, Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1950, p. 64. He was not the first to claim that *K* contains three different parts: this had already been established by

text as *K*. For the first part that manuscript is *Vaticanus graecus* 1682 (Rahlfs 1796), which has been a known witness of the type III catena since Karo-Lietzmann: with this reference Devreesse was the first to connect *K* to the type III catena. Since Devreesse identifies the second part as Theodoret of Cyrrhus' commentary on Psalms 2 to 150, he suggests *Monacensis graecus* 478 as a corresponding manuscript for this part of *K*. This manuscript is one of the codices Joannes Ludovicus Schulze had used in his edition of Theodoret's commentary (1860).<sup>10</sup> Since it includes a catena on the Odes, Devreesse also uses this manuscript as a corresponding manuscript for the third part of *K*.<sup>11</sup> Dorival concludes that *K* contains the type III catena only for Psalm 1, only mentioning the section he considers relevant for his study.

MS *Vaticanus graecus* 1519 (L, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.) is described in Cyrus Giannelli's catalogue as a manuscript containing Origen's scholia on a large number of Psalms.<sup>12</sup> His description is probably purely based on the manuscript's title (Ὡριγένους σχόλια εἰς ψαλμούς, p. 1). Giannelli refers to Devreesse's seminal study on catenae<sup>13</sup> without, however, explicitly labelling the manuscript as a catena. Dorival's description is more nuanced: *L* does not contain a complete catena, but includes the fragments of the type III catena that are attributed to Origen (by Ὡρ or Ὡριγένους) in that same catena. In addition, Dorival assumes that this erudite manuscript may have been composed in preparation of an edition of Origen.<sup>14</sup>

Alfred Rahlfs, see A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. MSU, 1914, p. 252.

<sup>10</sup> This manuscript contains the direct tradition of Theodoret's commentary and not a catena, see E. GROSSE-BRAUCKMANN, "Der Psaltertext bei Theodoret", *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1911, p. 337-339 [repr. MSU 1.3; Berlin, 1915, p. 72-74.]. The direct tradition of Theodoret's commentary is extensive and in this article I equate this tradition to the text of *PG* 80. This edition is based on the direct tradition, but contains notes from the catena tradition (but not the type III catena), see R. CEULEMANS, "Theodoret and the Antiochene Text of the Psalms", in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint Studies, Munich 2013*, ed. by W. KRAUS, M. VAN DER MEER and M. MEISER, Society of Biblical Literature. Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 64, Atlanta, 2016, p. 150-155.

<sup>11</sup> The combination of the direct tradition of Theodoret's commentary and a catena on the Odes is common in the manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> C. GIANNELLI, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti. Codices Vaticanæ Graeci. Codices 1485-1683*, Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1950, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> R. DEVREESSE, "Chaines exégétiques grecques", in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible I*, ed. by L. PIROT, Paris, 1928, col. 1121.

<sup>14</sup> DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques*, 1986, p. 247.



## 2. Composition and Tradition of the Type III Catena<sup>15</sup>

The commentaries on the Psalms by Theodoret of Cyrillus (*CPG* 6202) and Origen (*CPG* 1426) occupy an important place in the type III catena.<sup>16</sup> Other works featuring prominently in the composition are the commentaries on the Psalms by Eusebius of Caesarea (*CPG* 3467), Cyril of Alexandria (*CPG* 5202) and Didymus the Blind (*CPG* 2551), the homilies by Basil of Caesarea (*CPG* 2836) and the *commentarius magnus* of Hesychius of Jerusalem (*CPG* 6554). The catena text relies on earlier catenae, to which it adds scholia by Athanasius of Alexandria (*CPG* 2140)<sup>17</sup> and excerpts of the commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*CPG* 3833).<sup>18</sup>

The manuscripts that transmit the beginning of the type III catena relate to each other as follows:<sup>19</sup>

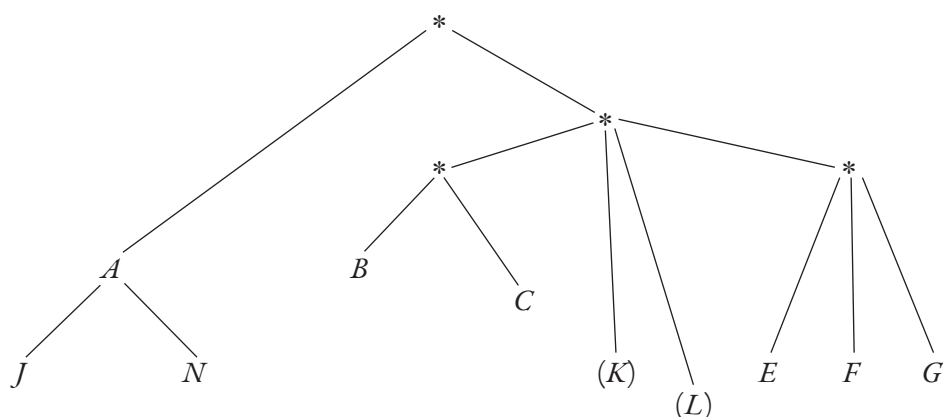
<sup>15</sup> A detailed view is given by DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 118-123 and MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare*, 1978, p. 23-25.

<sup>16</sup> To my knowledge, all excerpts from Origen in the type III catena were extracted from his large commentary (see *CPG* 1426, with reference to other scholars). This view might, however, have been influenced by the unreliability of the existing editions (*PG* 12, *PG* 17 and J.-B., PITRA, *Analecta Sacra* II and III). When using these editions for the identification of excerpts attributed to Origen, there is a theoretical risk of circular reasoning, since each of them has one of the type III catena witnesses as a source (see R. DEVREESE, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, Studi e testi 264, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970, p. 5-6). *PG* 12 uses MS *Oxoniensis*, *Novum Collegium* 31 (*G*), *PG* 17 uses MS *Venetus*, *Marcianus graecus* 17 (*B*) and Pitra uses some of the Vatican witnesses of the type III catena, but none of these witnesses of the type III catena were used for the fragments that can be found in this article. Since there is no overlap between the fragments in the editions based on witnesses of the type III catena and the fragments of the type III catena treated in this article, there is no question of circular reasoning. To avoid this in general, the forthcoming edition of Origen's work on the Psalms (homilies, scholia and commentaries) will be exceedingly welcome. On this aspect, see G. DORIVAL, "An overall Outline", *Adamantius*, 20 (2014), p. 12-13.

<sup>17</sup> All fragments that I traced back to Athanasius' scholia in this article are checked in G. M. VIAN, *Testi inediti dal commento ai salmi di Atanasio*. Studia Ephemeridis "Augustianum", Roma, 1978. However, there is still a problem of authenticity concerning Athanasius' authorship (see G. DORIVAL, "Athanasie ou pseudo-Athanasie", *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 16 (1980), p. 80-89; T. BÖHM, "Exegetische Schriften", in *Athanasius Handbuch*, ed. by P. GEMEINHARDT, Tübingen, 2011, p. 274-276 and G. DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, vol. 5; Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 54; Leuven, 2018, p. 318-320).

<sup>18</sup> Information on the earlier catenae can be found in DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 115-324, for later additions, see G. DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, vol. 4; Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 46; Leuven, 1995, p. 174-179; see also E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare*, 1978, p. 23-25.

<sup>19</sup> The following represents a tentative stemma. The full list of witnesses can be found in DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 245-248. MSS *Oxoniensis*, *Bodleianus Auct. E 1.5* (*H*) and *Vaticani, graeci 1677-1678* (*M*) are witnesses that do not contain the begin-



- A* *Parisinus graecus* 139 (10<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*B* *Venetus, Marcianus graecus* 17 (10<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*C* *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 45 (13<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D* *Matritenses, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 4702-4704 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)<sup>20</sup>  
*E* *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* C 264 inf. (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*F* *Monacenses graeci* 12-13 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*G* *Oxonensis, Novum Collegium* 31 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*J* *Parisinus graecus* 148 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*K* *Vaticanus graecus* 617 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*L* *Vaticanus graecus* 1519 (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*N* *Vaticani graeci* 1682-1683 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)

In line with the layout of the text, the manuscripts can be divided into marginal or full-page catenae. Only MSS *Parisinus graecus* 139 (*A*) and *Venetus, Marcianus graecus* 17 (*B*) contain a marginal catena. Given their similar size and layout, they have often been described as twin manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> Collations, however, have proven that they are not as related to each other as their layout suggests: they have to be placed in the two different branches of the text tradition.

Both *K* and *L*, as the other witnesses of the type III catena, have a full page layout, but it changes in the course of the text. In *K*, the layout already

ning of the type III catena. MSS *Matritenses, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 4702-4704 (*D*) have not been investigated yet. The collation of the first Psalms of the type III catena showed that *K* and *L* can be placed in the stemma, although their text diverges too much to include them in a critical edition or amongst the witnesses of the type III catena (see below).

<sup>20</sup> As mentioned in the previous note, these manuscripts have not yet been investigated, so their place in the stemma is not yet determined.

<sup>21</sup> See also note 2.

changes after Psalm 1 (f. 6v), where part 2 of the manuscript starts (see above). The layout of Psalm 1 is comparatively clear: each biblical lemma, centred on the page, is followed by the corresponding exegetical fragments, which are in turn accompanied by author attributions (in red ink, which often renders them illegible today).<sup>22</sup> In contrast, the text in the second part of the manuscript is presented as a continuous text; fragments and lemmata are only divided by a colon. Lemmata are often compressed by means of formulations with *ἐως τοῦ*. Attributions are absent since all fragments are presented to be part of one and the same commentary (which is Theodoret's, see above). The other witnesses of the type III catena, apart from *K* and *L*, contain almost all of the attributions, regardless of their layout.

The layout of the text in manuscript *L* opens in a way similar to the first part of *K*: each lemma, in a larger script, is followed by the exegetical excerpts, which invariably start on a new line. From Psalm 17 onwards, any form of distinction between the exegetical fragments commenting on the same lemma disappears: they are displayed as a continuous text and new fragments do not start on a new line. *L* does not have any author attributions. The reason for this might be *L*'s title (see above), which mentions only one author.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. The Type III Catena in *Vaticani graeci* 617 (*K*) and 1519 (*L*)

My study of *K* and *L* showed that they contain exegetical fragments that do not tally with the above-mentioned descriptions of *K* and *L*: *K* does not have the pure commentary of Theodoret from Psalm 2 onwards and *L* does not exclusively contain excerpts from Origen. To prove this statement, I will give an overview of the content in *K* and *L* and make a comparison between them and the type III catena, as they were connected by scholars (see above).

#### a. *Vaticanus graecus* 617 (*K*)

With regard to Psalm 1, nothing can be added to the description above: *K* contains the full type III catena.

With regard to Psalm 3, however, a picture different from the one portrayed by scholars arises upon close analysis. According to them, *K* should only contain Theodoret's commentary. This is not entirely correct for a number of reasons. First of all, *K* includes one anonymous fragment (nr.

<sup>22</sup> See note 8.

<sup>23</sup> As far as it is legible, the title of *K* is *Ψαλτῆριον τῷ Δαυίδ* (f. 1r).

2)<sup>24</sup> not from Theodoret, which is also present in the type III catena. Secondly, two fragments (nrs. 4 and 7) feature some additions that are present in the catena, but not in *PG* 80. Lastly, *K* lacks two fragments of Theodoret's commentary that are present in the type III catena (nrs. 3 and 12). The other fragments in *K* represent a literal version of the commentary by Theodoret, but are all attributed to Theodore [*sic*] in the catena. The following chart is a representation of the catena on Psalm 3 in both the type III catena and *K*:<sup>25</sup>

	Type III catena <sup>26</sup>	<i>K</i> 8v-9v: Psalm 3
	Lemma (v. 1)	
	1 fragment	/
<b>1</b>	Δήλη μὲν τοῖς ἐμμελεστέροις – ὅπ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένην μετάνοιαν Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 884C10-885A13 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	Lemma (v. 2a-3b)	Lemma (v. 2a)
<b>2</b>	<b>Κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν – πλημμελοῦντες οἱ παῖδες<sup>27</sup></b> <b>Partially literal in <i>PG</i> 69 (Cyril), 725B7-12 / paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1120B4-1121A6</b>	
	2 fragments	/
<b>3</b>	<b>Theodore: Πολλοὶ μέντοι καὶ – γὰρ</b> <b>παρεδήλωσεν εἰρηκῶς</b> <b>Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 885B2-9</b>	
	3 fragments	/
	Lemma (v. 4)	
<b>4</b>	<b>Οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ βασιλείᾳ – ὑψωθήσεσθαι δεξιᾷς</b> <b>Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 885B11-14</b> <b>+ addition: Τουτέστιν ἐν περιφανείᾳ – ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ μηδενί<sup>28</sup></b> <b>Attribution to Theodore in catena type III</b>	

<sup>24</sup> These numbers refer to the numbers in the first column of the charts. Some fragments behind these numbers are put in bold to highlight their function as proof.

<sup>25</sup> The arrows in this chart are used to indicate doublets (see below).

<sup>26</sup> The type III catena is my edition of this catena, based on MSS *Parisinus graecus* 139 (*A*), *Venetus*, *Marcianus graecus* 17 (*B*), *Atheniensis*, *Bibliotheca Nationalis* 45 (*C*), *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* C 264 inf. (*E*), *Monacensis graecus* 12 (*F*) and *Oxoniensis*, *Novum Collegium* 31 (*G*).

<sup>27</sup> I do not mention an attribution when the manuscripts lack it, otherwise I mention the attribution either centred (when the fragment appears in both *K* and the type III catena) or in the first column (when there is no parallel fragment in *K*).

<sup>28</sup> Additional text is mentioned in note 80 in *PG* 80, col. 885-886, but it does not correspond with the addition in the type III catena and *K*, of which the incipit and desinit are cited above. Compare B. CORDERIUS, *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos*. Tomus I, Antwerp, 1642, p. 47.

	Type III catena	K 8v-9v: Psalm 3
	6 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 5) and 3 fragments	Lemma (v. 5)
5	Theodoret: Ἡ καὶ καθ' ἱστορίαν – τοῖς ἱερεῦσι παρείχετο Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 885C10-13	/
6	Διὰ τοι τοῦτο – τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐδίδου Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 885C1-13 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 6)	Lemma (v. 6)
7	Νύκτα τὰς συμφορὰς – προσπεσόντων κακῶν. Διό Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 885D1-888A4 + addition: φησὶν ἐκοιμήθην – καὶ τὸν ῥάθυμον Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	3 fragments	/
8	Theodoret: Ἄλλος ἔφη νύκτα – τὴν τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 885D1-888A1	/
	1 lemma (v. 7) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 7)
9	Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ μόνος παρὼν τὰς πολλὰς μυριάδας διασκεδάσαι Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 888A7-8 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 8) and 5 fragments	Lemma (v. 8)
10	Theodoret: Ἄλλος τοὺς ὀδόντας – εὐκαταφρόνητα λίαν ἐστὶν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 888B2-5	/
11	Τελείας μοι τοίνυν – εἰσὶ καὶ εὐκαταγώνιστα Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 888A11-B5 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	Lemma (v. 9)	
	2 fragments	/
12	Theodoret: Τὸν λαὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ – ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 888B14-C5	/
13	Οὐκ ἔχω, φησὶν, – παρεδήλωσεν εἰρηκῶς Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 888B6-13 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	2 fragments	/

We can conclude that *K*'s version of Psalm 3 is not the pure commentary of Theodoret: *K* lacks 2 fragments of the commentary and adds one

from another author. The type III catena contains Theodoret's whole commentary including three doublets (signalled by the arrows in the chart above). A doublet is formed by two fragments based on the same source text: one of them is literal, the other is a paraphrase. The literal fragment can be found in *K*, while the paraphrase cannot. All material in *K* can thus be found in the type III catena, although the incorrect attributions in the catena to Theodore might have been corrected with the help of another source.

The type III catena on Psalm 5 contains 17 excerpts of Theodoret's commentary; 2 of them are paraphrased and form a doublet with their corresponding literal excerpts (see arrows), while the others offer a literal version of the text. Only the literal fragments, although mostly attributed to Theodore, are present in *K*. Nonetheless, there is one exception: the fragment on verse 13b is not a literal one (as in type III catena nr. 17), but is paraphrased (nr. 19). Moreover, *K* provides one excerpt from Theodoret (nr. 10) that is not included in the type III catena.

	Type III catena	<i>K</i> 10v-12v: Psalm 5
	Lemma (v. 1)	
	2 fragments	/
1	Οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ – κατιδεῖν δυνησόμεθα Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 896A3-B4 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 2a-3b), 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 2a-3b)
2	Theodoret: Οὐ μὴν τὴν κραυγὴν – τῶν ἐυχομένων φησὶν Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 896C2-9	/
	1 fragment	/
3	Πολλὰς πάντοθεν βαλλομένη – οἶδα καὶ βασιλέα Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 896B7-C13 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 lemma (v. 3c-4b) and 4 fragments	Lemma (v. 3c-4b)
4	Theodoret: Ἐν τισι δὲ – ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ σήμερον Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 896D2-897A6	/
	1 fragment	/
5	Θαρροῦσα γὰρ ὥς – ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ σήμερον Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 896D2-897A6 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	

	Type III catena	K 10v-12v: Psalm 5
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 5a-6a) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 5a-6a)
6	Δέχθη τὰς ἐμὰς δεήσεις – Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπήγαγεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 897A9-14 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (6b-7b)	Lemma (v. 6b-7b)
7	Τὸν τῆς κακίας – ὁ ψαλμὸς παρεδήλωσεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 897B3-14 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 8) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 8)
8	Τῆς γὰρ σῆς ἀπολαύουσα – φιλανθρωπία θαρροῦσα Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 897C2-7 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 9) and 5 fragments	Lemma (v. 9)
9	Ἦντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων – τῆς πονηρίας ἐπιτηδεύματα Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 897C10-900A9 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 10a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (10b)	Lemma (v. 10a)
10	/	Τῷ ψεύδει φησίν, διηνεκῶς τὴν γλώτταν μολύνουσιν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900A10-11
	/	Lemma (v. 10b)
11	Τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν – τῷ στόματι ἡ διάνοια Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900A12-14 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 10c)	Lemma (v. 10c)
12	Οἱ κεκλεισμένοι – καὶ ἀσελγείας ῥήματα Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900B2-8 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 10d)	Lemma (v. 10d)
13	Χαλεπώτερα τῶν – τῶν πέλας τυρέουσιν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900B9-12 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 11a-c) and 3 fragments	Lemma (v. 11a-c)
14	Ἀχθήτωσαν τοῖνον – τῶν τολμημάτων ἄξιαν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900B15-C3 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	



	Type III catena	K 10v-12v: Psalm 5
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 11d)	Lemma (v. 11d)
15	Κατὰ σοῦ γὰρ – νικήσαντες τὴν παράταξιν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900C4-6 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 12a-b) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 12a-b)
16	Τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς – ἀφιερωμένον ἀποφαίνεις Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900C9-D1 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	1 lemma (v. 12c-first half of 13b) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 12c-13a)
17	Theodoret: Εὐδοκία δὲ κατὰ – καὶ στέφανος ἐπινίκιος Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 901A3-12	/
18	Τῆς γὰρ σῆς εὐλογίας – ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 900D3-901A3 Attributed to Theodore in catena type III	
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (second half of v.13b) and 3 fragments	Lemma (v. 13b)
19	/	Εὐδοκία δὲ κατὰ – καὶ στέφανος ἐπινίκιος Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 901A3-12 (cf. nr. 17)

Theodoret's entire commentary on Psalm 5 is included in *K*, but not in the type III catena. For the fragment lacking in the catena, as well as for the correction of the faulty attributions to Theodore, *K* must have had another source. The catena also features two doublets (see arrow), of which only the literal fragment is present in *K*.

For Psalm 11, *K* contains the same fragments from Theodoret as the catena does, but the text of these fragments is identical to the text printed in *PG* 80 and not to the paraphrases of these fragments in the catena. As in the type III catena, the entire commentary is included. The catena has one fragment, missing from *K*, that has been attributed to Theodoret in nearly all the witnesses, but which was not written by Theodoret.<sup>29</sup> It may be the text of Hesychius.<sup>30</sup> The fact that *K* does not have this fragment, suggests

<sup>29</sup> Λέγοι δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ – καρδίας αὐτοῦς παραπέμπουσιν.

<sup>30</sup> See DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 251. The *commentarius magnus* of Hesychius is not known in direct tradition. See most recently J.-M. OLIVIER, "A propos du 'Grand commentaire' d'Hésychius de Jérusalem (CPG 6554) au Psaume 71", *Sacris Erudiri* 56, 2017, p. 237-242.

that another source was used that did not attribute this fragment to Theodoret or simply lacked it.

With regard to Psalm 17, *K* contains the whole commentary by Theodoret, with the exception of a few sentences that have been left out, but can be found in the direct tradition (nrs. 18 and 20) and another unidentifiable fragment (nr. 8), which is not present in the type III catena.

	Type III catena	<i>K</i> 29v-33v: Psalm 17 <sup>31</sup>
	Lemma (v. 1a-2a)	Lemma (v. 1)
1	Δήλη ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ – ὕστερον ἐγένετο χρόνοις Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 972C1-C7 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	4 fragments	/
2	Theodoret: Φιλόσοφος δὲ λίαν – χωρίσας τοῦτον ἰδίᾳ Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 972C1-3	/
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (2b-3c)	Lemma (v. 2b-3c)
3	Ἀγάπη τὰς εὐεργεσίας – τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνομένων Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 973A2-B11 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 4)	Lemma (v. 4)
4	Ἐνταῦθα διδασκόμεθα – τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαναστάσεις Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 973C2-7 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 5-6)	Lemma (v. 5-6)
5	Ὡδῖνας θανάτου καὶ – βλάβης ἐστὶ μηχανήματα Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 973C9-976A3 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	5 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 7)	Lemma (v. 7)
6	ὑπὸ τοσούτων μέντοι – οὐρανὸν προσηγόρευσεν οὕτω Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 976A8-15 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 8-9) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 8-9)

<sup>31</sup> The text of *K* does not always represent a perfect copy of the *PG* text, but the variants in *K* often correspond to the variants given in the apparatus of the *PG*, although they do not belong to one manuscript in particular, see note 10.

	Type III catena	K 29v-33v: Psalm 17
7	Theodoret: "Ετερος ἔφη ταῦτα – τὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ὀξύ Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 976B1-977A5	Ταῦτα δὲ ἄπαντα – τὰ ὅμοια πάθωσιν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 976B6-C1
8	/	Ἄλλο ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ – ἐκάστῳ φαινόμενοι Source unknown
	5 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 10-11)	Lemma (v. 10-12b)
9	Πάλιν ἐνταῦθα – φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 976C6-977A10 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	6 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 12a-b) and 2 fragments	/
10	Theodoret: "Ετερος σκηλὴν ἔφη – φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 977A7-10	/
	Lemma (v. 12c-13a)	
11	Καθάπερ γὰρ φησὶ – παρεδήλωσεν ἐπαγαγών Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 977A13-B4 Attributed to Theodoret in catena type III	
	6 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 13b-15b)	Lemma (v. 13b-15b)
12	Ταῦτα καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν – τοιαύταις ἐπέδησε πέδαις Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 977B9-C1	Ταῦτα καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν – ἀγγέλους ἐξέπεμψεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 977B9-C4
	4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 16a), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 16b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 16c-d) and 3 fragments	Lemma (v. 16a-d)
13	Theodoret: "Ετερος ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο – ἡμῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 977C8-D1	Καὶ τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν – προσμένει τὴν μετάνοιαν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 977C8-D1
	Lemma (v. 17a)	Lemma (v. 17a-b)
14	/	Καὶ διδάσκων τί καλεῖ τροπικῶς ὕδατα ἐπήγαγεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 977D3-4
	/	Lemma (v. 18)
15	Τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ φησὶ – τὴν ἐπικουρίαν παρέσχεν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 980A3-7	Προφανῶς φησὶ – ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ φησὶν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 980A3-9

	Type III catena	K 29v-33v: Psalm 17
	1 lemma (17b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 18), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 19)	Lemma (v. 19a)
16	Theodoret: Αἰνίττεσθαι νῦν μοι – ἡ ἁμαρτία γεγένηται Almost literal <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 980A11-15	Ἐνταῦθα αἰνίττεσθαί μοι – ἡ ἁμαρτία γεγένηται Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 980A11-15
	3 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 20a)	Lemma (v. 19b-20a)
17	/	Ὁ θοῦμένον φησι καὶ – πλείστην ἔχουσι δύνανται Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 980B2-11
	8 fragments and 6 lemmata alternating (v. 20b-23b)	Lemma (v. 21a-23b)
18		Οὐκ ἄδικόν φησι – τῶν οἰκείων κατορθωμάτων (incomplete fragment) Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 980C2-11
19	Theodoret: Οὐχ' ἀπλῶς δέ τις – ἀπολαῦσαι προνοίας Almost literal <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 980C11-14	/
20	/	Μνημονεῦσαι βιασθεῖς – κρύψαι παρανομίαν (incomplete fragment) Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981A1-3
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 24a), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 24b), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 25)	Lemma (v. 25)
21	/	Τότε δὴ φησὶ – σαφέστερον ἐκπαιδεύει Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981A6-12
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 26-27) and 1 lemma	Lemma (v. 26-27)
22	Theodoret: Πρὸς τὰς γνώμας – τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ τέλος Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981A15-B8	Πρὸς τὰς γνώμας – πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981A15-B9
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 28a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 28b)	Lemma (v. 28a-b)
23	/	Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ – λογίζεσθαι τὴν εὐτέλειαν Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981 B10-15
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 29), 4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 30a) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 29)

	Type III catena	K 29v-33v: Psalm 17
24	Theodoret: Καὶ πάλιν ἐπειδὴ – καὶ τὸ τεῦχος δηλοῖ Only the first sentence almost literal <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981C2-14	Ἐπειδὴ σκότος πολλὰκις – τῷ Χριστῷ μου Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981C2-10
	Lemma (v. 30b)	Lemma (v. 30a-b)
25	/	Πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλὴν – φεύξομαι χάριτος Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981C12-15
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 31a) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 31a)
26	Δικαίως ἰθύνεις τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ τοῦτου χάριν θαρρῶ Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981D1-3	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 31b)	Lemma (v. 31b)
27	/	Τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τῶν – ἀπολαύσονται βοηθείας Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 981D3-984A7
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 31c)	Lemma (v. 31c) is part of previous fragment
28	Theodoret: Ἄνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ – ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ Source unknown	/
	1 lemma (v. 32a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 32b)	Lemma (v. 32a-b)
29	/	Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστι – παρὰσχῆ τὴν αἵτησιν Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 984A9-11
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 33a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 33b-34a)	Lemma (v. 33a-b)
30	/	Τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει – ὁδεύειν ἐπείγομαι Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), A13-15
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 34b)	Lemma (v. 34a-b)
31	/	Καθάπερ ταῖς ἐλάφοις – πολεμίων ἀπέφηνεν Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 984B2-5
	4 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 35a)	Lemma (v. 35a)
32	/	Εἰς εὐχὴν γὰρ – παρεσκεύασε βέλη Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 984B6-11
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 35b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 36a), 3 fragments, 1 lemma (36b), 2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 36c-d)	Lemma (v. 35b) in previous fragment, lemma (v. 36a-d)

	Type III catena	K 29v-33v: Psalm 17
33	/	Καὶ ἐπέδευσας ἡμαρτηρότα – τῆς σωτηρίας ἡξίωσας Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 984B15-C3
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 37a), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 37b) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 37a-b)
34	Theodoret: Ἀλλὰ καὶ στενοχωρηθέντι – τοῦ παρόντος διήρκεσα Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 984C5-8	Ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ – ὁ Σύμμαχος εἴρηκεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 984C5-9
	1 lemma (v. 38), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 39a), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 39b) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 38-39b)
35	Theodoret: Λέγοι δ' ἂν καὶ – ὑπηκόους ἐργάσασθαι Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 985A4-7	Οὔτως ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς – ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985A4-9
	1 lemma (v. 40a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 40b)	Lemma (v. 40a-b)
36	Theodor<et>: Ἐνέφρωσας τῶν πολεμίων – ἐξέφυγε τὰς ἐπιβουλάς Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 985A12-B4	Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνδρίαν – διὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985A12-B4
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 41a) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 41a)
37	Theodoret: Ἄτερος δὲ ἀπλῶς – οὔτοι οὐ παρέχουσιν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B6-7	Ἄντ' τοῦ εἰς φυγὴν – τὰ νῶτα διδόναι Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B6-7
	1 lemma (v. 41b) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 41b)
38	Theodoret: Ἡ καὶ καθ' ἱστορίαν – καὶ μυρίους ἑτέρους Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B8-9	Τὸν Σαοὺλ – καὶ μυρίους ἑτέρους Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B8-9
	Lemma (v. 42)	
39	Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους – ἐσχήκασι σύμμαχον Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B11-C1	Οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλόφυλοι – ἐσχήκασι σύμμαχον Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985B11-C1
	2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 43)	Lemma (v. 43)
40	/	Φροῦδοὶ φησι γενήσονται – χάριτος συνεργούσης Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985C4-5

	Type III catena	K 29v-33v: Psalm 17
	2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 44a-b)	Lemma (v. 44a)
41	/	Ἐντεῦθεν προθεσπίζει – δουλίαν δεξάμενος Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985C6-D4
	3 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 44c-45a)	Lemma (v. 44c-45a)
42	/	Ἐκ προσώπου ταῦτα – δεσποτεῖαν ἡγάπησαν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 988A2-6
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 45b), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 46)	Lemma (v. 45b-46)
43	/	Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ προσαγορευθέντες – βδελυροὶ πᾶσιν ὀρώμενοι Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 988A9-B6
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 47a), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 47b) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 47a-b)
44	Theodoret: Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ μνησθεῖς – παρέχει τὴν σωτηρίαν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 988B9-C1	Μνημονεύσας τῆς Ἰουδαίων – παρέχει τὴν σωτηρίαν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 988B9-C1
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 48a), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 48b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 49a-b), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 49c)	Lemma (v. 48a-49c)
45	/	Ὁ ταῦτα τοίνυν – ἀπόφηγον εὐπειθῇ Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 988C6-8
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 50)	Lemma (v. 50)
46	/	Διὰ γὰρ τῶν μικρὸν – τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖ Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 988C10-D4
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 51a), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 51b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 51c) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 51a-c)
47	Ἰουδαϊκῶς δὲ τοῦτο – Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 989A8-C1	Σὺ με γὰρ χρίσας – Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 989A8-C1

*K* includes more material from Theodoret's commentary than the catena does, which paraphrases many of the excerpts from Theodoret in contrast to *K* and retains others only in part. However, *K* lacks one fragment that



the catena attributes to Theodoret, but its source is unknown (nr. 28). The catena also contains a doublet: one excerpt of Theodoret's commentary is present in a literal as well as in a shorter paraphrased form (see arrow). The presence of three types of fragments in *K* suggests the use of another source in the composition of *K*: firstly, the presence of literal fragments from Theodoret's commentary not present in the type III catena (nrs. 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29-33, 40-43, 45 and 46), secondly an unidentifiable fragment missing from the catena (nr. 8) and lastly literal versions of the paraphrases in the catena (nrs. 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 24, 34-39, 44 and 47).

From Psalm 21 onwards, *K* clearly contains Theodoret's commentary on the Psalms, while in the catena only a part of the commentary is present in the form of paraphrased fragments.

The above analysis supports the bulk of the description of *K* given by other scholars, in the sense that *K* mainly contains Theodoret's commentary on the Psalms. However, *K* does not always contain his commentary in full and sometimes includes fragments that do not belong to Theodoret. Neither is there a strict turning point between catena and commentary in Psalm 2: in Psalm 3, we still see the remains of the catena in the additions to the excerpts that are only present in the type III catena. From then onwards, however, nothing proves that the type III catena was still used in the composition of *K*. Already in Psalm 3 a new source must have been used alongside the type III catena to correct the attributions in the catena: all the excerpts from Theodoret's commentary have been attributed to Theodore in the catena, while they are used in *K* as part of Theodoret's commentary. In Psalm 5, we encounter for the first time a fragment in *K* that is not present in the type III catena, and especially in Psalm 17, the use of a new source becomes clear: *K* contains many literal fragments from Theodoret's commentary that are either paraphrased or not even present in the type III catena.

The question arises what this new source could have been. There is only one fragment in *K* that cannot be traced back to Theodoret (nr. 8 in Psalm 17), the others represent the direct tradition of Theodoret's commentary (only one in a paraphrase, nr. 19 of Psalm 5). This suggests that the new source used to compose *K* is a manuscript of the direct tradition of Theodoret's commentary on the Psalms, which the composer started using at least from Psalm 3 onwards to correct false attributions in the type III catena.

The phenomenon of recomposing a commentary from one specific author by abstracting his fragments from a catena is not a unique case and is attested for other books of the Bible, for example the Song of Songs. What follows is an overview of cases similar to the text of *K*.

The oldest manuscript of a commentary on the Song of Songs based on a catena could be MS *Genuensis Durazzo Giustiniani A I 10* (late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> cent.), which contains the commentary of Nilus of Ancyra (CPG 6051). It has been claimed that Nilus' commentary was a recomposition on the basis of the *catena Cantabrigiensis* (CPG C 85).<sup>32</sup> Because of the early date of the manuscript, this claim has been called into question.<sup>33</sup>

Another case that illustrates the abstraction of an author from a catena is the *catena Barberiniana* on the Song of Songs. The composer of this catena, which is transmitted in MS *Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus 388* (13<sup>th</sup> cent., Rahlfs 645), clearly had a preference for Origen, since he predominantly extracted fragments written by Origen from the *Epitome* of Procopius.<sup>34</sup> This still results in a catena, but one that selected its exegetical fragments based on their authorship.

The abstraction of Theodoret's commentary on the Song of Songs (CPG 6203) from the *catena Trium Patrum* (CPG C 81) is another case similar to *K*. This is said to have been done in three manuscripts (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.).<sup>35</sup> A fourth manuscript, MS *Parisinus Coislinianus 194* (13<sup>th</sup> cent., Rahlfs 540) contains only an anthology of Theodoret's text, based on an unknown manuscript of the *catena Trium Patrum* tradition.<sup>36</sup>

A composition most similar to that of *K* are the homilies on the Song of Songs by Gregory of Nyssa transmitted in *Vaticanus graecus 1141* (16<sup>th</sup> cent.). They were reconstructed on the basis of the Gregory-Nilus catena in *Venetus Marcianus graecus 22* (13<sup>th</sup> cent., Rahlfs 733).<sup>37</sup> The *Marcianus* contains the catena down to the exegesis of Cant 4,1 in homily VII; from

<sup>32</sup> See H.-U. ROSENBAUM, *Kommentar zum Hohelied*, PTS 57, Berlin, 2004, p. 123\*-127\*.

<sup>33</sup> See the review of Rosenbaum's volume by M.-G. GUÉRARD in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 101 (2006), p. 200.

<sup>34</sup> The place of this manuscript in the tradition of the *Epitome* of Procopius of Gaza (either as a subarchetype or a direct descendant of the *Epitome*) is a matter of disagreement between Jean-Marie Auwers and Maria Antonietta Barbàra, but they do agree on the particular interest of the composer in Origen's exegesis, see J.-M. AUWERS, *Procopii Gazaei Epitome in Canticum Canticorum*, Corpus christianorum. Series graeca, 67, Turnhout, 2011, p. lxxxix and M. A. BARBÀRA, *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici*, Biblioteca Patristica, 42, Bologna, 2005, p. 117-122.

<sup>35</sup> Their reliance upon the catena has to be confirmed by concrete proof, see R. CEULEMANS, "New Manuscripts of the catena Trium Patrum ('B2') and of the Commentaries by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the Three Fathers ('B1') on the Song of Songs", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 61 (2011), p. 112-113.

<sup>36</sup> L. BOSSINA, *Teodoro restituito. Ricerche sulla catena dei Tre Padri e le sua tradizione*, Studi e ricerche, 68, Alessandria, 2008, p. 33 and 41.

<sup>37</sup> H. LANGERBECK, *Gregorii Nysseni In Canticum Canticorum*, Gregorii Nysseni Opera, 6, Leiden, 1960, p. xlvii-xlviii.

that point on, it offers the pure homilies of Gregory.<sup>38</sup> MS *Vat. gr. 1141*, as a descendant of MS *Ven. Marc. gr. 22*, also contains all 15 homilies: whilst the part from homily I up to the first half of homily VII is reconstructed from the catena in the *Marcianus* with the help of some other manuscripts containing Gregory's homilies, the section from the second part of homily VII up to homily XV is copied from the *Marcianus*. This transition half-way through homily VII is not visible in the Vatican manuscript (f. 67v).

The above-mentioned commentaries confirm the transformation process of a catena into a commentary of a specific author. It occurred often; the starting point of this process, however, is not clear, but it was definitely used in the sixteenth century.

*b. Vaticanus graecus 1519 (L)*

The situation in *L* is rather complex: the further the Psalter progresses, the more fragments *L* contains that are not part of the type III catena or that cannot be identified as fragments from Origen.

In *L*, as Dorival stated, Psalm 1 includes fragments of the type III catena that in the catena are – one of them wrongly – attributed to Origen.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the following fragment (on Ps. 1, 4) is present in every manuscript of the type III catena and is in each of them attributed to Origen, even though it cannot be found in *L*:

Οὐτε τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν ἀνεδίπλωσε τὴν λέξιν, οὔτε τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν οὐδεὶς<sup>40</sup>

With regard to Psalm 3, *L* contains the catena fragments that are attributed to Origen in all witnesses. Consequently, the three fragments without attribution to Origen are not included.

*L* only offers three fragments for Psalm 5, all of which are attributed to Origen in all witnesses of the catena. The catena contains one additional excerpt from Origen, which is only attributed to him in *A* and one of its copies (*J*). It is, however, absent in *L*.

Apart from the excerpts attributed to Origen in all witnesses of the catena, *L*'s exegesis of Psalm 11 also includes two fragments by Didymus: the catena only attributes one of them to Didymus (*J* lacks the attribution), while the other one is anonymous in all witnesses. In the catena, the frag-

<sup>38</sup> M.-G. GUÉRARD, *Nil d'Ancyre. Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques. Tome I*, Sources Chrétiennes, 403, Paris, 1994, p. 88-90 and ROSENBAUM, *Kommentar zum Hohelied*, 2004, p. 28\*-48\*.

<sup>39</sup> DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 1986, p. 305. The used editions (*PG* 12, 17 and *Pitra*) do rely on a witnesses of the type III catena, but this is not the case for the fragments discussed in this article, see note 16.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, *PG* 12, col. 1092A2-3.

ment attributed to Didymus (nr. 2) is placed after one of the excerpts from Origen, while the second fragment (nr. 4) both follows and precedes an excerpt from Origen. The presence of Didymus in *L* may have been caused by the general view that fragments without attribution were considered to be fragments from the author last mentioned, in this case Origen.

	Type III catena	<i>L</i> 38-41: Psalm 11
	1 lemma (v. 1), 4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 2), 6 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 3a), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 3b), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 4-5) and 4 fragments	Lemma (v. 2) and lemma (v. 4-5)
1	Ἐξολοθρεύσει δὲ τὰ χεῖρονα – ἐπισυνέβη τὰ χεῖρονα Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1200D6-9 Attributed to Origen in catena type III	
2	Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλη – ὅτι δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 77 Attributed to Didymus in catena type III	
	1 lemma (v. 6) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 6)
3	Ὁ Παῦλος φησὶ – σκῆνει στενάζομεν Literal = <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1201A7-11 Attributed to Origen in catena type III	
4	Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τῶν – πεποιῆσθαι σημαῖνον Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 78	
5	Καὶ ὁ θησαυρίζων – οὐ καταγινώσκει Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1201C11-13 Attributed to Origen in catena type III	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 39) and 3 fragments	/
6	Καὶ γὰρ καλὰ – μυρίοις συμπεφυρμένα Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1201D1-3 Attributed to Origen in catena type III	
	1 lemma (v. 8), 4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 9) and 4 fragments	/

Without any indication, *L*'s exegesis of Psalm 17 starts immediately after a number of fragments commenting on Psalm 16. The lemmata of the first four verses of the Psalm with their corresponding exegetical fragments are omitted. Catena type III counts 161 fragments for Psalm 17, but *L* only contains 66 of which no more than 5 can be identified as exegetical fragments from Origen: 2 fragments of those were taken from the catena (nrs. 1 and 2), while 3 fragments were not (nrs. 4, 6 and 41), as they cannot be found in the type III catena. The remaining fragments in *L* can be divided into different categories: first, there are short sections that cannot

be traced to any source and that are mostly used to link fragments together (20). Secondly, *L* contains fragments of authors other than Origen, which either have an equivalent in the catena in the same (8) or a paraphrased form (10), or are literal excerpts from a commentary (22) or a paraphrase of a commentary (1) not represented in the catena. It seems as if *L* is composing a new catena commentary.

	Type III catena	<i>L</i> 47-63: Psalm 17
	1 lemma (v. 1-2a), 7 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 2b-3c), 3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 4), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 5-6) and 2 fragments	Lemma (v. 5-6)
1	<b>Ἀρμόσεις δὲ ταῦτα – ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου</b> <b>Literal = PG 17 (Origen), 109D1-3</b> <b>Attributed to Origen in catena type III</b>	
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 7), 3 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 8-9)	Lemma (v. 7)
2	<b>Προδήλως δείκνυσιν τοῦ Κυρίου – ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν</b> <b>Literal = PG 17 (Origen), 109D7-112B14</b> <b>Attributed to Origen in catena type III</b>	
	/	Lemma (v. 9)
3	/	<b>Ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μὲν τοῖς – ἐν τοῖς</b> <b>χερουβὶμ</b> <b>Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius),<sup>41</sup></b> <b>1228C8-10</b>
4	/	<b>Χερουβὶμ ἐρμηνεύεται – δικαίους</b> <b>οὖν λέγει</b> <b>Literal = Analecta Sacra II, Orig. In</b> <b>Psalmos, p. 471 v. 10-11</b>
5	/	Addition: ὅτι ἐπέβη καὶ γὰρ ἀνέμους τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων εἴρηκεν ὡς αὐτῶς
	6 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 10-11), 7 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 12a-b)	Lemma (v. 12a-b)
6	/	<b>Τὸν ἐν σκηνῇ τίς – δημιουργὸν καὶ</b> <b>προνοητὴν</b> <b>Literal = PG 17 (Origen), 112C1-9</b>

<sup>41</sup> In PG 12 as well as in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra* II and III fragments that can be identified as excerpts from Evagrius are included as though they were excerpts from Origen's works on Psalms, mainly because of false, misread or missing attributions. Marie-Josèphe Rondeau re-attributed them to Evagrius, see "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Evagre le Pontique", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 26 (1960), p. 307-348. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer to have brought this under my attention.

	<b>Type III catena</b>	<b>L 47-63: Psalm 17</b>
7	/	<b>Σκηνήν αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα – πρόσκαιρον τῆς σαρκώσεως</b> <b>Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1229A2-5</b>
8	/	Τὸ φῶς φησι τῆς – προφητείας ἐποίησεν Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 112B12-13
9	/	Addition: ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι προεῖπον ταῦτα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπετέλεσαν
	23 fragments and 8 lemmata (v. 12c-18) alternating	Lemma (v. 18)
10	/	<b>Ἐντεῦθεν γινώσκωμεν ὅτι – δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ</b> <b>Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1232B4-8</b>
11	/	Addition: ἐρρύσθησαν γὰρ βαπτισθέντες ἐκ τῶν κατεξουσιαζόντων αὐτῶν δαιμόνων, ὅτε ῥήθενουν τῇ ψυχῇ συνέκλεισάν μοι
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 19)	Lemma (v. 19)
12	/	Addition: διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ αἵτησέ με εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν, ἐφ' οὐπερ ἐποιήσατό με καὶ ἔσωσέ με. Ἦύσεται με τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμούντων με ἐχθρῶν
13	/	Ὅτ' ἂν φησὶ παντελῶς – ποιεῖται τὰς ἀντιδόσεις Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 981A7-11
14	/	Addition: χειρῶν γὰρ καθαρότητα τὰς ἀγαθὰς πράξεις ὠνόμασεν
	14 fragments and 8 lemmata (v. 20a-24a) alternating	Lemma (v. 24a)
15	/	<b>Ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖται – τῷ δούλῳ σου</b> <b>Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1233B5-8</b>
17	/	Addition: καὶ ζῆσόν με
18	/	Καὶ πῶς δυνατὸν – γενήσομαι χρόνον Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 980C15-D4
	36 fragments and 21 lemmata (v. 24b-36d) alternating	Lemma (v. 36c-d)
19	/	<b>Ὁ ἐν δεξιᾷ καθήμενος – ἀληθὴς πλατύνει αὐτήν</b> <b>Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1237A15-B4</b>

	Type III catena	L 47-63: Psalm 17
20	/	Addition: τὸ καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου αὐτὴ με διδάξει· οὐ κεῖται περὶ τοῖς ο, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου ἀνώρθωσεν εἰς τέλος ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ δηλονότι. Τὸ πτωχεῦσαί σε λέγει· καὶ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον ἀνώρθωσέ με καὶ ἐδίδαξέ με
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 37a) and 1 fragment	Lemma (v. 37a)
21	/	Ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ – εὐριχώρισεν ὃς εἴρηκεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 984C5-9
	/	Lemma (v. 38)
22	Διαβήματα λέγει – τῇ δὲ προκοπῇ πλατυνόμενα Literal = PG 69 (Cyril), 825B12-C2	
23		Addition: ἐπλάθυνας τὴν καρδίαν μου τοῦ πορεύεσθαί με ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου
24	Περιελὼν γὰρ τὰ – ἡμῖν τὴν πορείαν Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 120B10-12 Attributed to Athanasius in catena type III	
25	Theodoret: Ἀλλὰ καὶ στενοχωρηθέντι – παρόντος διήρκεσα Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 984C5-8 (cf. nr. 21)	/
	Lemma (v. 38)	/
26	Athanasius: Ὡς κατεσκευασμένος – τῇς νίκης θαρρεῖ Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 120C7-9	/
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 39a)	Lemma (v. 39a)
27	Φείδεται τῶν ἐχθρῶν – αἵσθησιν αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλὼν Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 142	/
	Lemma (v. 39b)	
28	/	Οὕτως ὑπὸ τῇς σῆς – ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985A4-9
29	/	Attribution: περιγένωμαι τῶν λογισμῶν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐν τῷ φθάσαι με τὴν καλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ παύσομαι ἕως ἂν ἀφανισθῶσιν
30	/	Οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι – οὔτε οἱ δαίμονες Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 38; p. 29



	Type III catena	L 47-63: Psalm 17
31	/	Ὡς κατασκευαζόμενοι – τῆς νίκης θάρσει Almost literal <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 120C7-9 (cf. nr. 26)
32	/	Addition: περιέξουσάς με τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματός σου· ἐν αὐτῇ ὀπλιζέσθαι καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι ταῖς μεθοδείαις τοῦ διαβόλου. Πάλιν τὸ πᾶν τῆς νίκης τῷ δεδοκότι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀνετίθει
33	Ἐκ τῆς ἐν φαύλῳ – τε καὶ πείθονται Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1237D1- 3	/
34	Eusebius: Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ – δύνανται τοῦ ἐχθροῦ Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 23 (Eusebius), 184B5- 8	
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 40a), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 40b)	Lemma (v. 40b)
35	/	Φεῖδεται τῶν ἐχθρῶν – αἴσθησιν αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν Other paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 142 (cf. nr. 27)
36	/	Addition: τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀγαπήσεως
37	/	Ἐκ τῆς ἐν φαύλῳ – τε καὶ πείθονται Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 12 (Origen), 1237D1- 3 (cf. nr. 33)
38	/	Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ πρὸς – ὅφρων καὶ σκορπίων Shorter parafrase of <i>PG</i> 23 (Eusebius), 184B5-8 (cf. nr. 34)
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 41a), 3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 41b) and 1 fragment	/
39	Theodoret: Ἡ καὶ καθ' ἱστορίαν – καὶ μυρίους ἑτέρους Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985B8-9	/
	Lemma (v. 42)	
40	Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλους – οὐκ ἐσχήκασι σύμμαχον Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985B11-C1	

	<b>Type III catena</b>	<b>L 47-63: Psalm 17</b>
41		Ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψας ἴδιον γὰρ φευγόντων τὸ διδόναι τὰ νῶτα Literal = <i>Analecta Sacra</i> II, Orig. In Psalms, p. 472 v. 41
	1 fragment	
42		Τὸν Σαοῦλ, τὸν Ἀχιτόφελ, τὸν Ἀβεσσαλώμ, καὶ μυρίους ἑτέρους Shorter paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985B8-9 (cf. nr. 39)
43	Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐχθρῶν φησιν ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου Literal = <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 120D6-8 Attributed to Athanasius in catena type III	
44	/	Addition: λέγει ταῦτα
45	/	Οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι – ἐσχάρασι σύμμαχον Almost literal <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985B11-C1
46	/	Φεύγουσι γὰρ πανταχοῦ – Χριστοῦ ὀνομαζόμενον Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 41; p. 29
47	/	Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ πηλὸς – πάντοθεν ἀπώλονται Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 43; p. 29
48	/	Addition: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς χάριτος καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἐὰ τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοι, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἦλθες πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς
49	/	Φροῦδοι καὶ ἀφανεῖς – χάριτος συνεργούσης Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985C4-5
50	Παχυνθέντας γὰρ καὶ – ἔργα χειρῶν κεραιμέως Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 146	
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 44a-b)	Lemma (v. 44a-b)
51	/	Ἐντεῦθεν προθεσπίζει – προφητεία πληροῦται Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 985C6-13
52	Ἦτι τοῦ κυρίου τὸ – εἰς κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ Literal = <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 121A6-9 Attributed to Athanasius in catena type III	

	Type III catena	L 47-63: Psalm 17
53	/	Addition: ῥῥσάι με ἐκ τῶν ἀντιστρατευομένων ἐκ τοῖς μέλεσι μοῦ ἡδονῶν
54	/	Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ Δαυὶδ – δουλείαν δεζόμενος Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 121A12-B3 = PG 80 (Theodoret), 985C13-D4 <sup>42</sup>
55	/	Addition: ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἡρνήσαντο λέγοντες οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλεία εἰ μὴ καίσαρα· ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ κύριος δεζόμενος τὴν χάριν κυριεύειν μὲν τῶν ἐθνικῶν πράξεων, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ φησὶν ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο εἰς κεφαλὴν ἐθνῶν κατεστάθη ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχων ἡγούμενος καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτός
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 44c-45a), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 45b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 46), 2 fragments and 1 lemma (v. 47a)	Lemma (v. 47a)
56	/	Addition: ἕως πότε ὑμεῖς χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν (III Reg. 18, 21)
57	Ζῆν λέγεται Θεός – πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 148	Λέγεται ζῆν ὁ Θεός – περὶ αὐτῶν εἶναι Other paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 148
	1 fragment, 1 lemma (47b) and 1 fragment	/
58	Ὁ τῆς σωτηρίας – φρονούντων περὶ αὐτοῦ Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 149	Ὑψοῦσαι δὲ ὁ Θεός – περὶ αὐτοῦ διεγνωστός Other paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 149
	2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 48a), 2 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 48b), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 49a-b), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 49c)	Lemma (v. 48a)
59	/	Addition: ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκου
60	Τοῦ Ἰούδα λέγει Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 121D1 Attributed to Athanasius in catena type III	

<sup>42</sup> The author of the text is unknown, see VIAN, *Testi inediti dal commento*, 1978, p. 64.

	<b>Type III catena</b>	<b>L 47-63: Psalm 17</b>
61	/	Ἐν οἷς θυμὸς ἐπικρατεῖ – αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς Literal = <i>Analecta Sacra II</i> , Orig. In <i>Psalmos</i> (Evagrius), p. 472 v. 49
62	/	Περὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὁ λόγος – ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 49; p. 30
	Lemma (v. 50)	
63	Athanasius: Ἐπειδὴ τὰ καὶ τὰ – σάρκα γεννηθέντος Δαυὶδ Literal = <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 121D10- 124A12	/
	1 fragment	/
64	Didymus: Ἀλλὰ καὶ ψάλλει – τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς Literal = part of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 150	/
65	/	Addition: δύνανται καὶ ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς μοι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων
66	/	Διὰ γὰρ τῶν μικρῶν – τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖ Literal = <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 988C10-D4
67	/	Ἀλλὰ καὶ ψάλλει τῷ – ἐργαζόμενος διὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς Almost literal, part of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 150 (cf. nr. 64)
68	/	Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐργάσω – ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 121D10-124A4 (cf. nr. 63)
69	/	Μετὰ ὕμνων καὶ ψαλμῶν – καὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάντων Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 50b- 51; p. 30
	Lemma (v. 51a)	
70	/	Αὐτοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἐξ – σάρκα τεχθέντος Χριστοῦ Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 27 (Athanasius), 124A2-A12 (first part is identical to the last part of nr. 68)

	Type III catena	<i>L</i> 47-63: Psalm 17
71	/	Σὺ με γὰρ χρίσας – οὐ κατέλιπεν κληρονόμον Almost literal <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 989A3-13 (cf. nr. 75)
72	/	Addition: ὅθεν ὑπολείπεται νοεῖσθαι σπέρμα Δαυὶδ τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενήμενον
73	Τὰς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως – τοῦ προβαλλομένου βασιλέως Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 151	
	1 lemma (v. 51b), 1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 51c)	Lemma (v. 51c)
74	Εἰ μὲν περὶ παντὸς – ἀπαράβατος ἡ Χριστοῦ Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 152	
75	Ἰουδαϊκῶς δὲ τοῦτο – Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ Paraphrase of <i>PG</i> 80 (Theodoret), 989A8-C1	/
76	/	Λέγει μὲν τοῦ Δαυὶδ – ἔλεος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 17, 50b- 51; p. 30
77	/	Addition: τῷ λαῷ πεποθημένῳ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ (Δαυὶδ γὰρ πεποθημένος ἐρμηνεύεται). σπέρμα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια ὑπάρχει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς δίκαιος καὶ ἁγίος ἐστίν

The commentary on Psalm 21 in *L* is rather short in comparison to the length of the Psalm itself. *L* still has one fragment of Origen, which corresponds to Origen's text in the consulted edition (nr. 3), but is not present in the type III catena. The only fragment that could be based on the type III catena is an almost literal fragment of Athanasius (nr. 6). Furthermore, *L* contains two literal excerpts from Theodoret (nrs. 2 and 8), that are paraphrased in the catena, a literal excerpt from Hesychius Jagić (*CPG* 6553) (nr. 1), an almost literal fragment from Evagrius (*CPG* 2455) (nr. 4) and a sentence that cannot be traced to any source (nr. 7).

	Type III catena	<i>L</i> 66-68: Psalm 21
	1 lemma (v. 1) and 3 fragments	/
	Lemma (v. 2a)	
	1 fragment	/

	Type III catena	L 66-68: Psalm 21
1	/	Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ – καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 21, 2; p. 35
2	Theodoret: Τάύτην ὁ Σωτὴρ – συγχωρηθέντος τοῦ πάθους Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 1009A14-B9	Τῷ ἱερῷ προσηλωμένος – ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 1009A14-C2
	3 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 2b), 4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 3), 4 fragments, 1 lemma (v. 4), 1 fragment, 1 lemma (v. 5-6) and 3 fragments	/
	Lemma (v. 7a)	
3	/	Ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σαρκωθέντος – ταπεινὸν τῆς σαρκός Literal = <i>Analecta Sacra II</i> , Orig. In <i>Psalmos</i> , p. 477 v. 7
4	/	Ὁ σκώληξ οὐκ ἐκκρουστασμοῦ – τοιούτοις ξύλοις γενόμενος Almost literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1253B8-C2
	51 fragments and 24 lemmata (v. 7b-25) alternating	/
	Lemma (v. 26a)	
	1 fragment	/
5	Theodoret: Ὡς ἐγὼ σε δῆλον – διήκουσαν προσηγόρευσεν Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 1020D2-1021A9	/
	1 fragment and 1 lemma (v. 26b)	/
6	Εὐχὴ μὲν ἡ ἐπαγγελία – παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Πατρὶ Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 137A10-14	Εὐχὴ ἡμῖν ἡ ἐπαγγελία – παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ Almost literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 137A10-14
7	/	Addition: ὕπερ ἐπηγγελιάμην διὰ τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν, ταῦτα πληρωθῆναι ποιήσω
8	/	Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐγὼ φησι – διαίκουσαν προσηγόρευσεν Literal = PG 80 (Theodoret), 1020D2-1021A9 (cf. nr. 5)
	17 fragments and 7 lemmata (v. 27-32b) alternating	/

As for Psalm 21, we are still dealing with what seems to be a new catena for Psalm 31: there is only one paraphrased excerpt from Theodoret (nr. 9) that corresponds to another paraphrase of the same excerpt in the type III catena. Again, a part of the text in *L* cannot be traced back to any source. Noteworthy is the presence of a doublet in *L*: at one point, an excerpt from Theodoret's commentary is paraphrased, while at another point it has been rendered almost literally (see arrow). This suggests that *L* may have had another catena as its model. Apart from the excerpts from Theodoret, *L* contains a literal version of the edited text of Evagrius (nr. 1), Athanasius (nr. 5) and Hesychius Jagić (nrs. 3 and 13) and a paraphrased version of the source text of Didymus (nr. 6) and Hesychius Jagić (nr. 7).

	Type III catena	L 111-113: Psalm 31
	32 fragments and 13 lemmata alternating (v. 1a-8)	Lemma (v. 1b)
	Lemma (v. 9a)	
	2 fragments	/
1	/	Τὴν ἄλογον κίνησιν – ἵππον καὶ ἡμίονον Literal = PG 12 (Evagrius), 1304A5-6
2	/	Addition: ὀνομάζει
3	/	Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους – μὴ ἔχοντα σύνεσιν Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 31, 9; p. 57
4	/	Καὶ μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε ὡς μὴ ἔχων σύνεσιν, ἀσφαλίση τοῖς ἀλογίστοις πάθεσι μὴ ἐκδιδόναι αὐτόν Source unknown
5	/	Ὡς πρὸς τὸν κύριον – ἐπίστρεψον πρὸς αὐτόν Literal = PG 27 (Athanasius), 164A9-14
6	/	Ἐν χαλινῷ τῷ σῷ – ὑποκαλεῖν ζυγῷ Paraphrase of Mühlenberg Didymus fr. 289
7	/	Κῆμος γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων – ἐκ πάντων γὰρ ἐκημώθησαν Paraphrase of Hesychius Jagić Ps. 31, 9; p. 57
8	/	Ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμά σου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν χαλινωγαγεῖ καὶ δουλαγωγεῖ. ὅταν μὴ πείθωνται μὴ δὲ ὑποτάσσωνται μοι, οὕτω ταύτην τούτοις εἰσενεγκὼν τὴν εἰσῆγγησιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον μεταβαίνει χρόνον Source unknown



	Type III catena	L 111-113: Psalm 31
	Lemma (v. 9b-10a)	Lemma (v. 10a)
9	3 fragments	Ἄπαντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι – θεοῦ δὲ τὸ δῶρον Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 1092C7-1093A3 (cf. nr. 10)
	Lemma (v. 10b-11)	/
10	Κἂν ἦ γὰρ τις – Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 1092C9-1093A3	/
	1 fragment	/
11	/	Πολλαί σου εἰσιν αἱ μαστίγες, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡλπισας ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεός μου· ἐρρύσθης ἀπ' αὐτῶν Source unknown
12	/	Μηδεὶς φησὶν ἐπὶ – βλέπω μὴ πέσῃ Paraphrase of PG 80 (Theodoret), 1093A6-11
13	/	Τὸν χριστὸν οὐκ ἐνίκησε – φοβούμενου τὸν κύριον Literal = Hesychius Jagić Ps. 31, 10; p. 57
	/	Lemma (v. 11a)
14	/	Μηδεὶς φησὶν ἐπὶ – ἐν κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθω Almost literal PG 80 (Theodoret), 1093A6-11

The above analysis shows that *L* contains much material that is not from Origen. This is visible from Psalm 11 onwards: there, only fragments from Didymus were added, probably by accident, while in Psalm 17 the presence of authors other than Origen is extensive. At the same time, the relationship to the type III catena becomes more and more weak: whereas the exegesis of Psalm 11 only contains fragments that are also present in the type III catena, in Psalm 17, and especially in Psalm 21, the number of correspondences between both texts are reduced to almost nothing. It seems that up to and including Psalm 11, the scribe indeed tried to make an edition of Origen using the type III catena as a source, since every fragment in *L* is from Origen (except the two fragments from Didymus in Psalm 11) and can be found in the catena.<sup>43</sup> From Psalm 17, however, the methodology of

<sup>43</sup> As was suggested by Dorival, see above.

the composition in *L* appears to change as the scribe seems to be composing another compilation using another source than the type III catena. The presence of excerpts from different authors such as Athanasius, Theodoret, Evagrius and Hesychius suggests that the new source was another catena.

According to standard repertories of the catenae on the Psalms, catena types IX (*CPG* C22) and XII (*CPG* C25) are known to contain all of the said four authors. However, they are probably not the only ones: the presence of Evagrius in several catenae has only been recognised after the standard typology of catenae was proposed.<sup>44</sup> An example here is MS *Vaticanus graecus* 754 (10<sup>th</sup> cent., Rahlfs 1175), the most important witness of the type XIII catena, in which the presence of Evagrius was not yet recognised.<sup>45</sup>

Although the text in *L* appears to be a catena throughout the selected Psalms, its layout suggests that at least from Psalm 17 onwards, a new commentary was composed, following a process described by Dorival.<sup>46</sup> In his study on the afterlife of catenae he discusses the transformation of catenae into commentaries: author attributions are removed and exegetical fragments of different authors are placed one after the other without any form of distinction. The idea was to compose a new commentary in the spirit of the Church Fathers. The composition of such a commentary is already attested in the tenth century: the Chrysostom-Theodoret catena on the Psalms lost its attributions in the oldest witnesses dating from the tenth century.<sup>47</sup> Since *L* lacks all attributions (cf. its title) and displays the layout of a continuous commentary from Psalm 17 onwards, one might think that *L* had undergone a similar transformation.

The description of *L* must hence be adapted: *L* does not solely contain excerpts from Origen (attributed to him in the type III catena), at least not from Psalm 11 onwards and Dorival's suggestion that it might have been composed in preparation to an edition of Origen cannot be confirmed, since the methodology of the scribe has changed at least from Psalm 17 onwards.

<sup>44</sup> The different types of catenae were already identified by Karo and Lietzmann in 1902 (see note 4), while the authenticity of Evagrius' text was only recognised by Rondeau in 1960, see RONDEAU, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes", 1960, p. 308-315.

<sup>45</sup> At first sight, this manuscript seems to be a possible source for the text in *L* since it offers excerpts that can be found in *L* but not in the type III catena. After a closer reading however, it contains many variants that cannot be found in *L*.

<sup>46</sup> G. DORIVAL, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques", *Revue des études byzantines*, 43 (1985), p. 213-222 and DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, 2018, p. 244-285.

<sup>47</sup> DORIVAL, "La postérité littéraire", p. 214.

#### 4. Conclusion

On the one hand, *Vaticanus graecus* 617 (*K*) as well as *Vaticanus graecus* 1519 (*L*) are connected with the type III catena. *K* contains the catena on Psalm 1 and still shows remains of that catena in Psalm 3, while *L*'s exegesis of Psalm 1, 3, 5 and 11 contains the excerpts from Origen that are attributed to him in the catena. Collations from the beginning of these manuscripts (where they still are dependent on the type III catena) also show that they both have variants in common with that branch of the type III catena, in which MS *Venetius Marcianus graecus* 17 is the most important witness (see above).

On the other hand, both manuscripts move away from the type III catena by using another source alongside or instead of the type III catena. In Psalm 3 (and maybe in Psalm 2),<sup>48</sup> *K* already uses a manuscript of the direct tradition of Theodoret to correct the false attributions in the type III catena. At least from Psalm 5 onwards, *K* represents the pure and full commentary of Theodoret on the Psalms with the help of that same manuscript. The use of a new source in *L* becomes clear in Psalm 17, since its exegesis contains a lot of material that cannot be found in the type III catena. A catena of type IX, XII or XIII containing excerpts of Athanasius, Theodoret, Evagrius and Hesychius can have been used in the composition of this new catena presented as a commentary.

Due to their transformations, *K* and *L* cannot be used in a critical edition of the type III catena. I therefore suggest that it may be of interest to investigate *K* as another witness in the tradition of Theodoret's commentary on the Psalms, while *L* offers a further witness to the catena tradition on the Psalms.

#### Summary

In Byzantium, the popularity of the Psalter as a liturgical book generated a vast number of catenae on the Psalms. Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann divided this corpus into different types of catenae in order to bring some structure to the material. The famous Paris Psalter, a name given to the tenth-century manuscript *Parisinus graecus* 139 (Rahlfs 1133), is the best witness of the type III catena, but certainly not the only one. In his attempt to list all the witnesses of the type III catena, Gilles Dorival is the only one to mention *Vaticani graeci* 617 (16<sup>th</sup> cent., Rahlfs 1783, *K*) and 1519 (17<sup>th</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The exact place cannot be identified, due to my selection of the Psalms, see note 7.

cent., *L*). Catalogues suggest that neither of the two manuscripts is a regular witness of the catena.

This article investigates the relation between both Vatican manuscripts and the type III catena. On the one hand, it argues that they can be connected with the type III catena: *K* offers the catena on Psalm 1 and still has some remains of the catena in Psalm 3; and *L*'s exegesis on a certain number of Psalms contains the excerpts from Origen that are attributed to him in the catena. Collations from the beginning of the Psalter also show that both of them have variants in common with one branch of the tradition of the type III catena. On the other hand, the article demonstrates that both manuscripts move away from the type III catena by using another source alongside or instead of the type III catena. *K* transforms the catena into the commentary on the Psalms by Theodoret, while *L* is composing a new catena from a certain point onwards.

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# An Excerpt from the *Apostolic Church Order* (CPG 1739)

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In a learned article published in this journal, Bram Roosen offered a full description of a Greek manuscript, Athous, Koutloumousiou 39.<sup>1</sup> This is a miscellany of theological texts written by the same scribe throughout (except for the outer column of one folio), which Roosen places in the early eleventh or possibly late tenth century, perhaps with an Italian provenance. Item n° 22 in this miscellany (f. 79va, l. 16-79vb, l. 3) bears the title Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων. Roosen concludes that this preserves a series of excerpts from the *Didache*:

The text (f. 79va, l. 16-79vb, l. 3) is a rather strange collection of slightly changed excerpts from the *Doctrina XII apostolorum*, normally called the *Didachè* [CPG 1735]. Sometimes, however, the text is closer to the version of the *Didachè* found in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* [CPG 1730].<sup>2</sup>

He notes, however, that there are frequent alterations and an attribution of individual sayings to one of the apostles that is unparalleled in these texts.

While Roosen's identification, particularly in the course of his surveying of this entire complex manuscript, is understandable, it appears to be mistaken. First, a medieval sighting of the *Didache* would be notable but unexpected, given that otherwise the text, at least as an independent work, more or less vanishes from transmission history after the fifth century, with the notable exception of the manuscript discovered by Bryennios in 1873, the so-called Codex Hierosolymitanus (Taphou 54), dated to 1056.<sup>3</sup> Roosen refers to the textual similarity at points to the so-called *Constitu-*

<sup>1</sup> B. ROOSEN, "Athous, Koutloumousiou 39: An Interesting Case", *Sacris Erudiri*, 39 (2000), p. 219-252.

<sup>2</sup> Roosen, "Athous, Koutloumousiou 39", p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> On the attestation of the *Didache*, see H. VAN DE SANDT and D. FLUSSER, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, Assen and Minneapolis, 2002 (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum), p. 1-28; K. NIEDERWIMMER, *The Didache*, Minneapolis, 1998 (Hermeneia), p. 4-29.

*tiones Apostolorum*, but here as well we find no parallel to the ascription of sayings to individual apostles.

In fact, this item presents an excerpt from a closely related text, variously known as the *Apostolic Church Order* (hereafter *ACO*) or the *Canones ecclesiastici apostolorum*, among other titles, probably composed in Egypt in the late third or early fourth century, drawing on previous sources (*CPG* 1739).<sup>4</sup> After an introduction (sections 1-4), the text reprises the first part of the so-called “Two Ways” tradition (4-14), restricted to the “way of life”. It is this feature which accounts for the similarities to *Did.* 1-6 and to Book 7 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* that Roosen noted, since the Two Ways tradition underlies all three documents (though the *Didache* seems to mediate the Two Ways to the *Apostolic Constitutions*). Finally, the *ACO* offers in its second half a series of rules for various offices in the community (15-28).

The *ACO* is contained in full in one Greek manuscript, Vindob. hist. gr. 7 (olim 45), f. 4v-7v which dates to the twelfth century. The text was first edited by Johann Wilhelm Bickell in 1843, and by several others since.<sup>5</sup> It was taken up into subsequent ecclesiastical church ordinances, and is found

<sup>4</sup> For general orientations with references to previous literature, note A. VAN HOVE, *Prolegomena ad codicem iuris canonici*, Rome, 1928 (Commentarium Lovaniense in codicem iuris canonici 1.1), p. 94 (n° 106); A. FAIVRE, *La Naissance d'une hiérarchie: Les premières étapes du cursus clérical*, Paris, 1977, p. 143-153; IDEM, “La documentation canonico-liturgique de l'église ancienne”, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 54 (1980), p. 204-219, 273-297, here p. 277-279; IDEM, “Le texte grec de *La Constitution ecclésiastique des apôtres*, 16-20 et ses sources”, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 55 (1981), p. 31-42; B. STEIMER, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin and New York, 1992 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 63), p. 60-71; Stephanie PERDEW VANSLYKE, “Ministry for Women? Gender and Authority in the *Apostolic Church Order*,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, 2012 (which also offers an edition and translation of *ACO* from Vindob. hist. gr. 7).

<sup>5</sup> J. W. BICKELL, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Giesen, 1843, vol. 1, p. 87-97, 107-132; J. B. PITRA, *Iuris Ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, Rome, 1864, vol. 1, p. 77-88; A. HILGENFELD, *Novum testamentum extra canonum receptum*, Leipzig, 1866, vol. IV, p. 93-106 (under the title *duae viae vel iudicium Petri*); A. VON HARNACK, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 193-225 (introduction) and p. 225-237 (text); F. X. FUNK, *Doctrina duodecim apostolorum, canone apostolorum ecclesiastici ac reliquae doctrinae de duabus viis expositiones veteres*, Tübingen, 1887, p. liii-lviii (introduction) and p. 50-73 (text); P. SCHAFF, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or the Oldest Church Manual: The Didache and Kindred Documents in the Original with Translations and Discussions of Post-Apostolic Teaching, Baptism, Worship and Discipline and with Illustrations and Facsimiles of the Jerusalem Manuscript*, New York, 1890, p. 237-247 (only chapters 1-13); T. SCHERMANN, *Die Allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung, 1: Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des 2. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn, 1914, p. 12-34; A. STEWART-SYKES, *The Apostolic Church Order: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Annotation*, Strathfield, NSW, 2006 (Early Christian Studies, 10), who follows Schermann for the text.



in the so-called *Fragmentum Veronense* or the *Collectio Veronensis* (CPG 1731), as canons 1-20 in the *Apostolic Canons* (CPG 1730), in the *Sinodos Alexandrina* (CPG 1732), and as Book 3 in the *Clementine Octateuch* (CPG 1733), which survives in Syriac and Bohairic. Therefore we have versions of the text, in various degrees of preservation, in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, in addition to the Greek original.<sup>6</sup> There are also two extant forms of an abridged version of the Two Ways section.<sup>7</sup> One recension of this shorter text is attested in three manuscripts: Cod. Ottob. gr. 408, f. 88v (fourteenth century), Cod. Parisiensis gr. 1555A, f. 178v (fourteenth century) and Cod. Neapolitanus II C34 (olim 35), f. 83v (fifteenth century) This recension was edited by Theodor Schermann, who dubbed it an “X-Recension” of the Two Ways.<sup>8</sup> The other recension is preserved in Cod. Mosquensis synod. 125, f. 284 (tenth century), and was printed in Oscar von Gebhardt, Adolf von Harnack, and Theodor Zahn’s *Patrum apostolicorum opera* in 1878.<sup>9</sup>

Athous, Koutloumousiou 39, f. 79va, l. 16-79vb, l. 3 (hereafter “A”), presents an epitome of the epitome. A contains sections 1, 2, 6 and part of 9 in Schermann’s numeration of the X-Recension, which contains eleven sections in total, corresponding to *ACO* 4-14 (so here the excerpts comprise *ACO* 4, 5, 9 and 12.1-2a). I here re-present Roosen’s text,<sup>10</sup> together with a collation of all other Greek witnesses to the *ACO*.

<sup>6</sup> For details, see CPG.

<sup>7</sup> There is also a short Syriac text in Sangerm. Paris. Orient. Syr. 38 which contains the Two Ways (or more properly, the Way of Life) section, published by P. DE LAGARDE, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae syriace*, Leipzig, 1856, p. 19-23.

It is unnecessary for our purposes to adjudicate the debate as to the chronological priority of the abridged version of the Two Ways section and the *ACO* (here “abridged” is used neutrally to refer to length rather than priority, since the Two Ways circulated independently and prior to these compilations, as the *Didache* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* make clear). For some discussion and an attempt to refute Harnack’s view that the *ACO* is primary, see K. WENGST, *Schriften des Urchristentums 2: Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, Darmstadt, 1984, p. 8-11 (although Wengst only refers to one recension of the abridgement).

<sup>8</sup> T. SCHERMANN, *Eine Elfapostelmoral oder die X-Rezension der “beiden Wege”*, Munich, 1903, p. 14-18.

<sup>9</sup> O. VON GEBHARDT, A. VON HARNACK, and T. ZAHN, *Patrum apostolicorum opera* 1.2, Leipzig, 1878, p. xxix-xxxi, from Cod. Mosquensis 125, f. 284 (see C. F. MATTHÄI, *Accurata codicum Graecorum mss. bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi notitia et recensio*, Leipzig, 1805, p. 70).

<sup>10</sup> Roosen, “Athous, Koutloumousiou 39”, p. 239, though I have omitted the italics Roosen uses to indicate biblical citations and allusions.

Sigla<sup>11</sup>

- V* Vindob. hist. gr. 7 (twelfth century)  
*O* Ottob. gr. 408 (fourteenth century)  
*P* Parisiensis gr. 1555A (fourteenth century)  
*N* Neapolitanus II C34 (fifteenth century)  
*M* Mosquensis 125 (tenth century)

Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων

[A. *ACO* 4 = X 1] Ἰωάννης εἶπεν. Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Καὶ ἡ (εἰ *cod.*) μὲν τῆς ζωῆς ὁδὸς ἐστίν, πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, καὶ δοξάσεις αὐτὸν  
 5 τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις (εἰ *τις cod.*) ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ ἐστίν, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτὸν, ἐν οἷς ὅλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμονται.

[B. *ACO* 5 = X 2] Ματθαῖος εἶπεν. Πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλῃς σοι γενέσθαι, μὴ δὲ σὺ ἄλλω (σοὶ ἄλλο *cod.*) ποιήσεις. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδασκίαν, εἰπέτε ἀδελφεὲ Πέτρε.

1 Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων *M*] Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων *V*, Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καθολικῆς παραδόσεως *OPN* 2 Ἰωάννης εἶπεν *VOPN*] *om. M* 3 θανάτου *M*] *add.* καὶ διαφορὰ πολλὴ τῶν δύο *OPN*, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν *V* Καὶ ἡ (εἰ *cod.*) μὲν τῆς ζωῆς ὁδὸς (*add.* αὕτη *M*) ἐστὶν *M*] Ἡ (εἰ *P*) οὖν (μὲν γὰρ *V*) τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη *VOPN* πρῶτον *OPN*] *add.* πάντων *M* ἀγαπήσεις *MON*] ἀγαπήσας *P* 4 κύριον] τέκνον *M*, *om. VOPN* θεόν σου *M*] θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε *VOPN* τῆς καρδίας σου *VM*] *om.* τῆς *ON*, σοῦ καρδίας *P* καὶ δοξάσεις αὐτὸν (*om.* αὐτὸν *V*) – τὸν πρώτη *VM*] *om. OPN* 5 ἥτις *V*] ὁ *M* 6 Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ ἐστὶν *M*] Δεύτερον *OPN*, *om.* δὲ ἐντολὴ ἐστὶν *V* ἑαυτὸν *MOPN*] *add.* ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ δευτέρα *V* ἐν οἷς *V*] ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς *M*, *om. OPN* 7 ὅλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμονται *M*] *om. OPN*, ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέματα καὶ προφῆται *V*

8 Ματθαῖος *VMON*] Μαθαῖος *P* Πάντα ὅσα *V*] *add.* ἂν *M*, πᾶν ὃ *OPN* σοὶ γενέσθαι *V*] σοὶ γίνεσθαι *M*, γίνεσθαι σοὶ *OPN* 9 μὴδὲ σοὶ ἄλλο *P*] μὴδὲ σὺ ἄλλω *MON*, σὺ μὴδὲ ἄλλω *V* ποιήσεις] ποιήσης *VMOPN* 9/10 Τούτων – Πέτρε *VM*] τουτέστιν ὁ σὺ μισεῖς (μισεῖς] μὴ οἷς *P*), ἄλλω μὴ ποιήσης *OPN*

<sup>11</sup> For the Greek witnesses, I am indebted to GEBHARDT et al., *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, p. xxix-xxxi for *M*; SCHERMANN, *Elfapostelmoral*, p. 14-18 for *O*, *P* and *N*; IDEM, *Allgemeine Kirchenordnung*, p. 12-34 for a critical edition of *ACO* which draws on various Greek witnesses; and VANSLYKE, "Ministry for Women?", p. 208-217, for *V*.

[C. *ACO* 9 = X 6] Σίμων εἶπεν. Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου αἰσχρολόγος, μὴ δὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος. Ἐκ γὰρ τούτων γεννᾶται μοιχεία.

[D. *ACO* 12.1-2a = X 9] Θωμᾶς εἶπεν. Τέκνον, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ. Μνήσθητι δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 15 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν (ἡμέρα *cod.*). Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν.

11 Τέκνον *VM*] *om.* *OPN*  
*VOPN*

12 γεννᾶται μοιχεία *M*] μοιχεῖται (μοιχαί *P*) γίνονται

13 Τέκνον *VM*] *om.* *OPN* 14 θεοῦ *M*] *add.* καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς (*om.* τῆς *N*) ζωῆς καὶ δόντα (διδόντι *ON*) σοι (*om.* σοι *ON*) τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα *VOPN* ἀγαπήσεις *M*] *add.* αὐτὸν *OPN* ὀφθαλμοῦ *MON*] *add.* σου *VP* Μνήσθητι δὲ *M*] μνησθήσῃ *VOPN* 15 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν (ἡμέρα *cod.*) *V*] ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα *M*, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας *OPN* ἡμέραν (νύκτα *M*)] *add.* τιμήσεις δὲ (*om.* δὲ *V*) αὐτὸν ὡς (*add.* τὸν *V*) κύριον, ὅθεν γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς (γὰρ ἡ κυριότης *V*) λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν *VOPN* 15 Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν *V*] *om.* *M*, *add.* Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν *OPN*

This collation indicates the relative proximity of our text to the Moscow epitome, notably sharing the same title (Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων) and numerous distinctive variants, including the absence in line 3 of καὶ διαφορὰ πολλὴ τῶν δύο (*OPN*) or διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μετὰ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν (*V*). *A* cannot, however, be a direct descendent of *M*, since it shares readings in common with *V* and *OPN* that are lacking in *M*. Notably, in line 2, *A* agrees with *VOPN* in ascribing the first saying to John (Ἰωάννης εἶπεν); in line 6, *A* agrees with *V* in reading ἐν οἷς rather than *M*'s ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς or the omission in *OPN*; and in line 15, it agrees uniquely with *V* in reading Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν.

This might suggest that *A* and *M* share a common ancestor that also lies behind *V*'s readings, and more distantly, the *OPN* recension. Thus, it is now possible to see *A* as the second-oldest witness to the Greek text of the *ACO*. Although it is a brief excerpt, it offers a window onto an earlier form of the Greek, and so enables one more point of purchase on a fluid textual tradition.

### Summary

The text in MS Athous, Koutloumousiou 39, f. 79va, l. 16-79vb, l. 3 is not a series of excerpts from the so-called *Didache*, as one might think, but rather contains sections 4, 5, 9 and 12.1-2a of the *Apostolic Church Or-*

*der* (CPG 1739). Collation with the other Greek witnesses of that text allow us to see the Athos manuscript as its second-oldest witness

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# Thomas Becket und Stephen Langton. Ein politisches Lied aus der Zeit des englischen Interdikts (1208-1213)

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## 1. Einleitung

Die am 29. Dezember 1170 erfolgte Ermordung Thomas Beckets (Ebf. von Canterbury 1162-1170) hat einen lauten und lang anhaltenden Widerhall in den mittelalterlichen Literaturen ausgelöst.<sup>1</sup> Schon die zeitgenössische lateinische Dichtung<sup>2</sup> hat diese cause célèbre in zahlreichen Klageliedern<sup>3</sup> und Dialogen, Reimoffizien,<sup>4</sup> Hymnen und Sequenzen,<sup>5</sup> Satiren und Viten<sup>6</sup> sowie biographischen Epyllien<sup>7</sup> verarbeitet. Eine politische Wertung fehlte hierbei fast nie: So machten etwa Walter von Châtillon und der ano-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. R. FOREVILLE, *Thomas Becket dans la tradition historique et hagiographique*, London, 1981; B. PÜSCHEL, *Thomas à Becket in der Literatur*, Bochum, 1963 (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 45); P. A. BROWN, *The Development of the Legend of Thomas Becket*, Philadelphia, 1930. Ferner sei hier verwiesen auf die monumentale Quellensammlung von J. C. ROBERTSON, J. B. SHEPPARD (edd.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 Bde., London, 1875-1885.

<sup>2</sup> Zu den in England entstandenen Texten vgl. A. G. RIGG, *A history of Anglo-Latin literature, 1066-1422*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 77-83.

<sup>3</sup> Ein anonymes Klagelied bei B. HARBERT (ed.), *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems. Glasgow Ms Hunterian V.8.14.*, Toronto, 1975, p. 17-18, Nr. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. A. HUGHES, *The Becket Offices: Paradigms for Liturgical Research*, ed. K. HELSEN, Lions Bay (Kanada), 2014; DERS., "Chants in the rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury", *Early Music*, 16,2 (1988), p. 185-202.

<sup>5</sup> Drei Hymnen sind ediert in: *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, edd. C. BLUME, G. M. DREVES, Bd. 37, Leipzig, 1901, p. 271-273.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. z.B. F. SWIETEK, "A Metrical Life of Thomas Becket by Simon Aurea Capra", *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch*, 11 (1976), p. 177-195.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. A. VERNET, "La Thomaïde, poème latin inédit consacré à Thomas Becket", in *Thomas Becket. Actes du colloque international de Sédières 19-24 août 1973*, ed. R. FOREVILLE, Paris, 1975, S. 9-25; wiederabgedruckt in: A. VERNET, *Études médiévales*, Paris, 1981, p. 223-240; vgl. auch P. A. THOMPSON, "An Anonymous Verse Life of Thomas Becket", in *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch*, 20 (1985), p. 147-156.

nyme Verfasser einer *Visio cuiusdam de morte sancti Thome martiris* (verfasst wohl 1174) den englischen König für die Tat verantwortlich.<sup>8</sup> In der apologetischen *Confessio regis Henrici secundi* des Kluniazensers Radulfus Prunimensis (verfasst wohl 1174/1175) wurde Heinrich hingegen als unschuldiger, doch bußfertiger Mensch dargestellt.<sup>9</sup> In einem Thomas-Hymnus charakterisierte Guido von Bazoches (gest. 1203) den König als Tyrannen (ep. 18), in einem weiteren pries er den Getöteten als neuen Märtyrer (ep. 20).<sup>10</sup>

Der Tod des Erzbischofs besaß – über das individuelle Schicksal hinaus – ein exemplarisches Potential: Schon Becket selbst hatte sich unmittelbar vor seiner Ermordung als Märtyrer kirchlicher Freiheit und Opfer weltlicher Tyrannis stilisiert. Jeder geistliche Prälat, der sich in einer vergleichbaren Situation zu befinden glaubte, konnte sich somit auf Beckets Vorbild berufen. Wie attraktiv das politische Deutungspotential war, illustriert der folgende Fall: Der Codex Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 363/569, eine ansprechende Pergamenthandschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts,<sup>11</sup> enthält die *Aurora* des Petrus Riga (f. 1r-220v)<sup>12</sup> sowie den *Tobias* des Matthäus von Vendôme (f. 221r-250r).<sup>13</sup> Auf dem verbliebenen Freiraum der letzten Seiten (f. 250r-251r) hat eine andere Hand des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts ein anonymes, bislang unediertes Gedicht eingetragen, dessen erster Vers (*Anglia, flere paro tua fata tuosque dolores*) den Text als Klagelied erweist und einen Bezug zu England herstellt.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. P. G. SCHMIDT, „Die Ermordung Thomas Beckets im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Dichtungen. Die ‘*Visio cuiusdam de morte sancti Thome martiris*’ und die ‘*Confessio regis Henrici secundi*’“, in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 9 (1973), p. 159-172; zu Walter vgl. hier p. 160-162; Edition der *Visio* p. 165-168.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. SCHMIDT, 1973, p. 168-172.

<sup>10</sup> Guido de Basochis, *Liber epistularum*, ed. H. ADOLFSSON, Stockholm, 1969 (*Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 18), p. 67-68 u. 75-76.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Bd. 1, Cambridge, 1907, p. 411-413.

<sup>12</sup> Zum Codex vgl. P. E. BEICHNER (ed.), *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible. Part I*, Notre Dame, 1965 (*Publications in Mediaeval Studies*, 19), p. lii (überliefert wird die dritte Autorfassung).

<sup>13</sup> Die Handschrift ist verzeichnet bei F. MUNARI (ed.), *Mathei Vindocinensis opera. Vol. 1: Catalogo dei manoscritti*, Rom, 1977 (*Storia e letteratura*, 144), p. 36-37, Nr. 21.

<sup>14</sup> Der Text wird verzeichnet bei H. WALTHER, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, Göttingen, <sup>2</sup>1969 (*Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina*, 1, 1), Nr. 1009; er ist nicht erwähnt bei RIGG, 1992. Auf dem hinteren Schutzblatt hat zudem eine deutlich spätere Hand ein anonymes, aus 19 Versen bestehendes moralisch-satirisches Gedicht eingetragen (*Inc. Dum cano si dederō*; verzeichnet bei WALTHER, Nr. 4838).

## 2. Aufbau und Inhalt des Gedichtes

Im ersten Vers des Gedichtes tritt ein lyrisches Ich auf, das sich an die personifizierte *Anglia* wendet und seine Absicht verkündet, die Leiden Englands und die Leiden einer brutal getöteten, nicht namentlich genannten Person zu betrauern (vv. 1-3; der jeweilige Bezug ist schillernd). Hier auf folgt ein erster Klageruf: *O dolor, o quanto dolor iste dolore dolendus!* (v. 4). Die nachstehenden Verse betrauern explizit das Schicksal Englands (vv. 5-8): Einst mächtig und glücklich, sei das Land nun ein Opfer von Drohungen und Verbrechen. Mit ironischem Unterton verweist der Sprecher auf die Zuverlässigkeit der Schicksalsgöttin (vv. 9-10). Jetzt sei jeder zum Trauern gezwungen (vv. 11-12). Denn es herrsche Gewalt, die Gerechtigkeit sei auf dem Rückzug, Schuldige würden erhöht, Anständige eingekerkert (vv. 13-15). Das lyrische Ich spricht sodann den biblischen Propheten Jeremias an und fordert ihn zum Klagen auf (vv. 16-22).

Zur Begründung folgt eine längere Beschreibung der aktuellen Missstände (vv. 23-32): Die liturgischen Gesänge seien verstummt, Kirchenspitze und Klerus würden in den Dreck gezogen, Feinde attackierten die Geistlichkeit, Gottlosigkeit bereite ihr ein Martyrium, der geistliche Stand sei ohne gerichtlichen Schutz, selbst der Altar biete kein Asyl. Es sei Gesetz, ohne Berücksichtigung von Gesetzen beherrscht zu werden und ohne Gerichtsverfahren zu sterben. Gesetz sei es, alles zu tun, was einem beliebt. Statt eines ordnungsgemäßen Verfahrens herrsche Willkür.

Der Sprecher wendet sich nun in einer längeren Rede an Gott bzw. Christus (vv. 33-52): In einem ersten, kämpferischen Teil (vv. 33-38) fordert er ihn auf, die eigenen Rechte zu schützen und alle Feinde zu töten. In einem zweiten, von Vernunft dominierten Abschnitt (vv. 39-48) erkennt er, dass Christus seinem duldsamen Wesen gemäß nicht brutal reagieren, sondern eher eine zweite Kreuzigung erleiden würde, um die Täter auf den rechten Weg zurückzuführen. Dies werde Gott jedoch nicht zulassen. Stattdessen würden die Glieder seiner Kirche (d.h. die Kleriker) leiden müssen. Die an Gott gerichtete Rede endet mit einer Bitte (vv. 49-52): Zur Rettung der Engländer möge er entweder erneut Thomas Becket auf die Erde entsenden oder aber eine diesem ähnliche Person, damit sie ebenso siege, wie Becket gesiegt habe.

Im Anschluss beschreibt der Sprecher, worin Becket's historische Leistung, worin sein Sieg bestanden hat (vv. 53-62): Unbewaffnet hat sich Thomas seinen gefährlichen Feinden entgegengestellt und dem Zorn des Fürsten (sc. Heinrichs II.) getrotzt. Im Namen Christi hat er sieben Jahre lang im Exil gelebt, ist dann in die Heimat zurückgekehrt und hat das



Martyrium erlitten. Sein Tod war ein Sieg, denn er hat sich für Gott geopfert (vv. 61-62).

Der Scharniervers 63 (*Sic certe Stephanum decuit certasse modernum*) verknüpft das bisher Gesagte mit dem Folgenden: Zum Einen wird dem todesmutigen Becket abschließend attestiert, dass er sich wie der frühchristliche Märtyrer Stephanus verhalten habe. Zum Anderen wendet sich das lyrische Ich nun an einen Zeitgenossen, der ebenfalls Stephanus heißt (vv. 63-74): Warum warte dieser schweigend ab? Seine Zeit sei gekommen. Er solle aufwachen und jenem Mann (sc. Thomas Becket), dem er im Äußeren (v. 66: *facie*) folge, auch in seinen eigenen Taten (v. 66: *facto*) folgen. Er solle alle Annehmlichkeiten aufgeben und wie Christus freiwillig in den Tod gehen (vv. 66-68). Durch dieses Martyrium könne er sich die Gnade Gottes verdienen (vv. 70-71).

Im Schlussteil (vv. 72-80) nimmt der Sprecher seine Forderung nach sofortigem Handeln allerdings wieder zurück: Die Vernunft entschuldige Stephans abwartendes, nur scheinbar eskapistisches Verhalten und spreche ihn von dem Vorwurf frei (vv. 72-73). Das vernünftige (Kirchen-)Volk stelle die folgenden Überlegungen an (direkte Rede der *ratio* in vv. 74-80): Warum klage man (gemeint ist offenbar das lyrische Ich) einen Unschuldigen an? Stephans Stunde sei noch nicht gekommen. Er bereite sich zur Zeit noch vor, um gefahrloser in den Kampf zu ziehen und – obgleich am Ende besiegt – den Feind zu besiegen (d.h. die Gunst Gottes zu erhalten).

### 3. Historische Einordnung

In seinem Katalogisat der Cambridger Handschrift, welche dieses Gedicht unikal überliefert, notiert Montague Rhodes James lapidar: "Written after the murder of Thomas à Becket."<sup>15</sup> Diese Aussage ist zweifellos korrekt, da im Text das Martyrium des Erzbischofs dargestellt wird (vv. 53-62). Tatsächlich könnte man den Text zunächst für ein konventionelles Klagegedicht auf den Tod des Erzbischofs halten. Ein Leser, der um die Wende vom zwölften zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert die einleitenden Verse liest, wird unweigerlich an das Schicksal Becketts denken: Auch wenn sein Name in den ersten fünfzig Zeilen nicht fällt, lösen die an England gerichtete Ankündigung einer Klage (v. 1) sowie die Erwähnung eines Mordes (v. 2) recht eindeutige Assoziationen aus. Auch die mehrfachen Bemerkungen, gemäß denen das Land von einem gewalttätigen und jähzornigen Herrscher

<sup>15</sup> JAMES, 1907, p. 413.

gelenkt werde,<sup>16</sup> lassen sich zunächst kaum anders als auf König Heinrich II. beziehen. Insbesondere die Willkür und das Fehlen des Respekts vor der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit (vv. 28-30) evozieren die berühmte *causa* des Thomas Becket. Und die poetische Aussage, dass auch der kirchliche Altar keinen Schutz gegen Mord biete (v. 29: *non ordo uel ara tuetur*), muss als Hinweis auf den Dom zu Canterbury verstanden werden, in dem Becket am 29. Dezember 1170 – entgegen den Bestimmungen des Kirchenasyls – getötet worden ist.

Die Anonymität der Hauptfigur kann somit keine narrative Spannung erzeugen. Dass der Dichter über Becket spricht, weiß der zeitgenössische Leser, noch bevor in Vers 51 die Identität der beschriebenen Person gelüftet wird. Mit Vers 52 mutiert das vermeintlich konventionelle Klagegedicht allerdings zu einem – nach zeitgenössischen Maßstäben – politischen Lied. Denn aus der Deskription entwickelt sich hier eine Forderung (vv. 50-52):

Da pacem, deus, adde fidem, trans mitte salutem  
ad terras nostrumque Thomam uel redde uel ipsi  
forma consimilem, qui uincat, uicit ut ille.

Gott soll entweder den heilig gesprochenen Thomas Becket oder aber eine diesem ähnliche Person, gleichsam einen „zweiten Becket“, auf die Erde senden. Es handelt sich offenkundig um eine Scheinoption, bei der – wohl auch nach Ansicht der Zeitgenossen – nur die zuletzt genannte Möglichkeit realistische Chancen hat. Tatsächlich wird die erstgenannte Option im Folgenden nicht weiter erörtert, vielmehr werden der jüngst verstorbene, doch schon legendär gewordene Becket und der mögliche „neue Becket“ parallelisiert: Wie jener gesiegt hat, so soll auch dieser siegen. Erst jetzt, in Vers 63, fällt ein Eigenname: *Sic certe Stephanum decuit certasse modernum*.

Der Name *Stephanus* verweist zunächst auf den frühchristlichen Märtyrer, welcher nicht zuletzt dem mutigen Thomas Becket als Vorbild gedient hat. Doch zugleich wird jeder englische Geistliche des Hochmittelalters bei diesem Namen auch an Stephen Langton (c. 1165-1228) denken,<sup>17</sup> da dessen Vita maßgeblich durch den Streit um die Besetzung des Erzbistums von Canterbury geprägt ist. Nachdem Hubert Walter im Jahre 1205 gestorben war, konnten sich die verschiedenen Parteien nicht auf einen Nachfolger einigen. Innozenz III. (1198-1216) bestätigte schließlich im Jahre 1207 den auf seinen Druck hin von Mitgliedern des Cathedralpriorates gewähl-

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. v. 13: *regnare furorem*; v. 14: *dominari crimina*; v. 55: *principis iras*.

<sup>17</sup> Zu ihm vgl. einführend: F. M. POWICKE, *Stephen Langton*, Oxford, 1928 / Ndr. 1965; D. BAUMANN, *Stephen Langton. Erzbischof von Canterbury im England der Magna Charta (1207-1228)*, Leiden, Boston, 2009 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation traditions, 144).

ten Langton als neuen Erzbischof, König Johann (1199-1216) bestand hingegen auf John de Gray, Bischof von Norwich, und verweigerte dem Konkurrenten die Temporalien. Das hierauf 1208 über England verhängte Interdikt dauerte bis 1213; Langton musste während der langen Zeit im Ausland leben.<sup>18</sup>

Das Gedicht ist somit zwischen 1207/1208 und 1213 verfasst worden – zweifellos von einem in England lebenden Geistlichen, möglicherweise sogar von einem Mitglied des Kathedralpriorates.<sup>19</sup> Da der Autor auf das “siebenjährige” Exil Becketts verweist (vv. 56-58), ist es gut denkbar, dass der Erzbischof Langton zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung bereits ebenfalls sechs Jahre im Ausland weilt. Der Text müsste dann kurz vor dem Juni 1213 entstanden sein.

#### 4. Die politische Deutung

Vierzig Jahre nach Becketts Ermordung stand sein Name für die Bereitschaft, die “Freiheit” der Kirche zu verteidigen, die Einmischung weltlicher Mächte zurückzuweisen und ein solches Engagement gegebenenfalls sogar mit dem eigenen Leben zu bezahlen. Diese typologische Konstruktion hat auch Stephen Langton intensiv genutzt:<sup>20</sup> Nach seiner Wahl hat er sich immer wieder in Briefen und symbolischen Akten als ein “zweiter Becket” und als Märtyrer inszeniert, um die anderen politischen Akteure unter Druck zu setzen.

Tatsächlich gaben nicht nur Langtons eigene propagandistische Aktivitäten, sondern auch die objektiven biographischen Ähnlichkeiten dem Dichter die Möglichkeit, die Schicksale Becketts und Langtons zu parallelisieren: Als Erzbischöfe von Canterbury trugen beide einen Konflikt mit ihrem jeweiligen weltlichen Herrscher (Heinrich II. bzw. Johann) aus. Beide lebten deshalb viele Jahre im französischen “Exil” (beide zeitweise in Pontigny): So heißt es im Gedicht über Becket, der sich von November 1164 bis Herbst 1170 in Frankreich aufgehalten hatte (vv. 56-58):

intrat in exilium pro Christi nomine, linquid  
dulcia natalis patrie, flet flagra suorum.  
Passus hic exilium septempne [...]

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. CH. R. CHENEY, *Pope Innocent III and England*, Stuttgart, 1976 (Päpste und Papsttum, 9).

<sup>19</sup> Dass Langton sich zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung des Textes nicht in England aufhält, zeigt etwa v. 67: *Tu fuge delicias* [...].

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. zuletzt BAUMANN, 2009, p. 86-88.

Langtons Rückkehr nach Canterbury verzögerte sich um einen ähnlich langen Zeitraum (1207-1213). Die Parallelisierung führt allerdings zwangsläufig zu einer *ultima quaestio*: Wenn Langton ein zweiter Becket war, weshalb zögerte er dann, wie sein Vorbild nach England zurückzukehren und dort den Märtyrertod zu erleiden? – Diese Frage, welche damals in der englischen Geistlichkeit vielfach diskutiert worden sein dürfte, wird im zweiten Teil des Textes behandelt. Der Dichter verstärkt den Gedanken sogar noch, indem er daran erinnert, dass sich auch Christus geopfert habe (vv. 42-44). Im unmittelbaren Anschluss weist er die Vorstellung einer zweiten Kreuzigung des Gottessohnes allerdings entschieden zurück (vv. 44-46): Stellvertretend für Christus müssen nun die Glieder der Kirche leiden (vv. 46-47). Ein unbefangener Leser dürfte hier natürlich an den neuen Erzbischof von Canterbury denken.

Die sich anschließende Beschreibung der *Passio Thomae* (vv. 53-62) evoziert erneut eine Parallelisierung mit Langton. Nicht zufällig folgt auf die Deskription ein Vers, der mit einem vergleichenden *Sic* einsetzt und auf den ersten Blick eine massive Kritik artikuliert: *Sic certe Stephanum decuit certasse modernum* (v. 63). Becket hat wie der frühchristliche Stephanus das Martyrium erlitten, und ebenso hätte Stephen Langton (opferbereit wie ein moderner Stephanus und mutig wie ein moderner Becket) nach England zurückkehren müssen, um dort für die Freiheit der Kirche zu kämpfen und zu sterben! Das Wort *certe* unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit und das Fehlen eines Entscheidungsspielraums. Das mit einer solchen Tat verbundene Ziel ergibt sich ebenfalls aus der Parallelisierung mit Becket: *Vincitur et uincit, dum uictus cedere nescit* (v. 62). – Die Ermordung eines weiteren Erzbischofs würde einen moralischen Sieg der Kirche bedeuten und ließe sich propagandistisch gegen den englischen König verwenden, so dass dieser am Ende die von der Kurie festgelegten Prinzipien der Bischofswahl für alle Zeit anerkennen müsste.

So stellt sich in den Jahren 1207-1213 die Frage, warum Stephen Langton den entscheidenden Schritt verweigert. Auch der Dichter scheint ihm Lethargie und Pflichtvergessenheit vorzuwerfen. In einer aufrüttelnden Rede ermahnt er den Primas zum Handeln: Dieser solle endlich aufwachen (v. 65: *Surge de sompno, surgas [...]*), er möge dem Vorbild Becket bzw. Christi folgen und vergleichbare Härten auf sich nehmen (vv. 65-66: [...]  
*ipsumque sequaris // facto, quem sequeris facie. Tulit aspera Christus*). Er müsse den Annehmlichkeiten – sc. des Exils – entfliehen (v. 67: *Tu fuge delicias [...]*). Denn während Langton, so der bitter klingende Vorwurf, in Frankreich das süße Leben zu genießen scheint, ist der englische Klerus

den brutalen Schikanen weltlicher Mächte ausgesetzt.<sup>21</sup> Die finale Forderung, den Märtyrertod zu erleiden, wird vom Autor sprachlich breit ausgemalt: *Pro te quam sustulit ipse, // tu mortem subeas et mortuus obrue mortem. // Sponte necem subeas [...]* (vv. 67-69). Um dem Primas die letale Entscheidung zu erleichtern, stellt er ihm auch einen persönlichen Vorteil in Aussicht: Durch ein solches Opfer wird Gott geradezu verpflichtet sein, dem Erzbischof seine Gnade zu schenken, d.h. ihm einen Platz im Himmel zu gewähren (vv. 70-71: [...] *Da non meritis, ut debita res sit // gracia. Sic facias, ut debita dona putentur*).

Der zeitgenössische Leser kann die ersten 71 Verse des insgesamt 80 Verse umfassenden Gedichtes als eine personalisierte Satire verstehen, welche die Bedrückungen der englischen Kirche scharf mit der Faulheit und Feigheit des angeblich verweichlichten Langton kontrastiert. Überraschenderweise reißt der Autor in den letzten 9 Hexametern das argumentative Ruder herum und lässt hier eine Verteidigungsrede folgen, welche Langtons abwartende Haltung erläutert und rechtfertigt. Man kann diese Wendung als auktoriale Palinodie verstehen (was allerdings innerhalb eines Textes kaum plausibel wäre) oder aber als rhetorische Technik: Das zuvor Gesagte fungierte möglicherweise lediglich als eine *Occupatio*,<sup>22</sup> welche die Argumente und Gedanken namenloser Kritiker artikuliert hat. Diese werden nun im finalen Textabschnitt widerlegt. – Die Vernunft hat das letzte Wort.

Tatsächlich wird in diesem Abschnitt dem leidenschaftlichen Plädoyer des Hauptteils eine nüchterne *ratio* (v. 73) entgegengestellt. Wie eine gute Anwältin "entschuldigt" (v. 72: *excusat*) sie Langton von allen Vorwürfen, sie bestreitet den Tatbestand der Untätigkeit (v. 72: [...] *te denegat esse morosum*), sie steht für ihren Mandanten ein (v. 73: [...] *pro te stat [...]*) und erläutert dem Kirchenvolk seine Position (vv. 73-74: [...] *ista // disse-rit in populo [...]*). Langton sei unschuldig (v. 75: *insontem*). Der richtige Zeitpunkt zur Rückkehr sei noch nicht gekommen (v. 75: [...] *Nondum uenit hora [...]*). Er nutze die Zeit, um sich auf den Kampf vorzubereiten (vv. 76-79). Gerade der letztgenannte Aspekt wird vom Dichter in vielen sprachlichen Variationen breit ausgeführt und soll offenbar die lange Dauer des Exils erklären (vv. 76-79):

[...] Ueniet. Sed se premunit et armat  
et purgat Stephanus et preparat et probat et se

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. z.B. v. 15: [...] *castos in carcere trudi*.

<sup>22</sup> Auch in vv. 39-41 nimmt der Sprecher eine zuvor selbst aufgebaute Position wieder zurück.

prestruit, ut pugnam securior intret, ut hostem  
forcior expugnet [...]

Mancher zeitgenössische Leser mag sich allerdings gefragt haben, warum Langton so viel Zeit benötigt, um sich auf das Martyrium vorzubereiten. Denn dass der Erzbischof trotz der langen Präparationen am Ende den Opfertod erleiden werde, glaubt auch die im Text als *racio* eingeführte Sprecherin (vv. 79-80): [...] *ut uictus uincere possit, // ut non uictori, sed uicto uictima detur*. Der Dichter greift in diesen beiden Schlussversen jene Formulierung auf, die er im ersten Textteil zur Beschreibung Becketts benutzt hat (v. 62: *Vincitur et uincit, dum uictus cedere nescit*). Wie sein Vorbild wird Langton durch das eigene Martyrium den Sieg über die weltliche Macht (in seinem Falle: König Johann) davontragen.

Dieses eindeutig klingende Finale muss keineswegs die Ansichten des Dichters widerspiegeln. Denn im Zusammenhang mit dem Text ist zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Autor, dem lyrischen Ich (v. 1: *paro*) und der personifizierten *racio* (v. 73), welche dem Leser in direkter Rede entgegentritt (vv. 74-80). Hierbei nehmen das lyrische Ich und die *racio* konträre Standpunkte ein. Für den Standpunkt des lyrischen Ich spricht die Länge der Darlegungen (vv. 50-71), hingegen erhält die Argumentation der *racio* ihre Stärke aus der Stellung am Ende des Textes (vv. 72-80). Angesichts dieser Uneindeutigkeit ist es denkbar, dass der Autor gar nicht die Absicht verfolgt, für eine der beiden Positionen zu plädieren. Vielmehr könnte er lediglich die verschiedenen Ansichten reflektieren, welche zur Zeit des Interdikts im englischen Klerus und insbesondere im – zerstrittenen – Kathedralpriorat von Canterbury diskutiert wurden. Beide Positionen (aggressives Auftreten versus abwartendes Taktieren) erscheinen im Gedicht als moralisch wie politisch gerechtfertigt. Der Dichter lässt Langtons Kritiker ausgiebig zu Wort kommen, verteidigt aber auch dessen Motive.

## 5. Texttypologische Bewertung und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung

Der erste Teil des Gedichtes (vv. 1-32) steht klar in der Tradition des Klagegedichtes. Das wichtigste Vorbild ist der – direkt angesprochene – biblische Prophet Jeremias, dessen *Lamentationes* bzw. *Threni* auch sprachlich aufgegriffen werden (vv. 16-21):

O quid agis, Geremia? Dole! Numquidne dolendi  
materies tibi tanta? Tuis insiste querelis,



posce tuos trenos, tua dic lamenta, fatere  
vultu mesticiam mentis. Sit fletus inundans  
tristicie testis, sit uestis spreta, sit hirtum  
crine caput, facies sit pallida [...]

Wie Jeremias das Schicksal Jerusalems und der versklavten Juden besingt, so betrauert der Dichter die Unterdrückung des englischen Kirchenvolkes. Dabei ist die Verwendung eines Metrums bereits durch die Aussage des Hieronymus legitimiert, dass die *Lamentationes* in Versen wiedergegeben seien.<sup>23</sup> Möglicherweise versucht der englische Poet auch deren alphabetische Gliederung insofern nachzuahmen, als er zumindest den ersten Vers mit dem Buchstaben *A* beginnen lässt (entsprechend dem Strukturwort *ALEPH* in den *Lamentationes*). Ferner begegnet der für die Zeitklage typische Vergleich von Einst und Jetzt nicht nur bei Jeremias,<sup>24</sup> sondern auch im vorliegenden Lied.<sup>25</sup> Im gesamten ersten Abschnitt dominiert zudem die Sprache des Jammerns und Leidens.<sup>26</sup>

Entsprechend texttypologischer Konvention mündet im zweiten Abschnitt die eher deskriptive Klage in eine – an Gott gerichtete und somit gebetsähnliche – Forderung nach Beseitigung der beschriebenen Missstände (vv. 33-38 u. 49-52). Sie findet ihren Ausdruck in einer Serie von Imperativen und rhetorischen Fragen.<sup>27</sup> Sodann folgt eine *Vita et passio Thomae Becket* en miniature (vv. 53-62).

Der letzte, rhetorisch erhöhte Teil des Textes ist wie eine versifizierte Gerichtsrede bzw. Gerichtsverhandlung gestaltet (vv. 64-80). Zunächst übernimmt das lyrische Ich die Funktion eines appellativ tätigen Anklägers (vv. 64-71), sodann tritt *ratio* als Verteidigerin auf (vv. 72-80). Dieser

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Prologus Hieronymi in libro Hieremie prophetæ: [...] *quod nos mensuræ metri versibusque reddimus*.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Lam. 1, 1: [...] *domina gentium [...] facta est sub tributo*.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. vv. 5-6: *Olim summa, potens, felix fuit Anglia, que nunc // anxia, mesta, dolens, lacrimosa, gemens, vaga, tristis*.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. v. 1: *Anglia, flere paro tua fata tuosque dolores*; v. 4: *O dolor, o quanto dolor iste dolore dolendus!*; vv. 6-8: *anxia, mesta, dolens, lacrimosa, gemens, vaga, tristis // luget, habet, sentit, timet, audit, sustinet, horret // verbera, uerba, minas, scelus, iras, uincula, penas*; v. 11: *Quis teneat lacrimas*; vv. 16-22: [...] *Dole! Numquidne dolendi // materies tibi tanta? Tuis insiste querelis, // posce tuos trenos, tua dic lamenta, fatere // vultu mesticiam mentis. Sit fletus inundans // tristicie testis, sit uestis spreta, sit hirtum // crine caput, facies sit pallida, se cutis ossi // nubat et ethereas clamor conscendat ad aures*; vv. 45-48: *Quod paciaris item, procul hoc a mente fidelis // credere! Credo tamen caput in membris cruciari. // In membris torquere tuis! Iterumque subisti, // Christe, crucem, clauos, spinas, obprobria, mortem*.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. v. 33: *cur*; v. 34: *cur*; v. 35: *consurge*; v. 35: *Quid*; v. 36: *capesse*; v. 37: *Sterne [...]* *preme [...]* *cede*; v. 38: *esto [...]* *tuere*; v. 49: *miserere [...]* *medere*; v. 50: *Da [...]* *adde [...]* *transmitte*; v. 51: *redde*.



letzte Abschnitt (vv. 63-80) zeigt die Technik des *in utramque partem disputare* und könnte, wenn es sich dabei nicht um ein so aktuelles und brennendes Thema handelte, auch als poetische Deklamationsübung verstanden werden.

Der Dichter ist nicht nur rhetorisch versiert, sondern auch mit allen poetischen Techniken seiner Zeit vertraut. Besonders auffällig ist die hohe Zahl von Alliterationen<sup>28</sup>. Daneben begegnen Polyptota,<sup>29</sup> Verb-Variationen<sup>30</sup> und weitere etymologisch fundierte Junktoren<sup>31</sup> sowie einige Paronomasien.<sup>32</sup> Die rhetorische Stilisierung zeigt sich etwa in den Anaphern,<sup>33</sup> Exklamationen<sup>34</sup> und rhetorischen bzw. adhortativen Fragen.<sup>35</sup> Der Verfasser neigt zu antithetisch zugespitzten Formulierungen<sup>36</sup> und huldigt dem im 12. Jahrhundert beliebten und etwa bei Matthäus von Vendôme vorgeführten Ideal der *brevitas*.<sup>37</sup> Es dominieren katalogartige Aufzählungen<sup>38</sup> und Satzketten, deren asyndetisch gereimte Glieder parallel konstruiert sind.<sup>39</sup> Hierbei demonstriert der Dichter sowohl die Technik des spannungs-

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. z.B. vv. 2-3: *uitam uiolencia, pacem // pugna, fidem fraus, ira iocos, infamia famam*; v. 18: *tuos trenos*; v. 19: *mesticiam mentis*; v. 20: *tristicie testis*; v. 21: *crine caput*; v. 22: *clamor conscendat*; v. 23: *mutescit musica*; vv. 27-28: *miseracio mentis. // Ad mortem*; v. 33: *domine, dicam: Deus*; vv. 33-34: *cur [...] // [...] contorques, cur [...] cessat*; v. 38: *Tu pugil esto tuus et tu tua iura tuere*; vv. 40-41: *uersus [...] // uiuat, conualeat, uigeat*; v. 48: *Christe, crucem, clauos*; v. 49: *miserere [...] miserisque medere*; v. 57: *flet flagra*; v. 65: *Surge de sompno, surgas ipsumque sequaris*; vv. 76-78: *premunit [...] // [...] purgat [...] preparat [...] probat [...] // prestruit [...] pugnam*.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. v. 1: *tua [...] tuosque*; v. 4: *dolor [...] dolor iste dolore dolendus*; vv. 17-18: *Tuis [...] // [...] tuos [...] tua*; v. 59: *maris, mare*.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. v. 16: *Dole [...] dolendi*; v. 62: *Vincitur [...] uincit [...] uictus*; v. 65: *Surge [...] surgas*; vv. 65-66: *sequaris // [...] sequeris*.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. v. 3: *infamia famam*; v. 39: *paciens [...] paciencia*; v. 61: *hostis et hostili*; v. 68: *mortem [...] mortuus [...] mortem*; vv. 79-80: *uictus uincere [...] // [...] uictori [...] uicto*.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. v. 8: *verbera uerba*; v. 59: *amara maris*; v. 61: *hostis [...] hostili [...] hostia*; v. 66: *facto [...] facie*; v. 80: *uicto uictima*.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. v. 4: *O [...] o*; vv. 9-10: *Sic [...] sic [...] // sic*; vv. 19-21: *sit [...] sit [...] // [...] sit [...] // [...] sit*; v. 29: *non [...] non*; vv. 30-31: *Lex [...] sine lege [...] sine lege [...] // Lex*; vv. 33-34: *cur [...] // [...] cur*; vv. 72-73: *Te [...] te [...] // te [...] te*; v. 74: *Quid [...] quid [...] quid*.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. z.B. v. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. vv. 11-12, 16-17, 35-36, 64.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. z.B. vv. 2-3: *[...] cui rapuit uitam uiolencia, pacem // pugna, fidem fraus, ira iocos, infamia famam*.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. z.B. vv. 53-61.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. v. 48: *[...] crucem, clauos, spinas, obprobria, mortem*.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. z.B. v. 37: *Sterne repugnantes, preme prauos, cede nocentes*; vv. 13-15: *cum uideat fugisse modum, regnare furorem, // cedere iusticiam, dominari crimina, sontes // laudibus extolli, castos in carcere trudi*.

erzeugenden Zeilensprungs<sup>40</sup> als auch das Prinzip "Singula Singulis", gemäß dem die Sinneinheiten durch die Kombination mehrerer Verse gebildet werden.<sup>41</sup> Der im Hochmittelalter weit verbreitete Binnenreim wird vom Autor weitgehend vermieden.<sup>42</sup>

Dass der Dichter mit den Klassikern der paganen Poesie (Ovid, Horaz, Juvenal, etc.) vertraut ist, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung.<sup>43</sup> Bemerkenswert, wenngleich keineswegs spektakulär, ist allenfalls seine Kenntnis der um 1180 entstandenen *Alexandreis* Walters von Châtillon (vgl. vv. 19-22 u. 75). Das Cambridger Poem lässt sich ferner als eine poetische Kontrafaktur deuten. Denn in seinem berühmten Gedicht *De Anglia* (c. 37) hat Hildebert von Lavardin (1056-1133) der Insel ein literarisches Denkmal gesetzt,<sup>44</sup> auf das sich das anonyme Lied möglicherweise bezieht. Wer um 1210 in England den ersten Vers des Cambridger Gedichtes las (*Anglia, flere paro tua fata tuosque dolores*), dürfte sich sofort an den Beginn von Hildeberts Carmen erinnern haben (vv. 1-2): *Anglia, terra ferax, tibi pax diuturna quietem // [...] dedit*. In Hildeberts Text bildet der innere Frieden das zentrale Thema (vgl. v. 8: *Insula sis locuples plenaque pacis [...]*). Insbesondere unter Heinrich I. (1100-1135), so der Autor, sei dieser Friede gegeben (v. 15): *rege sub hoc pax ecclesie, reverentia legi*. Der König schützt die Kirche vor jeglicher Unterdrückung und wahrt das Gesetz. In scharfem Kontrast zu diesem Idyll schildert der Cambridger Anonymus Johanns Herrschaft als willkürliche und gesetzlose Tyrannis (vv. 30-32):<sup>45</sup>

Lex datur hic sine lege regi, sine lege perire.  
Lex hec illicitum statuit libuisse, licere  
quodlibet. Hic dicas: Sit pro ratione uoluntas!

Insbesondere die Kirche hat unter dem brutalen Regime dieses Königs zu leiden.<sup>46</sup> Durch den – indirekten und nur durch die Kenntnis des Hil-

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. z.B. vv. 23-27: [...] *mutescit musica, uilet // religionis apex, sordet in canone clerus, // seuit in ecclesiam manus hostica, concutit illam // impietas, cruciat illam tribulacio, torquet // anxietas, illam uexat miseracio mentis*.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. vv. 6-8: *anxia, mesta, dolens, lacrimosa, gemens, vaga, tristis // luget, habet, sentit, timet, audit, sustinet, horret // verbera, uerba, minas, scelus, iras, uincula, penas*.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. z.B. v. 50: *Da pacem, deus, adde fidem, trans mitte salutem*. Vgl. ferner die unreinen Leoniner in vv. 25, 32, 37, 42, 43, 49, 61, 63.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. hierzu die in den Anmerkungen nachgewiesenen Similien.

<sup>44</sup> Hildebertus Cenomannensis episcopus, *Carmina minora*, ed. A. B. SCOTT, München, Leipzig, 2001, p. 24-25.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. auch vv. 13-15: *cum uideat fugisse modum, regnare furorem, // cedere iusticiam, dominari crimina, sontes // laudibus extolli, castos in carcere trudi?*

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. vv. 23-29: *Ecclesialis honor mutescit musica, uilet // religionis apex, sordet in canone clerus, // seuit in ecclesiam manus hostica, concutit illam // impietas, cruciat illam tribulacio,*

debertschen Gedichtes möglichen – Vergleich mit der “guten alten Zeit” unter Heinrich I. erscheint Johanns Herrschaft als umso verwerflicher.

Dass Hildeberts Poem im hochmittelalterlichen England präsent ist, zeigt nicht nur die handschriftliche Überlieferung,<sup>47</sup> sondern auch ein Gedicht des Hugo von Montacute, welcher in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts als Prior des gleichnamigen Kluniazenserklusters in Somerset sowie als Abt von Muchelney nachweisbar ist.<sup>48</sup> Hier lautet der erste, nach Hildebert modellierte Vers: *Anglia terra ferax et fertilis angulus orbis*. In seinem Lied hebt Hugo vor allem den Mutterwitz und die Unbeschwertheit seiner Landsleute hervor (vv. 5-6): *Anglia plena iocis, gens libera, nata iocari, // tota iocosa, velim dicere tota iocus*. Für diese Neigung zum Scherzen sieht der Verfasser des Cambridger Gedichtes keinen Spielraum mehr (vv. 11-12): *Quis teneat lacrimas hac tempestate, quis ausus // indulgere iocis [...]*. – Es ist zumindest denkbar, dass der Dichter hier eine weitere Kontrafaktur beabsichtigt. Erwähnenswert ist schließlich noch ein – dem Philipp von Harvengt (gest. 1183) zugeschriebenes – Klagegedicht auf den Tod des englischen Königs Heinrich I. (Inc. *Anglia nunc humilis, terrarum gloria quondam*).<sup>49</sup> Auch dieser im Jahre 1135 verfasste Text arbeitet mit der Opposition von Einst und Jetzt, indem er Heinrichs frühere Herrschaft mit dem aktuellen Untergang Englands kontrastiert.

Bedeutung erhält das hier edierte Gedicht vor allem aufgrund seiner literaturgeschichtlichen Stellung. Denn das englische Interdikt und der Streit um Stephen Langton werden nur in sehr wenigen zeitgenössischen Liedern diskutiert. Hier ist zunächst Heinrich von Avranches (1189/1190-1262/63) zu nennen, der – allerdings wohl erst 1218/1220 – ein Lobgedicht an Langton adressiert, welches diesen ebenfalls mit Thomas Becket in Verbindung bringt: *Stephane, te sublimat honor sic sanctificans ut // te non a Thoma separet ulla athomos*.<sup>50</sup>

*torquet // anxietas, illam uexat miseracio mentis. // Ad mortem traitur sine iudice clerus et ipsum // non tonsura leuat, non ordo uel ara tuetur.*

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. die Übersicht der Handschriften bei SCOTT, <sup>2</sup>2001, p. xxxviii u. 24 (Apparat).

<sup>48</sup> Zur Person vgl. RIGG, 1992, p. 135-136. Der Text ist ediert bei A. B. SCOTT, “Some poems attributed to Richard of Cluny”, in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, edd. J. J. G. ALEXANDER, M. T. GIBSON, Oxford, 1976, p. 181-199, hier p. 196-197, Nr. 2.

<sup>49</sup> WALTHER, <sup>2</sup>1969, Nr. 1014; ediert in *PL* 171, col. 1444, u. *PL* 203, col. 1394.

<sup>50</sup> J. COX RUSSELL, J. P. HEIRONIMUS (edd.), *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935 / Ndr. New York, 1970, p. 54, c. 44, vv. 1-2.

Explizitere Aussagen findet man ferner bei Matthäus von Rievaulx, Kantor in der dortigen Zisterzienserabtei,<sup>51</sup> welcher in einem seiner wohl 1213 verfassten Gedichte König Johann dafür kritisiert, dass er einen Geistlichen habe hinrichten lassen (c. XXII). Doch gleichzeitig betet er im Text auch für die Errettung des schuldigen Monarchen (vv. 1-2): *Vnica nostra salus, Ihesu, saluare Iohannem // Digneris, ueniam dones, absterge reatum*. In einem weiteren, über Langton verfassten Poem erwähnt er dessen Exil und stellt ihn sowohl hinsichtlich seines Schicksals als auch der kirchenpolitischen Bedeutung mit Becket auf eine Stufe (c. VIII, vv. 9-11 u. 19):<sup>52</sup>

Iste uir angelicus et flos est Anglicus; iste  
Stephanus, ecclesie decor et decus, exulat; instar  
Martyris egregii Thome uelud hospes oberrat.  
[...]  
Equis et ecclesie Thomeque simillimus actu.

Ein drittes Gedicht des Matthäus (c. VII: *De discordia Anglorum*)<sup>53</sup> verdient besondere Beachtung. Es handelt sich wie im Falle des anonymen Cambridger Poems um ein Klagelied, das in ähnlicher Weise mit der Opposition von Einst und Jetzt arbeitet (vv. 1-4 u. 7-8):

Anglia, plange tuos et te simul: unicus orbis  
Flos, decus et speculum fueras; sed nunc uice uersa  
Aurea gemma lutum, rosa fit saliunca; memento  
Que, qualis uel quanta fuisti tempore prisco.  
[...] Matrona fuisti  
Nobilis, augusta, felix [...]

Zumindest diese Einleitung erinnert sehr an den Beginn des Cambridger Liedes (vv. 1-6):

Anglia, flere paro tua fata tuosque dolores  
et te, cui rapuit uitam uiolencia, pacem  
pugna, fidem fraud, ira iocos, infamia famam.  
O dolor, o quanto dolor iste dolore dolendus!  
Olim summa, potens, felix fuit Anglia, que nunc  
anxia [...]

<sup>51</sup> Seine Gedichte werden im Folgenden zitiert nach der Edition von A. WILMART, "Les mélanges de Mathieu préchantre de Rievaulx au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Revue Bénédictine* 52 (1940), p. 15-84.

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. RIGG, 1992, p. 123 u. 136-137.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. RIGG, 1992, p. 137.

Die Cambridger Schlüsselbegriffe *dolor* (vv. 1, 4), *lamenta* (v. 18), *penae* (vv. 8, 42) und *luget* (v. 7) begegnen ebenfalls im Lied des Matthäus von Rievaulx (vv. 13-15):

Sunt hodie pressura, dolor, lamenta, ruine,  
Pena, labor, sitis, esuriens, discrimina belli.  
Luget in ecclesia chorus omnis [...]

Auch das Sieger-/Besiegter-Motiv wird in beiden Gedichten verwendet. So heißt es im Cambridger Lied: *Vincitur et uincit, dum uictus cedere nescit* (v. 62) und [...] *ut uictus uincere possit, // ut non uictori, sed uicto uictima detur* (vv. 79-80).<sup>54</sup> Bei Matthäus liest man entsprechend: [...] *Non nocuit uinci, sed uincere Christus* (v. 20). Darüber hinaus wird in beiden Texten das Kämpfer-Motiv verwendet (Cambridger Gedicht, v. 38: *pugil*; v. 78: *pugnam* [...] *intret*; Matthäus, v. 23: *pugil inuictus*) und teils direkt, teils indirekt auf Langton bezogen. Hinsichtlich ihrer primären Botschaft unterscheiden sich die zwei Texte allerdings erheblich: Denn Matthäus reflektiert nicht die innerklerikale Debatte über Langtons mögliche Rückkehr, sondern er fordert England, d.h. König Johann und seine Berater, zur Unterwerfung unter die päpstliche Macht auf (vv. 31-40).

Das Interdikt wird ferner in einem anonym überlieferten Gedicht (Inc. *Papa stupor mundi*) behandelt, das wohl ebenfalls im Jahr 1213 von einem in England lebenden Geistlichen verfasst worden ist.<sup>55</sup> Das Werk ist offenkundig durch die *Poetria nova* des Zeitgenossen Galfred von Vinsauf beeinflusst (oder vielleicht sogar von diesem komponiert worden). Der Dichter preist Papst Innocenz III. (1198-1216) als obersten Herrn, der über alle weltlichen Potentaten herrsche, und bittet ihn um das Ende des über England verhängten Interdikts (vv. 27-30):

Pace tua loquar et paucis: offendis in uno  
Quod jacet in threnis et fletibus Anglica tellus.  
Papa, quid hoc meruit grex insons? Culpa redundat  
In regem, magis hic reus est [...]

Die rhetorische Strategie besteht darin, zwischen dem schuldigen (und daher zu bestrafenden) König einerseits und der unschuldigen Bevölkerung

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. auch v. 52: [...] *qui uincat, uicit ut ille*.

<sup>55</sup> Ediert bei E. FARAL, *Les Arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge*, Paris, 1924 / Ndr. 1971, p. 24-26; Interpretation bei TH. HAYE, *Päpste und Poeten. Die mittelalterliche Kurie als Objekt und Förderer panegyrischer Dichtung*, Berlin, New York, 2009, p. 183-186.

andererseits zu differenzieren. In der Bitte um Schonung des einfachen Volkes zeigen sich die schon bekannten Motive des Planctus (v. 36): *Neve sit Anglia plus lugubris et anxia per te*. Und ähnlich (v. 84): *Hinc jacet in threnis et fletibus Anglica tellus*. Wie im Cambridger Lied (v. 4: *O dolor, o quanto dolor iste dolore dolendus!*), so begegnet auch hier das Leitmotiv des *dolor* (vv. 91-92): *O quantus dolor! Unde venit dolor iste? Doloris // Causa patet [...]*. Der für die Zeitklage typische Vergleich von Einst und Jetzt fehlt ebenfalls nicht (vv. 85-88):

Quondam terrarum fuerat matrona, sed ecce  
Deficit ipsa sibi, servili pressa tributo.  
Anglia sub rege Ricardo tuta fuisti,  
Tota potens, misera nunc conditione subacta.

Als Bezugspunkt wählt der Autor die Zeit des unmittelbar vor John herrschenden Königs Richard I. (1189-1199). Nur nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass sich hier auch eine Nähe zum Gedicht *De discordia Anglorum* des Matthäus von Rievaulx zeigt (c. VII; vv. 7-8: [...] *Matrona fuisti // Nobilis, augusta, felix [...]*). Wie im Cambridger Lied (v. 58: *Passus hic exilium septempne [...]*), so wird in dem an Innocenz adressierten Gedicht betont, dass das Interdikt bzw. Langtons Exil bereits in das siebte Jahr gehe (vv. 49-50: *Turpe quidem dictu quod putruit absque medela // Plaga tumens septenis infelicibus annis*).

Im Ergebnis kann man festhalten, dass das hier interpretierte Cambridger Lied vermutlich nicht nur eine rhetorische Übung, sondern Teil eines poetischen Diskurses ist, in dem das Interdikt und Langtons diesbezügliche Strategie verhandelt werden. Wie kein anderes dichterisches Produkt dieser Zeit gewährt es einen Einblick in die innerklerikalen Debatten, welche im oder kurz vor dem Jahr 1213 in England geführt werden und in deren Zentrum die Frage steht, ob Stephen Langton in die Heimat zurückkehren und das Risiko der Ermordung auf sich nehmen soll. Um eine solche Gefahr zu bannen, haben Langton und seine Propagandisten immer wieder auf das Schicksal Thomas Becketts verwiesen und ihren Gegnern in Erinnerung gerufen, welche Konsequenzen eine solche Bluttat haben würde.

## 6. Textausgabe

## Editionsprinzipien:

Da das Gedicht unikal in einer zeitgenössischen Handschrift überliefert ist, wird deren – teilweise inkonsequente – Graphie beibehalten. Die Textausgabe folgt den Interpunktionsregeln der deutschen Rechtschreibung. Sofern die Zeichensetzung des Codex einen abweichenden Sinnzusammenhang herstellt, wird dies in den Anmerkungen explizit vermerkt. Die Groß- und Kleinschreibung ist analog zur deutschen Rechtschreibung normalisiert. Konjekturen werden nur in den Anmerkungen angezeigt.

- Anglia, flere paro tua fata tuosque dolores  
 et te, cui rapuit uitam uiolencia, pacem  
 pugna, fidem fraus, ira iocos, infamia famam.  
 O dolor, o quanto dolor iste dolore dolendus!
- 5 Olim summa, potens, felix fuit Anglia, que nunc  
 anxia, mesta, dolens, lacrimosa, gemens, vaga, tristis  
 luget, habet, sentit, timet, audit, sustinet, horret  
 verbera, uerba, minas, scelus, iras, uincula, penas.  
 Sic seruat Fortuna fidem, sic uana probatur,
- 10 sic incerta docet incerti se fore certam!  
 Quis teneat lacrimas hac tempestate, quis ausus  
 indulgere iocis, quis se non puniat ipsum,  
 cum uideat fugisse modum, regnare furorem,  
 cedere iusticiam, dominari crimina, sontes
- 15 laudibus extolli, castos in carcere trudi?  
 O quid agis, Geremia? Dole! Numquidne dolendi  
 materies tibi tanta? Tuis insiste querelis,  
 posce tuos trenos, tua dic lamenta, fatere  
 vultu mesticiam mentis. Sit fletus inundans
- 20 tristicie testis, sit uestis sprete, sit hirtum

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**11** teneat lacrimas] cfr Ovidius, Met. 2, 796: *vixque tenet lacrimas* [...] **16** O quid agis]  
 cfr Horatius, carm. 1, 14, 2 **19/21** cfr Galterius de Castellione, Alex. 1, 59-61: *Fortē*  
*macer pallens incomp̄to crine magister // (Nec facies studio male respondebat) apertis // Exierat*  
*thalamis* [...]

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**1** Anglia] .nglia *cod.* **2** flere] flete *cod.*

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**Anm.** **10** incerti] *abhängig von* certam



- crine caput, facies sit pallida, se cutis ossi  
 nubat et ethereas clamor conscendat ad aures.  
 Ecclesialis honor mutescit musica, uilet  
 religionis apex, sordet in canone clerus,  
 25 seuit in ecclesiam manus hostica, concutit illam  
 impietas, cruciat illam tribulacio, torquet  
 anxietas, illam uexat miseracio mentis.  
 Ad mortem traitur sine iudice clerus et ipsum  
 non tonsura leuat, non ordo uel ara tuetur.  
 30 Lex datur hic sine lege regi, sine lege perire.  
 Lex hec illicitum statuit libuisse, licere  
 quodlibet. Hic dicas: Sit pro ratione uoluntas!  
 Pace tua, domine, dicam: "Deus, o tua cur non  
 fulmina contorques, cur nunc tua dextera cessat?"  
 35 Bella parata uides in te: consurge! Quid ultra  
 expectas? Mora damna parat. Tua tela capesse!  
 Sterne repugnantes, preme prauos, cede nocentes!  
 Tu pugil esto tuus et tu tua iura tuere!  
 Sed tua tam paciens negat hoc paciencia nec uis  
 40 mortem peccantis, sed ut ad te uersus apud te  
 uiuat, conualeat, uigeat, te pronus adoret.  
 Ergo secus uenias, iterum crucifigere, penas  
 expendas, mortem subeas, a morte resurgas.  
 Sed non hiis opus est nec uis nec uelle teneris.  
 45 Quod paciaris item, procul hoc a mente fidelis  
 credere! Credo tamen caput in membris cruciari.

21/22 se [...] // nubat] cfr Galterius de Castellione, Alex. 1, 66-67: *Seque maritabat tenui  
 discrimine pellis // Ossibus in vultu [...]* 30 cfr Rm. 2, 12: *quicumque enim sine lege pec-  
 caverunt, sine lege et peribunt* 32 Sit pro ratione uoluntas] cfr Iuuenalis, sat. 6, 223: *Hoc  
 volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas* 34 cur nunc tua dextera cessat] cfr Ilias Latina  
 39: [...] *cur o tua dextera cessat* 35 Bella parata uides] cfr Ovidius, Rem., v. 2: *'bella  
 mihi, video, bella parantur' ait* 37 cede nocentes] cfr Lucanus 10, 388: [...] *caede nocentes*  
 38 tua iura tuere] cfr Ovidius, Am. 3, 4, 44: [...] *iura tuere viri*

21 ossi] offi *cod.* 23 musica, uilet] musica uilet *cod.* 27 anxietas, illam uexat misera-  
 cio] anxietas illam uexat, miseracio *cod.* illam] ia (*mit zwei Kürzungsstrichen über i und*  
 a) *cod.* 38 tuere] tuete *cod.*

**Anm.** 21/22 se [...] // nubat] se nubere = "*sich verheiraten*" 23 honor] *prädikativ* 24 sordet]  
*Die letzte Silbe ist hier als Länge gemessen* 40 peccantis] *Hier ist wohl konkret an König*  
*Johann gedacht* 42 crucifigere] *Imperativ Passiv (vgl. v. 38: tuere)*

- In membris torquere tuis! Iterumque subisti,  
 Christe, crucem, clauos, spinas, obprobria, mortem.  
 Summe parens, miserere tuis miserisque medere!  
 50 Da pacem, deus, adde fidem, trans mitte salutem  
 ad terras nostrumque Thomam uel redde uel ipsi  
 forma consimilem, qui uincat, uicit ut ille.”  
 Iste Thomas gladiis opprimitur, hostibus obstat,  
 cingitur ense dei, fit Christi miles inermis.  
 55 Non timet armatos, contempnit principis iras,  
 intrat in exilium pro Christi nomine, linquid  
 dulcia natalis patrie, flet flagra suorum.  
 Passus hic exilium septempne, redire paratus  
 Intrat amara maris, mare transit, propria uisit,  
 60 ecclesie gremio se collocat, impetit ipsum  
 hostis et hostili cadit ense, fit hostia Christi.  
 Vincitur et uincit, dum uictus cedere nescit.  
 Sic certe Stephanum decuit certasse modernum.  
 Cur retices, Stephane? Cur expectas? Uenit hora.  
 65 Surge de sompno, surgas ipsumque sequaris  
 facto, quem sequeris facie. Tulit aspera Christus.  
 Tu fuge delicias. Pro te quam sustulit ipse,  
 tu mortem subeas et mortuus obrue mortem.  
 Sponte necem subeas. Meritum non perde, necesse  
 70 quod tibi dat. Da non meritis, ut debita res sit  
 gracia. Sic facias, ut debita dona putentur.  
 Te tamen excusat, te denegat esse morosum,

53 hostibus obstat] cfr Arator, De act. 441: [...] *hostibus obstat* 55 principis iras] cfr Ovidius, Pont. 1, 1, 49: [...] *principis iram* 57 dulcia natalis patrie] cfr Ovidius, Pont. 1, 35: *nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos* 64/65 Uenit hora. // Surge de sompno] cfr Rm. 13, 11: *et hoc scientes tempus quia hora est iam nos de somno surgere*. Eph 5, 14: [...] *surge qui dormis* [...]

47 torquere] torquete *cod.* 56 intrat] int<sup>a</sup> *cod.* (cfr v. 59, 78) 59 intrat] int<sup>a</sup> *cod.* (cfr v. 56, 78) 63 Stephanum] *corr. ex Stefanum cod.* 64 Stephane] *corr. ex Stepane cod.* 65 sompno] *corr. ex somno cod.* 70 ut] *om. cod.*

Anm. 47 torquere] Die Form ist als (medial gebrauchter) Imperativ Passiv zu verstehen; vgl. v. 38 (tuere) u. v. 42 (crucifigere) u. v. 49 (medere) 49 tuis] von miserere abhängig; statt klassisch tuorum 53 Iste Thomas] sc. Becket 55 principis] sc. König Heinrich II. (1154-1189) 65 ipsumque] sc. Becket 66 facie] Hiermit sind wohl die Insignien des erzbischöflichen Amtes gemeint

- te tutum purgat ratio, pro te stat, et ista  
 disserit in populo: "Quid queris? Quid quereris? Quid  
 75 arguis insontem? Nondum uenit hora. Quiet  
 siste queri. Ueniet. Sed se premunit et armat  
 et purgat Stephanus et preparat et probat et se  
 prestruit, ut pugnam securior intret, ut hostem  
 forcior expugnet, ut uictus uincere possit,  
 80 ut non uictori, sed uicto uictima detur."

### *Zusammenfassung*

Die im Jahre 1170 erfolgte Ermordung Thomas Becket's (Ebf. von Canterbury 1162-1170) hat einen lauten und lang anhaltenden Widerhall in den mittelalterlichen Literaturen ausgelöst. Der Tod des Erzbischofs besaß – über das individuelle Schicksal hinaus – ein exemplarisches Potential: Jeder geistliche Prälat, der sich in einer vergleichbaren Situation zu befinden glaubte, konnte wie Becket als Märtyrer kirchlicher Freiheit und Opfer weltlicher Tyrannis stilisiert werden.

In einem während des englischen Interdikts (1208-1213) entstandenen, anonym überlieferten Lied wird Becket's Fall mit dem des exilierten Erzbischofs Stephen Langton (c. 1165-1228) parallelisiert. Im Text wird die zentrale Frage ventiliert, ob Langton nach England zurückkehren und dort möglicherweise den Märtyrertod erleiden oder aber weiterhin auf dem Kontinent verbleiben soll. Der Dichter spielt beide Positionen argumentativ durch und verteidigt am Ende Langtons abwartendes Verhalten.

Offenbar ist das Gedicht nicht nur eine rhetorische Übung, sondern Teil eines poetischen Diskurses, in dem das Interdikt und Langtons diesbezügliche Strategie verhandelt werden. Wie kein anderes poetisches Produkt dieser Zeit gewährt es einen Einblick in die innerklerikalen Debatten, welche im oder kurz vor dem Jahr 1213 in England geführt werden und in deren Zentrum die Frage steht, ob Stephen Langton aus politischen Gründen das Risiko der Ermordung auf sich nehmen soll.

Der vorliegende Aufsatz enthält eine kritische Edition des bislang unbekannten Liedes sowie eine historische und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung.

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75 arguis insontem] cfr Galterius de Castellione, Alex. 2, 240: *arguit insontem* [...]

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73 purgat] distat *cod.*; cfr v. 77 purgat

78 intret] int<sup>c</sup> *cod.* (cfr v. 56, 59)

*Summary*

The murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1162 until his death in 1170, was an event that reverberated strongly in medieval literature. Beyond its specific historical context, the archbishop's fate held great potential to serve as a model. Every prelate who believed himself to be in an analogous situation could follow in Becket's footsteps in being portrayed as a martyr suffering for the sake of ecclesiastical freedom and as a victim of secular tyranny.

In an anonymous poem that was written during the interdict under which England was placed from 1208 to 1213, it is the situation of Archbishop Stephen Langton (c. 1165-1228) that is being dealt with by comparing it to Becket's fate in discussing the central question of whether Langton, who was living in exile, should return to England, where he might die a martyr, or remain on the continent. Having discussed both options, the poet finally defends Langton's hesitation.

Rather than simply being a rhetorical exercise, the poem appears to be part of a poetic discourse about the interdict and Langton's strategy in dealing with it. More than any other poetic text of this period, it provides insight into the debates that took place within the English church in – or shortly before – 1213 and focused on the question of whether Langton should risk his life for the sake of achieving political ends.

The present paper offers a critical edition of the hitherto unknown poem as well as an assessment of its place in literary and general history.

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